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to D. Grant.

T H E
SĖIR MUTAQHERIN;

O R

VIEW OF MODERN TIMES:

BEING AN

H I S T O R Y O F I N D I A.

FROM THE YEAR 1118 TO THE YEAR 1194 OF THE HEDJRAH.

CONTAINING, IN GENERAL,

THE REIGN OF THE SEVEN LAST EMPERORS OF HINDOSTAN,

AND, IN PARTICULAR,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH WARS IN BENGAL.

WITH A CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAIL OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FAMILIES OF

SERADJ-ED-DÖWLAH AND SHUDJAH-ED-DÖWLAH,

THE LAST SOVEREIGNS OF BENGAL AND OWD.

TO WHICH THE AUTHOR HAS ADDED

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND
POLICY IN THOSE COUNTRIES, AS FAR DOWN AS THE YEAR 1783.

THE WHOLE WRITTEN IN PERSIAN BY

SEID - GHOLAM - HOSSĖIN - KHAN,

AN INDIAN NOBLEMAN OF HIGH RANK,

WHO WROTE BOTH AS ACTOR AND SPECTATOR.

V O L U M E T H E S E C O N D.

SECTION IX.

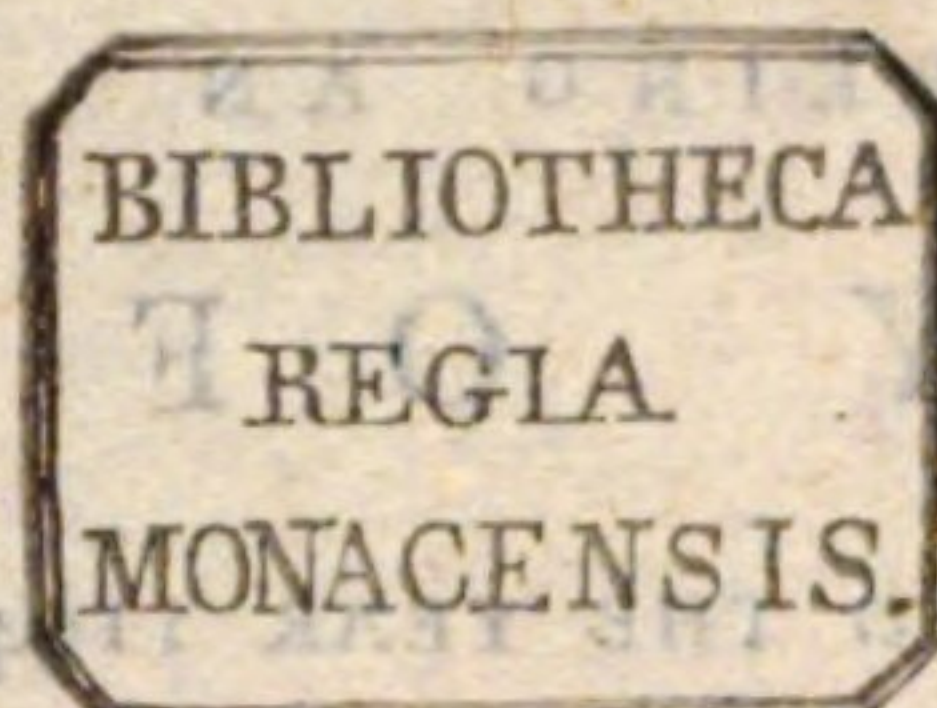
CALCUTTA:

PRINTED FOR THE TRANSLATOR.

MDCCLXXXIX.

THE
SIR MUTA QHERIN:

VIEW OF MODERN TIMES:



INDIA

FROM THE YEAR 1118

CONTAINING, IN GENERAL,

THE REIGN OF THE SEVEN LAST EMPERORS OF HINDOSTAN,

AND, IN PARTICULAR,

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THE WHOLE WRITTEN IN PERSIAN BY

SEID-GHOLAM-HOSSËIN-KHAN,

AN INDIAN NOBLEMAN OF HIGH RANK,

WHO WROTE BOTH AS A DOCTOR AND SPECTATOR.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

SECTION IX.

CALCUTTA:
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MDCCCXXXIX.

C O N T E N T S.

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THE
SĒIR MUTAQHERIN;
OR,
VIEW OF MODERN TIMES;
BEING AN
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THE deplorable death of Seradj-ed-dö8la, by transferring the sovereignty to another family, had not put an end to the troubles of the country. Mir-djaafer-qhan, who had been his general and kinsman, now became his successor, and was every where acknowledged with an unanimity which doubtless had some thing very surprising for him as much as for others. One of his first cares was to
write

write to Radja Ram-narain, Governor-general of Azimabad; the letter contained an invitation to submit to the revolution that had taken place; and it was therefore filled with many promises and many kindnesses; this letter produced all the effect expected from it: the Gentoo at a loss how to act on so sudden an intimation, thought it best for his own interest to acquiesce for the present. In a few days he received an order to set at liberty Mirza-gholam-aali-beg, son to doctor Hekim-beg, and to send him with honour to court. The poor man, who had been dragged back from Arvel, by Seradj-ed-dö8la's order, and expected nothing but what was sinister, from court, was very much surprised at a polite letter the Radja wrote him on the occasion; and he set out immediately for Mooshoodabad. As his humour and character were much a kin to that of Mir-djaafer-qhan's, he was received with affection, and treated with so much distinction and regard, that he came soon to eclipse all the courtiers and favourites. But mean while, the news of such a revolution had flown to Banarass, where it soon became public that Mir-djaafer-qhan had been transported half a sleep, from his bed-chamber to a throne; and that he already enjoyed the sovereignty in full. Such a piece of intelligence could not fail to cheer up the spirits of our family, which was then in that city. As we had been exiled by Seradj-ed-dö8la's order from his dominions, and we had left behind houses, possessions, and a djaghir, or landed estate, such a revolution seemed to us a favourable opportunity for our returning to a city that had become our home, and to which we were attached by a variety of ties. But ambition seemed likewise to have a share in our eagerness. We had been at all times, and from our very childhood, intimately acquainted with the new sovereign, as well as connected with his family: he had at all times shewn the sincerest attachment, and the most respectful regard for my illustrious father; inasmuch, that whenever he had any occasion to take a journey to Moorshoodabad, it was always he that paid me the first visit; nor was it returned but several days after, when I had seen my house cleared of the crowds of visitors; nor did his son, Miren, behave less respectfully. This young nobleman, out of regard, doubtless, to some years which I had more than him, made it a point to abstain from
smoking

The author's
family and
brother
greatly dis-
appointed.

smoking his hocca* in my presence. As to the father, he had such a predilection for my younger brother, Naky-aaly-qhan, that he seemed to be his companion, and the partner of all his pleasures. Nor was it easy to conceive a stricter union than that which seemed to subsist between these two bosom friends. No wonder then, if on the first intelligence of so mighty a revolution, my brother should have conceived that all this power, and all this sudden flow of wealth, were articles in which he could claim a share; and he reckoned, that the least object he could now aspire to, would be the office of deputy-governor of Azimabad. Full of these high-flown notions, he wrote the new sovereign a respectful letter of congratulation; and taking his father, brothers, family, servants, dependants, and effects, with him, he made haste to embark for Azimabad, sensible that now was the time to reap the benefit of his late connections. But I, who knew that his late friend was now a high seated sovereign, that touched the firmament with his forehead; who felt the comparative inferiority of my station and rank; and who was thoroughly apprised of Mir-djaaser-qhan's character; (a man incapable to remember of past obligations, or to mind rights of old date;) and who was abundantly sensible that his garden would never afford a flower of good smell; I, who knew the man completely, was far from being so sanguine; and I thought it more prudent to tarry some time more at Banarefs, and to act with more propriety and circumspection. My shyness was disapproved; and my younger brother soon found himself landed at Azimabad. But this arrival having been notified to the new prince by the governor of the province, the latter soon received a letter, full of reprimands and bitter reproaches, for what was stiled *the governor's supineness*, and it conveyed a peremptory order to send back to Banarefs *the new arrived folks*, without delay, and without fail. This letter opened Naky-aaly-qhan's eyes: then indeed he repented of his hastiness. Luckily for him that Mir-Cazem-qhan, elder brother to the new prince, was these many years in Ram-narain's service, both

(*) An ingenious, very cleanly and very elegant apparatus used in India, for smoking.

both as pay-master and commander of his troops. He was a plain man, with very little brilliancy in his character; but who, however, (and justice is due to every one) seemed very valuable on other accounts, being a good-natured man. My younger brother, who thought this man's acquaintance of some resource, paid him a visit; in which he informed him that he had just received, by a chopdar, or mace-bearer, of Ram-narain's, an absolute order from the prince to return forthwith to Banarefs. This intimation affected the good-natured man; and it produced the following message to the Radja-governor: *Sir, I inform you, that these noblemen are my friends; and that I consent to share their destiny, whatever be their chance: If, therefore, you turn them out of Azimabad, you must think of turning me out of it too.* Ram-narain returned a respectful answer; in which "he excused what he had done, on the plea of "neceffity; and added, that he also had the honour to be an acquaintance and a friend of those noblemen, and would have never "sent so bitter a message, had he not received an exprefs order "from court." This answer having not fatisfied the good-natured man, he backed his request by a note, in these words: *Sir, my brother knows not what he is about: I take the matter upou me: Pray, do not give yourself any further trouble on that head.* The Radja did not reply; but the good-natured man, in the effusions of a feeling heart, took pen immediately, and wrote to his brother whatever came uppermost in his mind; so that the prince finding himself reprimanded by his elder brother, desisted from his pursuit. It was just at this conjuncture I chanced to arrive at Azimabad; but it was to give some umbrage to my younger brother; who became fearful lest the prince's ill will, and the governor's injunction, might be renewed on my occasion. Finding how uneasy he was, I desired him to give himself no trouble on that head, as I would, myself, give the governor notice of my arrival; adding, that if I received his leave, I would stay; else, that I would instantly return. After saying these few words, I wrote a short note to Ram-narain. This was immediately answered by a polite letter, in which he not only gave me leave to remain, but expressed a desire to see me. I, therefore, paid him a visit; and this was followed by some others,

but at great intervals; making it a point to live retired with my mother and my brothers: And things went on smoothly enough, until a report spread, that Mir-djaafer-qhan had quitted his capital, and shortly would be at Azimabad. This journey, or expedition of his was on account of the umbrage he had taken at the revolution that had lately taken place at P8rania; where one Hazyr-aali-qhan, who, from a slave boy to Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, had become a man in favour with his master, and a superintendent of his hall of audience; was now availing himself of the influence which he had in the country, to seize the government of it. This man, in confederacy with Achel-sing, who had been divan to young Shaöcat-djung, had layed his hands upon the son of Mohon-laal, whom he confined: and he had set up his own self for lord of the province. Mir-djaafer-qhan, therefore was coming, both to quell that insurrection, and to take possession of Azimabad.

It must be observed, that although the new sovereign had been opposed no where, it was rather through incertitude how to act, than out of any affection to his person, or any opinion of his talents; so that every one had thoughts of availing himself of such a time of trouble. Ram-naráin, who in his heart was strongly attached to Aali-verdi-qhan's family, had already wrote to the zemindars of his province, and namely to Radja Sunder-sing, and Radja Pahluvan-sing, the most powerful amongst them, to exhort them to join with him in a common effort, calculated to revenge the death of their master's son. But he received no favourable answer from any where; and he soon found that his situation, by becoming critical, required a deal of dissimulation, and some apparent compliance with the revolution; for by this time, strong suspicions had arisen in his mind, nor were they totally groundless. One day as he was amusing himself with viewing a seat and garden he had raised, he was informed that Mir-cazem-qhan, who was indeed the commander of his troops, but who was also elder brother to Mir-djaafer, had suddenly made his appearance at the gate with a great throng of friends and attendants. The governor, surprised at the suddenness of the intrusion, retired to another set of secret apartments that had a communication with his garden; from
thence

thence he sent to complain of the abruptness of so unexpected a visit, and also to excuse his not seeing him at present. A couple of hours after he retired to his palace, which was in the citadel; where he made several observations on a visit that afforded such a handle to suspicions, both on the visitor's account, and on that of his brother. The latter, informed of a miscarriage that might bring disagreeable consequences, sent him two envoys, who had orders to pacify his mind, by every means in their power. The first of these was Mir-sheiff-din, an ancient officer, who after having successively served the three preceding viceroys, was now a friend of the new prince. The second was Govinda-mul, an agent and friend of Djagat-seat's. The envoys spared no pains in persuading the governor to remain quiet during the troubles at P8rania; for by this time Hazyr-aali-qhan, supported by Achel-sing, had taken possession of the capital, confined Mohon-laal, who was deputy-governor on the part of Seradj-ed-dö8la, and seized the money he had under his guard. But Achel-sing, in fact, was at the bottom of all the contrivance; his credit in the province knew no bounds, having been for a length of time strictly connected with government as lessee of the districts of Tadj-p8r, Serip8r, Gundvara, and Carangola, in which station he had acquired both riches and a character. The farmers of the revenue, as well as all the military commanders, had connections with him so early as the first year of Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan's administration; and the same may be said equally of Hazyr-aali. Both passed for men of consequence, and people had contracted an attachment to their persons. And, as on the other hand, the inhabitants of P8rania are exactly the counter part of those of Bengal; those tame cowardly wretches, at all times so crouching and so ready to submit to any one that offers; no one will wonder at Hazyr-aali's having brought into his views, both the troops and inhabitants. But he forgot himself not a little in confining the deputy, Mohon-laal. It was after that performance, that he marched up to the mesned of command and independence, and very unconcernedly took his seat in it. That day he appointed Achel-sing, for his divan or prime minister, declaring publicly, from thence, that he was the person on whom he had

Strange revolution at P8-
rania.

conferred the management of the finances. However, it may be said with truth that he was himself no better than a pageant, and that he acted entirely under the other's guidance. Such an intelligence could not but confound the prince; who under pretence of a journey to Azimabad, was really marching against Ram-narain. Fain he was to divide his attention betwixt two objects become equally important; and in the month of Sefur, 1171, just five months after having acquired the precarious sovereignty of Bengal, he quitted his capital, and encamped in the plain, leaving his worthy son, Miren, to command in his stead, as his deputy. Unfortunately, on the very first days of his march, he chanced in one of his sober moments, to remember Mirza Mehdi, younger brother to Seradj-ed-dö8la : a youthful prince, who had been early decorated with all his father's titles; but who was now under a severe confinement. Straight he sent an order for his being put to death instantly. The report ran then, and it was generally believed, that the unfortunate, innocent, youth had been forced between two of those wooden frames, called taqhtas, where they conserve shawls and other precious goods; and that the ropes having been strained hard at one and the sametime, he had been squeezed to death; and it is from that kind of rack, that his guiltless soul took its flight towards the regions of unalterable innocence and eternal repose. It is true that some persons said, that he had been made away with by a strong dose of poison; but some others, even after having admitted the kind of death we have mentioned, assign for cause, the dissensions that had early risen between the two confederates Mir-Djaafer-qhan, and Radja Dollob-ram; these dissensions had risen to such a height, that those two men, once such fast friends, could not bear an intercourse, and had already conceived a mortal dislike to each other. Now it must be remembered that Dollob-ram, had been an eminent minister, son to a man of consequence; had enjoyed the highest favour of Aali-rerdi-qhan, his master; and was in possession of important offices, and in full possession of a fringed-palki, a kettle drum, and other honorific insignia, at a time, when Mir-djaafer-qhan, actually convicted of malversation and infamous management in his then office of pay-master-general, was obliged to

Mirza-Mehdi younger brother of Seradj-ed-dö8la, barbarously murdered.

to look out for a shelter, under the minister's wings. A service of that consequence, deserved in the Gentoo's opinion, very high acknowledgements; for it was acknowledged as such, by all the officers, and all the soldiers of the army. No wonder then that he should now prove too high-minded, to bear Mir-djaafer-qhan's assumed superiority, and too incensed, to submit to his sway; so that his discontent and indignation, had prompted him to take measures for releasing Mirza-Mehdi, whose person was to be sent him secretly by some men that had it in custody, and whom he had gained under hand. Be it as it may, Mir-Djaafer, who some how had suspected the probability of such a management, and who was thoroughly sensible of all that could be performed by a man, who to his immense personal property, joined an unbounded influence over the hearts of all the troops, resolved to be before hand with him; and he without hesitation, dispatched an order for murdering that youth, whose innocence and beauty drew tears from every eye. This order had been entrusted to Miren, that virtuous son of his, who after having signalised himself anew, by shedding so much innocent blood, and layed up thereby, as he thought an abundant stock of ease of mind, for his own occasions, now abandoned himself to all kinds of excesses. And as he imagined that with the title of Shahamet-djung, which he had so much longed for, and had now assumed, he had likewise inherited all the other qualifications of the late Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, who had always borne it, he modelled his household accordingly, took in his service all the officers and servants that had belonged to that much regretted nobleman, and therefore appointed Hadjee Mehdi, for his superintendant of the hall of audience, and Radja B8ll8b, a Bengalee of Djehan-ghir-nugur-daca, for his prime minister.

But whilst he was new-modelling his household in that manner, there arose under his very eyes, a man whose fortune became prodigious; this was Qhadem-lussen-qhan, the very man who had lately cut so conspicuous a figure, in driving away the disconsolate mother of Seradj-edddö8la's. He boasted assiduously of his being related to Mir-djaafer-qhan, although in reality he was no relation of his in any degree: for he was born, not of Mir-djaafer-qhan's
sister,

sister, as married to Séyd-qhadem-aali-qhan, but only from a Cashmirian wife of his, whom the latter had likewise married; and this was all the foundation of a relationship, he now so loudly claimed, styling himself his nephew, and never mentioning the new prince, but by the appellation of his *Mam8*, or maternal uncle. But although his relation to the new sovereign was so very slight and groundless, he was very much related to him in other weighty respects: he was nearly of the same age, extremely addicted to voluptuousness and profligacy, and above all, had an invincible inclination to some particular species of unnatural lusts, to which the two friends had taken an habit from their earliest youths, and which the two friends practised reciprocally; living mostly together, and frequently retireing together: however he was superior to his *Mam8* in other respects: quick-sighted in matters of account and book-keeping; thoroughly skilled in the arts of making money; ready handed enough at quarrells and frays; and aboveall, deeply conversant in all the secret subtilities and contrivances of non-conformism, and unnatural practices, which last were his peculiar taste and particular turn of mind: and as on the other hand, he had been long enough in the service of the late Séyd-ahmed-qhan, to have acquired thereby a competent acquaintance, not only with whatever concerned the finances of the country, but also with the inlets into the province of P8rania, and with its strong and weak sides; so he thought himself well-qualified for a governor; and he accordingly requested the government of that country.

“ He reminded Mir-djaaser-qhan of the activity he had exhibited,
 “ in serving him with his person, in his disputes with Seradj-ed-dö8la
 “ (although in reality it was he that had escaped by taking shelter
 “ under Mir-Djaaser-qhan’s protection, as Seradj-ed-dö8lah, had
 “ got information of his cabals, and wanted to punish him according to his deserts,) he represented, I say, to his friend, that now
 “ that fortune had bestowed upon him so much power, and such
 “ extensive dominions, he hoped he would allow him to better his
 “ fortune in that little corner of P8rania: favor which after all
 “ would not be bestowed on a stranger”. This representation being made at a time when Mir-djaaser-qhan had set out on purpose to
 chastise

chastise the revolted of P8rania, and to quiet the troubles of that province, could not fail of being listened to, especially as Qhadam-hassen-qhan, who was master of much ready money, and had furnished himself with a nobleman's equipage, had offered to quell the troubles of that province, at his own charge and peril provided he had the government of it, and was assisted with a small force. The old Navvab, who had been at all times indolent and averse to labour, but who now detested the very thoughts of it, on finding himself fated to taste of the sweets of sovereignty, no earlier than in the evening of life, was glad to rid himself of such an out of the way expedition; the more so, as it interfered with his intended scheme against Azimabad, which last he thought much more important, he therefore bestowed on Qhadem-hassen-qhan, the investiture and qhylaath of P8ranniah; and Mir-Cazam-qhan, an ancient commander of Aali-verdi-qhan's time, was ordered to attend him with his corps, and to obey his commands; this officer who was a man of character, and a little related to me, the poor man, had cut so great a figure at the battle in which Shacot-djung lost his life, that the new Navvab desirous to win his heart, had augmented his brigade, and had bestowed upon him the pay-master-ship of several other corps.

As soon as the appointment took place, the new governor crossed the Ganga with a small train of artillery, and his own body of troops; and from thence he wrote circular letters to every principal man, and to every civil and military officer in the province: all men whom he knew personally, these letters with now and then a menace, contained a variety of promises, and were calculated to gain the heart of every one. This passage of the Ganga roused the attention of Hazyr-aaly-qhan, who had forgot himself totally on seeing six or seven thousand foot, and two or three thousand horses under his command; he armed himself and resolved to repel the enemy, and he made choice of a post which he fortified with intrenchments. But all this while he was unaware that his troops, being no better than so many farmers of P8rania, were faint hearted, and unfit for a day of battle; those people making nothing of throwing away their arms, and abandoning their officers, without any sense of shame.

Qhadum-Hassen-qhan, a very strange character, governor to P8rania.

Instead

Instead of that knowledge so necessary in a man of his station, he had provided himself with certain astrological predictions; which a certain Gentoo called Ratan-pat had been brewing for him, and he had strengthened his post on his own notions of success and victory. However, he took care to gain the hearts of his troops, by bestowing much money amongst them from the large sums that been brought together with so much trouble by Seradj-ed-dö8la's deputy. By this time Qhadum-hassen-qhan had approached the enemy, but as fear and despondency seemed to have seized him as well as his antagonist, he thought proper to stop short, and to write pressing letters to the Navvab for his hastening his promised assistance. Luckily for him that, the Pörniah troops no sooner heard of the enemy's approach, than they were seized with a panick, and they disappeared by small parties; each man, as his fear prompted him, quitting the camp in the night, and making the best of his way to his home. The desertion became so general, that the numbers in camp became thinner and thinner, to the great disappointment of Hazyr-aaly-qhan, who was still more intimidated by hearing that the Navvab had sent repeated orders to Mir-cazem-qhan to hasten his march. These orders, however, did not please Qhadum-hassen-qhan; but as he was a shrewd man, and fully informed how matters went in the enemy's camp, he thought it expedient to hasten to an engagement, for fear of being obliged to share the honour of the success with another in a victory which he thought could not escape him. Full of these ideas, he assembled the few troops he had with him, and before Mir-cazem-qhan could come up, he marched directly against the enemy's camp. Hazyr-aaly-qhan on the other hand ranged his troops upon the in-

He expells
Hyzz-Aally.

trenchment, and with his minister Atchul-sing, he made his appearance at their head. But these troops who had already been impressed by Qhadum-hassen-qhan's letters, forgot every thing but their own safety; on descrying the enemy's march they wavered, and without being pushed to it by actually feeling the impression of either sabre or spear, they quitted their posts all at once, and fled every one the nearest way to his home. Hazyr-aaly-qhan, without being dismayed by this general desertion, found means to secure his flight,

flight. He fled and disappeared, without it being possible to know where, and how. To all appearance, he went towards the mountainous tracts in the north of P8rania, which although contiguous to Bengal, are independant from it: and he remained concealed there until he might hear of an opportunity of emerging from thence; and this happened when another revolution was effected in favour of Mir-cassem-aaly-djah; then he shewed himself again, but was seized and confined for a length of time, without being ever heard of afterwards.

After so easy and so complete a victory, Qhadem-hassien-qhan made his entry in P8rania, where he took up his abode in the palace built by Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan; and from thence he proclaimed that whoever had concealed Atchul-sing, should produce him immediately. But there was little need of any vigorous search; for the man himself having concluded that as a pen man, and one that had acted only on a second hand, there was little danger for him in being apprehended, quietly suffered himself to be taken; on which the governor required him to produce a general account of the employ he had made of the public money; after which he resumed every thing that had been bestowed under the former administration. Numbers that had absconded, were seized, and by dint of severeties, were made to pay much money, after having refunded all that which they had really received. Such violences made his administration odious, and rendered his person an object of taunt and reproach; but he seemed to pay little attention to it; and, indeed, he had not delicacy enough to feel the detestable part he had chosen to act; and, provided he made much money, he little minded the detestation of an incensed public. Mir-cazem-qhan arrived at this time with his force; but he found the country reduced; and he contented himself with paying a visit to the new governor: after which he took his leave, and returned to the camp at Radj-mahl. The governor being now firmly settled, applied himself to the duties of his office, and some months had elapsed in this manner; but Ratun-pal, the astrologer, who had absconded with many others, having thought proper to make again his appearance upon the stage of the world, gave birth to a strange scene. This man claim-

ed the possession of some villages that had been bestowed upon him successively by Séif-qhan, and afterwards by Sáyd-ahmed-qhan: he thought that as the whole business of an astrologer consisted in keeping great men in good humour with their own selves; by a variety of predictions suited to their inclinations, the new governor would not find fault with him for having flattered Hazyr-aaly-qhan a little, nor would object to his being left in the possession of an estate so fairly acquired. "Astrologer," said the governor, with an air of derision; "have you examined the astres to day, before you ventured out of your house? Doubtless you have." "Illustrious navvab," answered the other, "as the business of such men as we, is to draw horoscopes for others, and to examine the Heavens for a favourable hour, you may rest assured that we do not neglect such a precaution for ourselves." "Very well," replied the governor; "and it is you undoubtedly, that have pointed out to Hazyr-aaly-qhan, a favourable hour for his fine expedition: Have you not?"

His conduct,
his behaviour
to an innocent astrologer.

The man did not deny it; and on that confession, the governor ordered him to be carried to the public market, there to have his nose cut off, to terrify all the grandees and principal men of the province; and likewise to teach him to look out with more care about a favourable hour, on his coming out of his lodgings. The order was punctually executed, and the poor man remained mutilated for life.

This expedition of Qhadem-hassen-qhan's, having put it in the navvab's power to depart from Radj-mahl, he marched on to Azimabad. But Ram-narain, being by this time certain that the navvab's expedition was solely intended against him, he concluded with himself, that his own power and dominion could never subsist upon a solid foundation, unless he made an alliance with the English. He reposed no confidence on Mir-djaafer-qhan's promises and actions; could not trust his word; and was still more mistrustful of his ministers. With this view he gained Govinda-mul over to his side; that is, the very man who had orders to persuade him; and he sent him, as his own agent, to the English camp, with a commission to spare nothing, that might procure him a letter according to the wish of his heart, from Colonel Clive. After which, he assured him, he

he would soon come to terms with the navvab. Govinda-mul waited on Mir-djafer-qhan, and informed him, "that Ram-narain
 " would not come to pay him his respects, unless the English mediated some terms with his highness, and pledged their good faith
 " as guarantees. That otherwise, God only knew what might
 " happen!" On the navvab's answering, that he had no objections, Govinda-mul applied to the moonshy, or Persian secretary, and having gained him over to his party; he obtained from him such a minute of a letter, as he wanted, and brought it to the navvab. But as the agent was apprized that Mir-djafer-qhan could neither write nor read fluently, and that when once duly seasoned with his dose of bang*, he was incapable of attending to business, especially after his meal; so those two shrewd ones, who knew his character, made choice of that moment to present their letter. The old navvab excused himself on his having a head-ache, and his not being able to read at present; but he added, however, that he would hear the purport. Such a purport, therefore, was mentioned to him, as differed widely from the real letter, but, however, suited his intention and mind: so that after having heard it, he ordered a letter to be drawn up accordingly, and shewn to Colonel Clive. Govinda-mul having carried his point, folded up the letter, and ran to the Colonel. This commander took a copy of it, signed and sealed the original, and then returned it to the navvab. It contained "an invitation to come over to the English camp, with assurances of
 " his taking it upon himself to have him confirmed in his government, and to see him secured in his life, property, and honour,
 " without being liable to be called to any account whatever, for
 " either the management of the revenue, or any other matter." Govinda-mul, furnished with such a piece, took his departure from

* Bang is a tall plant, that forms the transition between the European hemp, and the European flax. It's sommities being pounded with water, and a mixture of some spice, afford a thick liquor of a dirty green, with which low people procure themselves a flush in the cheeks and eyes, and a momentary flow of spirits, that borders on intoxication; but it is to fall again into a greater lowness of spirits than ever. It is fifty times cheaper than gin is in England; and being a narcotic, it answers the purpose of a provocative: a denomination, under which, any thing will go down with an Indian.

thence, without returning to the navvab's camp; and spreading his wings full in the expanse of success, he arrived at Ram-naráin's palace, where he shewed him the letter, and its minute. Such a sight could not but quiet that governor's mind; and as he had now carried his point, and was totally freed from his fears, he resolved to wait upon the navvab; and having spied a favourable hour, he set out to shift his ground*.

As the Radja had had a particular regard for me, shewed a deal of fondness for my company, and did every thing in his power to oblige me, I thought it incumbent upon my gratitude to conform myself to the complexion of the times; so far, at least, as to accompany him in his journey. I therefore repaired to the place which he had chosen for changing his ground, and for staying two days; and I put a piece of paper into his hands, the purport of which was, "that even men capable of nothing, happen sometimes to be good for something: and that, if he should think it proper, I would accompany him." He wrote at the bottom of the paper these words: "I am now hastening out, uncertain myself of my own fate; but as I retain a grateful sense of your kind offer, I shall on my return, remember of it, to see you oftener than ever, and to oblige you in every thing in my power; I think it an honour and a happiness to myself to distinguish a man of your merit†." The next day Ram-naráin departed, and repaired directly to the English camp. On this proceeding, which did not please Govinda-mul, who was now become his confidant, he observed, that it was highly proper now to repair, also, to the navvab's camp, and to come to some concessions for his having visited Colonel Clive, first. Ram-naráin, who was a shrewd man, would

* We have already observed, that Indian lords being extremely addicted to astrological predictions, never set out on any voyage or matter of consequence, without having first consulted the astres about a favourable moment; and this being once observed, they set out, be the weather what it will, and commence their journey, were it but to stop at five hundred yards farther; and this is called changing one's ground.

† The European reader must not mistrust the elegance of this answer. Such was Ram-naráin's style; and our author himself says, that not only he wrote grammar, but also with much more elegance than is to be seen amongst Gentoos writing the Persian.

not listen to the advice; but the Colonel gave him one of his commanders, in whose company he repaired to Mir-djaafer-qhan's camp. A precaution so injurious, could not but highly displease the navvab, and render both the agent and visitor extremely disagreeable: however, he for the present, repressed his resentment, and a few hours after, he sent him word to encamp at a spot he pointed out to him; and as the governor was now sure of protection, he complied with the command, and marched two or three days with him, until they arrived at Djaafer-qhan's garden, which is on the banks of the Ganga, close to the suburb of Azimabad, where they encamped Eastward of that city.

It was there that my three younger brothers, Naky-aali-qhan, and Ghalib-aali-qhan, and Séyd-aali-qhan, were introduced to the Navvab, by his brother Mir-cazem-qhan. As for my own part, I paid that prince a visit under the mediation of the pay-master, Mir-cazem-qhan; who generously remembered the rights of consanguinity, and never made use of the great credit which his many important services gave him, but for doing good and obliging others. However, I must confess, that my heart had but very little share in that visit, as I was thoroughly acquainted with that prince's character, long before the revolution, that had brought him to the mesned; and I had not the least inclination for his company: nor did I in the two or three months time, which he passed at Azimabad, pay him more than two or three visits, and this too after he had reprimanded me for my neglect. The truth is, that on observing that his company was in general, such as corresponded with his own profligate character, I had no inclination to mix with such people. It was not so with Mir-cazem-qhan, the paymaster: I used to visit that amiable man often, and although I was then in circumstances distressed enough, I consoled myself, and kept up my spirits by a frequent repetition of these verses, which his highness Sheh-mahmed-hazin, (whom God may place amongst the highest in his paradise!) had often in his mouth:

“ Bring to my ears concerts of musick; and you waiter, give
“ that remnant of wine.”

“ Let us kill time as we can, and bid defiance to Heaven.”

But

But as I have so often mentioned Mir-djaafer-qhan's character, it will not be improper to give some specimen of it, as he gave them himself at this very period of time. A strict friendship, and an intimate union had subsisted at all times between him and Mirza-shems-ed-din, a very sensible, very ingenious gentleman of Moorshoodabad: the latter had even lent him a sum of money, when the former was in disgrace with Seradj-ed-dö8lah, and in want of that timely assistance: so that now, that his friend had possession of all the treasures of that prince, as well as of his extensive dominions, the Mirza very naturally expected mighty returns from the man's gratitude, and from his sense of the important services he had rendered him, at so critical a time. But he was mistaken in his reckoning, and he saw the very reverse of what he expected; he was seldom admitted to the Navvab's company, that is, to that in which the latter unbent his mind, amongst a number of friends. Not that the old Navvab was estranged from him neither: only that he knew him for a diseur-de-bon mots, and a waggish jester that would spare no man; and he feared lest some severe jokes, upon the neglect of which he was the victim, might throw a slur upon the prince's importance and weight. One day, when the Mirza had found means to be one of the Navvab's company, in his private apartments, the latter to prevent an attack which he dreaded, thought it best to soothe his resentment by some handsome excuses: "Mirza," said the Navvab, "do not believe that I have forgotten the services you have rendered me, or that I do not mind you; you know that all the money which fell into my hands, has been employed in satisfying the English, and in promoting some concerns that admitted of no delay; but I can assure you that whenever I am eased of my engagements, and I find a proper opportunity, I shall not let it slip out of my hands, but will avail myself of it, to return you the services you have rendered me." The Mirza, whose heart was alienated by some months attendance, answered: *My lord, Navvab, do not tell me so much of your distressed circumstances; for they affect the tenderness of my heart, and will melt me to tears. But what can I do? had not Seradj-ed-dö8la plundered my house on your account, and reduced me to poverty,*

I

I would assist you even now with some money, as I think it a happiness to serve you with all my power; no man in the world deserves so well, as you, every thing which friendship can perform. Here it must be observed, that Mir-djaaser-qhan, who was fond of jewels, and had chanced to enjoy them, but at the end of his life, when he got immense quantities of them at once, was actually loaded with those glittering things; and he actually wore six or seven bracelets at his wrist, every one of a different species of gems; and he had also hanging from his neck, over his breast, three or four chapelets of pearls, every one of inestimable value: such was his dress that day, and Shems-ed-din looking earnestly at it, said, *my lord Navvab, the stones you wear at your arms, are of so inestimable a value, that they can be of no use to any one, but yourself; but yet they must be pretty heavy, and could you but give me a slap in the face, with that hand of your's, so loaded, it would ease my heart of much of it's grief.* But the sarcasm he cracked on the Navvab on another occasion, proved much more severe. The Mirza having accompanied him to Azimabad, saw his character traduced by some jealous, who reported that some of his soldiers of his corps had quarrelled with Colonel Clive's people; and that there happened a fray between them. It chanced that Shems-ed-din himself made his appearance at that very moment: it was in full Derbar, and in the hall of audience. The Navvab fixed his eyes upon him, and spoke a few words that seemed to border upon reprimand: "Sir, said he, your people have had a fray with the Colonel's people: Is your honour to know, who is that Colonel Clive, and in what station Heaven has seated him? *My lord, Navvab, answered the Mirza, in getting up instantly, and standing bolt-upright before him; Me, to quarrel with the Colonel! me! who never get up every morning, without making three profound bows to his very jack ass? How then could I be daring enough after that, to fall out with the rider himself?* After that small digression, for which we hope the reader's connivance, it is proper to revert to the affairs of Azimabad, and to see how Ram-narain availed himself of the letter, he had obtained at the expence of so much art, and so much good luck.

One day Mir-djaafer-qhan, after having much amused himself with the songs and dances of the actresses of that city, conferred the government of the province on his own elder brother Mir-cazem-qhan; and at the same time he required Ram-naráin, to render a full account of the management of the revenue for so many years past. Ram-naráin, who had attached himself to the English, on purpose to parry such a stroke, did not fail to complain to Colonel Clive. The Colonel sent a message to the Navvab, to dissuade him from such a design. The message displeased that prince, who in conversing with the colonel's agent and envoy*, grew warm, and expressed himself in these very words: "*What does mean, my Lord? Shall I leave such a government in the hands of a Ram-naráin, and behold my own brother without employment? What for, pray? And for whom?*" The Colonel sent word in answer, "that it was for fear of such contingencies as these that he, on the Navvab's desiring to be accompanied by the English, in his expedition to Azimabad, had objected to his being of the party; and had reminded him, that it was improper in him to desire the concurrence of the English in what concerned his finances and the government of his dominions, as he (the Colonel) might come to observe many actions of his to be contrary to sound policy and to good faith; and that once the English being embarked with him in those regulations, they would think his honour as well as their own concerned in preventing wrong measures. I added," said the Colonel, "that the interference of the English might produce an alteration, and change our union and friendship into disputes and discontent. All this you would not hear; and now that you have brought me so far, and have made me write, as mediator and as guarantee, a letter, confirming under my hand and seal a number of promises all made by yourself, how can I take a share in offering so much injustice? And how can I be guilty of breaking my word after having solemnly given it?" The Navvab, surprised at

* This agent ought to have been the translator himself; but, however, it proved to be Nandcomar: the translator, being a man who had at all times an infinite deal of wit, but seldom common sense.

the style of the message, denied that either the Colonel or himself, had ever entered into any such agreement. The Colonel, in reply, sent him the minute written by the Navvab's own secretary: minute which the Colonel had kept as a voucher. The Navvab got it read, and paid great attention to the contents. Surprised at what he heard, he sent for his secretary and Govinda-mul, and expostulated with them on this strange affair. These two men who were closely linked together in this business, took care to answer in such a manner, as to confound the old man totally. They observed, "that they had brought that minute to him, and offered it to his perusal; that he had ordered the contents to be recited to him: had given his consent: and had requested that of the Colonel's. They added, that it was not strange at all, that those contents should have slipped out of his memory, in the variety of businesses, and avocations that crowded upon his princely mind." Mir-djaaser, feeling he was in the wrong, found he had no other party to take, but that of abiding by the Colonel's pleasure, with respect to Ram-narain. He did more: for after having so bluntly published his intention to dispossess the latter, he found it convenient to carress him, and, at the same time, to promise some other preferment to his disappointed brother, whom he desired to quit Azimabad, in order to live with him at his court.

Ram-narain manages so as to put himself under the safeguard of the English government.

These small dissensions were followed by several others of a more private nature. Cam-car-qhan, radja or prince of some mountainous tracts in the province of Azimabad, was this long while attached to Mir-cazem-qhan, the navvab's elder brother, who had invited him to court, where he intended to make interest in bringing to an issue some difference which he had with Sunder-sing, another radja of those parts, but where he received nothing but promises from that prince; whereas Sunder-sing, who had all along sided with Ram-narain, now carried his point with a high hand. He even did more; for on observing how much stability had accrued to his friend's government, by the late interference of the English, he made no account of Mir-djaaser-qhan, to whom he seldom paid his court; and on the contrary, he very assiduously cultivated Ram-narain's good will, who now interfered so far in this affair, that he

got Cam-car-qhan to be arrested, and confined. Nor did this proceeding much affect the old prince, who glad to have some how rid himself of this affair, turned his mind towards amusements; and having ordered a numerous assembly of fakirs and religious men, he entertained them handsomely, and complimented each of them with one rupee gratuity. These assemblies are called *Mels**. From this entertainment he repaired to a pastime of another kind; where, being heated by the pleasures of the festival of h8ly†, he amused himself with seeing dances, hearing songs, and distributing amongst the actors and actresses, a number of lively-coloured dresses (67). It was in one of those moments of mirth and jocularly, that Ram-naráin, who had a deal of kindness for me, the poor man, supplicated the navvab for the release of the districts of Belondjana, and of some other lands about Mongher; together with the villages of Beni-nagur and Mö8la-nugur, which composed a certain djaghir or estate, hereditary in our family, but that had been confiscated by Seradj-ed-dö8la. The navvab, who did not chuse to disoblige a man so well supported, gave his consent, and the governor sent me notice of it immediately. This incident roused the navvab, who seeing that this affair was as good as done, resolved to assume the merit of seeming to confer an obligation of consequence on Naky-aali-qhan, my younger brother, who had been an intimate companion of his, and who, as we have already hinted, had fruitlessly conceived mighty hopes from Mir-djaafer-qhan's accession to power

* From *Milna*, to meet,

† The h8ly is exactly the carnival of the Gentoos.

(67) The usual dress at Court, as well as with the family bulk of the nation, (save, however the ficks), is the white; the very climate seeming to invite to that refreshing colour. And the emperor Aüreng-zib used to say, on that account, that were it made by art, *he would reserve it, as a distinction for the Imperial family*; (in which reserve he had an eye to the yellow, which is the wear of the Imperial family and household in China; and to the red, with yellow boots and dishes, which is the colour of the princes in Tartary. To set a proper value upon that liberality of the navvab's, it must be remembered that such a dress, to wit, a woman's *pish-vas*, (a kind of petticoat, ten or twenty or thirty times ampler than an European one), may, with its corresponding veil, be dyed in any colour for two shillings; and the colour discharged again for a groat. Nor does the dress itself (it is of mal mal) cost above two or three guineas,

and

and dominion. He therefore sent for him directly; and willing to get rid of a man, whose distressful circumstances reflected a reproach upon his old friend, he told him, that if he had any thing to say about the confiscated djaghir of his family, he ought to present him a paper, and that he would be glad to sign it. My brother, who knew what had happened, reluctantly presented a petition, in which he requested a release of his paternal estate; and the navab having signed it, addressed it to Ram-narain for its execution; and thereby, in his opinion, obliged two persons with a single favour. But as he was now on his return to Bengal, he spent some days in celebrating the festival of the holy in the Chehel-istān, that building of stone raised by Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan. Not content with that, he ordered a sandy spot in the river, through which ran a small stream, to be surrounded by cloth-walls, and there he spent some days in fulfilling the rites of that Gentoo festival, the last of which consists in throwing hands full of dust and coloured earth at each other, and syringing coloured water on one another's clothes; and this ceremony, likewise, having been fulfilled to his heart's content, he returned in town, where he fixed a day for his departure. But first of all he spent some days in visiting the holy places of the town of Bahar; and especially the tomb of Shah-sherif-ben-yahya, the illuminated, who is the patron saint of that town, and is entombed in its neighbourhood. And it was here, likewise, that he satisfied his cravings for ox's flesh, (68) fried in sesam oil, which is a kind of minced meat, for which that town is famous, and of which the *tary-drinkers** of those parts are so very fond. He

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(68) The author mentions beef flesh with contempt, because, in fact, none will feed on it but the lowest people; although there is plenty of good beef in India, cheaper than in any capital of Europe, save Constantinople and Moscow.

* The *tary*, called toddy by the English, is an agreeable colourless liquor, of a sweetish pungent taste, that oozes by trephination from the coco-tree, and from the date-tree; but above all, from that kind of palmeto-tree, mentioned by Arrianus, two thousand years ago; under the name of *tal-os*, which name it bears to this day, being called *tal-ca-gatch*, the *tall tree*. It grows straight like a candle to the height of fifty or sixty feet, but with no branching, save at the top, where it sends forth twenty or twenty-five large leaves that spreads like a fan, and with the same appearance, but upon a diameter of two or three feet.

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was heard to say, before his arrival there, that he would eat *his belly full* of it; and I have been told, that quantities of that kind of meat had been ordered to be prepared by such of the inhabitants as had a knack at the frying-pan business. All of whom brought him their performances; on which some were applauded, some loaded with encomiums, and some cursed and abused; just as his taste would point out, and his natural levity prompted. And let the credit of this story rest with my author.

It was about this time that Ráo-shitab-ráy made his appearance in these parts; a man henceforward destined to cut so capital a figure. Originally he had been a clerk in the service of Agáfuléiman, a Georgian slave of Qhandö8ran's, who was minister of Mahmed-shah; which Georgian, on Qhandö8ran's demise, became steward to his son Semfam-ed-dö8lah. At first, Shitab-ráy had but a small salary, and a small office in this nobleman's house; but his merit and abilities having come to light by degrees, he advanced so far in his family, as to be the centre of all the business transacted therein. Several revolutions having happened meanwhile in the capital, and giving rise to an infinity of troubles, that almost overset the circumstances of every inhabitant of that unhappy city, Ráo-shitab-ráy who did not think it a secure place of abode, nor such as could afford him a subsistence suitable to his wishes, resolved to quit it, and to seek his fortune else where. But as he had friends at court, he obtained several offices before his departure. These were the offices of Imperial divan at Azimabad, and the government of the fortress of Rhotas; together with the management of Semfam-ed-dö8lah's djaghir-lands in Bengal. Furnished with such credentials, he quitted the capital, and arrived at Azimabad, a little after Mir-djaaser-qhan's arrival there. He made his appearance with an honourable retinue, a conduct and manner which attained universal esteem; and a tolerable stock of money, which his industry had found means to save. And first of

Some account of Shitab-ráy.

The Indians, with a rope fastened to their two feet, and another round the tree and their arm-pits, have the knack of climbing to the top of it in a thrice. The *tary* in twenty-four hours becomes vinegar, and when distilled, produces a violent liquor.

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all he paid a visit to Radja Ram-naráin; and by his means, he had the honour to be introduced to the navvab. But as he was a man of keen genius, he soon comprehended on one hand, that the radja being already under ties of friendship to Mahmedy-qhan, who enjoyed those very offices for which he had brought a patent, would not dispossess his friend and acquaintance; and on the other, he soon became sensible that the navvab being an indolent man, who knew nothing of business, and never meddled with it, nothing at all could be done with him. He thought it best, therefore, to attach himself to the rising fortune of the English; and he followed the Colonel to Moorshoodabad, where he found means to engage that general to accept some very curious and valuable presents; whereby he insinuated himself so well in his friendship, that he obtained that commander's recommendation, in support of the patents he had brought from the Imperial court. This recommendation drew after it that of Mir-djaaser-qhan's; and they both gave him letters for Ram-naráin. This governor, on seeing him return to Azimabad with such a powerful support, installed him in those three offices, to which he had been appointed from court; and it was in that honourable manner that Shitab-ráy opened his way to them. In time, he managed so well, as to gain likewise Ram-naráin's good will; so that Shitab-ráy found means to live at Moorshoodabad, honoured and respected, as well as in great state and splendor.

As we had not been introduced to the English, we could not hope to be so well supported; and my brother, Naky-aali-qhan, tired of the endless hopes with which his friend, Mir-djaaser-qhan, was continually feeding him, parted with the old prince at Patna, and returned to Azimabad. As to myself, Mir-cazem-qhan, the paymaster, urged me several times to follow his fortunes in Bengal, taking upon himself to make me touch monthly a pension of five hundred rupees, with no attendance at all upon either the navvab or his son, and with no other trouble, than that of shewing myself at court once a month. But as I was disgusted with the navvab's neglect, and felt that my company would never become agreeable to him, no more than to his friends and bottle companions; and as
on

on the other hand, Ram-naráin fed me with the hopes of an employment, I took my leave of that prince at Bycantp8r, whither I had accompanied him, but where I lived with Mir-cazem-qhan, and with Roh-eddin-hufféin-qhan. From thence I took leave of my friends; and the day when the army took the road of Bengal, and the navvab, that of Bahar, I returned home to Azimabad.

As I was predestined to have connections with the English, it was my good fortune, doubtless, that led me back to that city; for amongst the English gentlemen that had accompanied the navvab so far, and now took their leave of him, were Mr. Wats and Mr. Amiatt. Both these gentlemen had a great friendship for Mir-abdollah, a valuable man, my intimate friend, whom we must introduce to the reader's acquaintance. His father, Mir-gh8lam-aaly, the Sefian, drew his pedigree from that emperor, (whose tents be pitched in Heaven!) Shah-ismáil, the Sefian, the Moosévia, who was the first ancestor of the emperors who have reigned in Iran, under the appellation of the race of Sefi, as well as the principal pearl of that Imperial crown, that has shone with so much lustre on the stage of the world. But amongst the illustrious ancestors of Mir-abdollah's, the first who made his appearance in Hindoostan, was a nephew of Shah-tahmasp, son to the glorious Shah-ismáil: he had quitted Iran at a time when the troubles had arisen in that country, and when Sooltan Mohammed, son to Shah-tahmasp, had been deprived of his eye sight; nearly about the time when his illustrious son, Shah-abbas, having torn up his enemies by the root from the region of existence, had, like that lion of war, *Ascander Makedon*,⁽⁶⁹⁾ rendered his empire more formidable than it had ever been before. This nephew of Shah-ismail's, tired with the troubles of his native country, had retired towards Hindoostan, on the frontiers of which the fugitive prince was then in possession of the fortrefs of Candahar; which with its province formed a noble estate, which the Emperor Acbar took out of his hands, under promise of giving him in return the country of Sind and some other districts, but which he never gave him; so that the fugitive prince who had settled him-

(69) Alexander, the Macedonian.

self in that province, where he coined money, died of vexation and grief, on finding himself over-reached by the Hindoostany Emperor. The younger brother of that fugitive, having no resource left in the world, came to Shah-djehan-abad, where he submitted to take service with the Emperors of the race of Tem8r⁽⁶⁹⁾, and where he married the daughter of Abdol-rahim-qhan, a minister of state, who cut a capital figure under the title of prince of princes; and it is from that younger brother that have sprung the several races of Sefevian princes, now settled in Hindoostan; to wit, that of *Shah-Nevaz-qhan*, of *Nö8r8z-qhan*, and of *Mirza-gholam-aali*, father to our Mirza-abdollah, of whom we have been speaking, and who was connected with the English; and it was Mr. Wats, a man in high credit with the rulers of Azimabad and Bengal, that recommended him to Ram-narain; the latter over awed by such a recommendation, gave him a noble salary, and a company of a hundred horse; and moreover he made use of him to transact business with the English; he was indeed a very valuable man, and a gentleman of rare qualifications. But we shall have in the sequel, several occasions of speaking of him again; for Mr. Amiatt having been appointed chief of the factory at Azimabad, continued to make use of Mirza-abdollah in almost all the transactions that fell within the verge of his influence; and as the latter was likewise a great friend of mine, he introduced me to the English rulers; and it is from that day I must date the friendship which that ruler conceived for me, and my subsequent connections with the English. After this digression, which shall be forgiven to friendship, we shall revert to the stream of our general history.

Mir-djaaser-qhan, who had now done visiting the tombs and mausolea of the saints of Bahar; and had finished eating his belly-

(69) The Emperors of Hindoostan descended in a direct line from *Soltan Babr*, grand-son to *Pir-mahmed-mirza*, eldest son to the conqueror *Tem8r*, alias *Tamerlan*, or *laug*, which word is only a Persian translation of the two Turkish words *Timur-acfac*, the only name which he bears to this day amongst the *Euzbegs*, his country men. Now *Tomir-is* is only that same name *Timur*, to which the *Hellines* gave a Greek or Ionian termination. But over and above those races of the *Sefevian* family, as descending from the males, there is another family at *Moorshoodabad*, that descends from the females; and *Mirza-dä8d*, whose son *Mirza Qhalil* has espoused a daughter of *Mubarec-ed-dö8la's*, is the chief of it.

jull of oxen's-flesh, (for such was his own expression,) took in earnest the resolution of returning to Bengal. It is reported that in advancing towards Moorshoodabad, he used to beguile the tediousness of the journey, by stepping out of the road, with only his guards and friends, and by hunting all the way; he at the same time amused himself with listening to the songs, and looking at the dances of a number of actresses and singers, which he carried with him upon elephants: it was this which he called his *private parties*, and which he had the simplicity to think very private indeed. In these parties he used often to ask his friends, what they "*thought of his past-times? And whether this was not the true manner of travelling and hunting? What could be meant by going into the woods and retiring into shady places? To enjoy life, undoubtedly,*" added he, "*in every kind of pleasure.*" After having thus performed the journey, without so much as minding the affairs of state, he arrived at Moorshoodabad; where leaving the pleasure of Mansr-gundy*, which had always been Seradj-ed-dö8lah's abode, he took up his residence on the other side of the water, in the palace heretofore inhabited by Aali-verdi-qhan, the forgiven, and there he plunged headlong into all kinds of pleasure, without so much as bestowing one single thought on the affairs of state.

On the other hand, his son, Miren, who had taken a liking to the manners, and particular expressions of the debauchees, and the profligate of Shah-djehan-abad, (now become numerous in Bengal,) had enlisted four thousand of these people in his service; and these became his real satellites. He was extremely haughty and proud, as well as incapable to hear any remonstrance; and as he was still in the flower of his youth, the example of an aged father, addicted to women of the town, and plunged in every kind of pleasure, made a lively impression on his mind; and thinking that he had much more right than him to such a way of life, he plunged with-

* That Palace which was on the other side of the Bagatty, and contained lodgings enough for three European Kings, is now ruined, and the materials have served to build the *killa*, or *kaalaa*, or palace of Moorshoodabad, where now resides his son, Mubarec-ed-dö8la, as well as an infinity of private houses. The palace inhabited by Aali-verdi-qhan, goes now by the name of Seradj-ed-dö8la's, but it is totally ruined.

out scruple in every kind of debauchery; nor did either the father or son bestow one single thought on the necessity of settling the country, regulating the finances, quieting the clamours of the army, or easing the husbandmen. Matters went so far, that the troops, for want of pay, turned their horses loose into the fields, that the poor animals might support themselves by grazing: So that excepting some thousand men in the son's service, who resembled him in their manners and way of speaking; and some hundred favorites and women of the father's household, who consumed the little money that came in the treasury, not a man in the service had an assured subsistence. And those rich and extensive dominions that composed an empire, were left to be plundered by a Chunny-laal, and a M8nny-laal, and an Angnos-sing, which latter was the head spy. The city and province of Djehanghir-nugurdaca, were left to be disposed of by Radj-B8ll8b, divan to Miren, who had once been agent to Huss8in-c8ly-qhan: the provinces, South of the Ganga, as Bardvan, and some others, had been pawned to the English, as a security for the payment of the coror and a half that had been promised them by treaty: H8gly was given to Emir-beg-qhan, who had been a very active agent for Mir-djaafer-qhan, with the English, and had proved so very instrumental in laying the foundation of his future power and fortune: The whole province of Azimabad acknowledged no other master than Radja Ram-nar8in; and P8rania was in the hands of Qhadem-hassen-qhan, who amassed money, established his government, and enlisted troops: What overplus then could remain, after the sums extravagantly squandered away by the navvab in his pleasures, did not amount to so much as might have quieted the troops, or enabled them to provide for their most necessary charges. The officers themselves were in misery; and such were the circumstances of even Affalet-qhan and Dilir-qhan, those brave sons of the brave Omer-qhan, who rather than to abandon Mir-djaafer-qhan, their friend, in his days of distress, had incurred Seradj-ed-d88lah's resentment, had been plundered and confined by him, and would have been put to death infallibly, had they not been rescued by a revolution which took place in the nick of time. Mir-

djaaffer-qhan often acknowledged how much he owed to their faithful and valorous services; often loaded them with encomiums and praises; and yet, left them to starve as well as the others, for want of pay; nor was there any one that would take notice of their representations; and what is singular, the navvab talked of these matters with the incoherence and insensibility of a man loitering his time in a tippling shop. Indeed, in consequence of his inattention and his extravagant expence, he was often poorer than any of his drunken companions; but the military especially suffered particular hardships. Tired with so much misery, they lost all patience at last; and twenty months were hardly elapsed, since the new sovereign had taken possession of a whole empire, when the troops, tired with their own sufferings, and feeling now that the knife had cut through the quick down to the bone *, they joined concerns, and resolved to rid themselves of so thoughtless a master. Qhadja-hady-qhan, major-general, took the lead of a number of officers and commanders of note, who joined together under mutual promises and solemn oaths; and they drew up a paper containing their design, as well as their resolution to stand by each other; it was signed by them all, and they apposed their seals to it. It is said, that Mir-cazem-qhan, the pay-master, was an associate of Hady-qhan's, in this affair; and, it is a fact, that his name and seal were found fixed on the paper in question. But it has been said also, by his servants and friends, that he knew nothing of the matter; and that the seal had been fixed thereon by one of his intimates: A Moluvy, or Doctor Mustepha, a strange man, without principle, shame, or religion, who had the management of his brigade, of his household, and of every concern of his; and who being himself of the conspiracy, had, in order to strengthen his party, made use of his master's seal, to which he had at all times access (70). It is true that he was in high credit with his master, who

* This is an expression common in Persia and India.

(70) To forge a writing, or a consent, is easy in India as well as in Persia, because very few people being able to write, every one is obliged to sign his name, by making use of a seal, whereon it is engraven, and which is always stamped with printer's ink. But writing is

had intrusted him with all his concerns. Unluckily for that officer, some of his friends were of the navvab's acquaintance: his own brother, Mir-djan-mahmed, was of the number, and even one of the viceroy's friends; so that it is universally reported, that to ingratiate himself with the navvab, he not only gave him information of the conspiracy, but on that prince's suggestion, added Mir-cazem-qhan's name and seal to it. The conspirators waited until the month of Moharrem; on the first ten days of which, it was customary for Mir-djaafer-qhan to repair at nights to that building, called the *house of mourning**, which had been erected by Seradj-ed-dö8lah, for commemorating yearly the martyrdom of the prince of martyr's, Houssein, son to Ally, (upon whom be grace for ever!) the project was to seize the opportunity of one of those nights, in order to fall upon him(71). That time being come, and the navvab making it, as usual, a practice of resorting to that holy place at nights, Qhadja-hady-qhan, with a number of his associates, took his post in one of the awnings attaining to that building: but he only verified the verse:

“How should a secret remain concealed, which is talked of in assemblies.”

The navvab got timely notice, and mounting on his nalky, he went away; nor did Hady-qhan find in himself daringness enough to execute his scheme. Mir-cazem-qhan, who followed the nav-

is much more common amongst Gentoos; and these always sign. — Look at the remark 183 Section 8th.

* That building, better known under the name of the *Imam-bara*, or Pontiff's Close, is two stories high, and built like a Cloister, with a great open hall in the middle. The interior parts of that cloister, to wit, those that front the yard, and are supported on porticoes, being in the Moharrem time covered with Ising-glass of several colours, behind which are lamps burning, afford a pleasing spectacle. That *Imam-bara* had been raised by Seradj-ed-dö8la; and it has been imitated by numbers of persons of fortune, who have now *Imam-baras* at home; and repairing thither by night to assist at theatrical rites of those ten days, and always to perform a part in them, constitutes now the main part of the religion of the Bengalee-musulmen, who are now all Shyabs, after having been all Sunnies to that time.

(71) To lay an ambuscade was the more easy, as every one goes armed at that time, and the streets are full day and night; but especially in the night, of armed people, who march with drums beating, and colours flying, to represent the march of Houssein's partizans who flocked to his camp.

vab, called out to that officer, as he passed by him; but this signal answered no purpose: it only served to inspire suspicions on his own account, and to impress the navvab with black fears; so that he ceased to resort to the Imam-bara. From that moment his suspicions against Hady-qhan and some others, went on increasing; and mean while, the scheme which the conjured had in their hearts, having found its way to their tongues, it became a general topic in all assemblies. The navvab being thereby confirmed in his suspicions, was waiting for further information, when Moluvy-Mustepha shewed him the identical paper, whereon the conspirators had apposed their seals; and even some of them, to save themselves from the navvab's resentment, and from his son's cruel temper, made haste to join de Moluvi, and to disclose all the names they knew. The matter now had become so public, that Hady-qhan could neither deny, or even excuse or palliate it, although the navvab gave himself time to determine on the party he was to take. But meanwhile Hady-qhan, who was a man of courage, shut himself up in his house with his friends, and resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. Mir-cazem-qhan's behaviour was different: with the word of God in one hand, and his children in the other, he entered the hall of audience, and in the presence of the navvab and his son, he swore to his innocence upon both, and submitted to the consequences, with which his perjury was threatened, by the sacred book. To remove further every suspicion from his innocence, he had dismissed and disbanded his whole corps, and had brought his dismissal of the office of pay-master, intending henceforward to live in private within his family. All these demonstrations persuaded no man in the city; and the navvab and his son continuing to believe him guilty, they laid up in store a fund of enmity and rancour against him. Meanwhile an order was sent to Hady-qhan, to resign his office, and to quit the navvab's dominions. The man consented, put his baggage into some boats, and with a small number of friends, he proceeded over land. But care had been taken for his not going too far; the navvab's high-born and worthy son who was the acting man in government, had had the precaution to write to the governor of Radj-mahal, and to the commander of the garrison

The conspiracy is discovered, and severely punished.

garrison at Talia-garry*, to manage in such a manner as that the man should not escape alive. The commanders of those two garrisons, which mostly consisted of Afghan soldiers, no sooner saw the order, than they mounted and went out after him. On descending in the valley of Shah-abad, they descried Hady-qhan, who marched slowly along with his boats: that officer on seeing such a body of armed men, guessed their errand, and took his party in a moment. He ordered all his boats to be sunk in his presence in the middle of the Ganga; and arming himself, he mounted his horse, and with three or four friends that would not quit him, he rushed upon those that fought his life, and after having performed feats of prowess, he left a name worthy of being recorded in history. It is reported that whenever he rushed, the enemy fled by whole troops; nor would they fight him otherwise than by flights of arrows, and by showers of musket-balls. Hady-qhan having done with his four friends a great deal of execution, was wounded in several places, and fell like a brave man, courageously drinking up the bitter cup which was presented him by his destiny. He was buried on the spot close to the mosque of Shah-abad, under a large tree, which now serves for shelter and a pausing place to the weary travellers in the heat of the day. Such was the end of that unfortunate brave man.

We must now revert to the thread of our history, and especially to the affairs of Azimabad where, as soon as the navvab was departed, Ram-narain resolved to bring under controul the Radja Beshen-sing, zemindar of Seress and Cotumbah, who after Seradjed-dö8lah's death, had refused to pay any rent to the treasury and wanted to become independent. The governor had a good body of troops, and a train of artillery; and he was accompanied by Baboo

* Talia-garry is a fort that shuts up the passage into Bengal. It consists in a wall, strengthened with towers, that extend from the foot of the hills to the rocky bank of the Ganges; it has neither ditch nor rampart; and yet answers well enough the purpose in a country where they know nothing of sieges, and hardly any thing of artillery. Else, a battery of twenty four pounders would make a breach in it in half a day; and a couple of mortars, placed upon the brow of the hill, would destroy every man and every building in the fort.

Pahluvan-sing and his brother Baboo Set-har-sing, zemindars of consequence, in the districts of Sahar-serám and Chéin-p8r; two men who had risen to that power by Aali-verdi-qhan's favour and countenance. But before his departure for that expedition he was pleased to settle a small salary upon me, and to accompany the gift with a message, importing that "the little he could afford now to oblige me, was out of his private purse; and that he made a tender of it both as a compensation for the damage which my djaghiry estate must have undergone, and as an earnest of the full possession to which he would himself introduce me." As I had neglected to follow Mir-djaafer-qhan, and had declined to accept Mir-cazem-qhan's invitation, I had no other party left, than that of accepting whatever Ram-naráin chose to do for me; especially as I had hopes of being soon reinstated in my estate. The Radja having marched out, I followed him of course, and was joined by my younger brothers. Bishen-sing made some resistance in his mud-forts, and would not submit; at last observing that the Radja was resolved to subdue him, he was seized with fears, and promised to come to certain terms, on condition that the officers of the army should become guarantees for the safety of his life and honour. That favour having been granted him on the supplications of the officers, the zemindar came out and made the Radja a visit, in which he brought his affairs to a conclusion; giving his son Naráin-sing, a boy of twelve years of age, in hostage for the arrears which he owed, and for the faithful performance of the agreement. It may be remarked that this very Bishen-sing, as well as his father and uncles, with their whole family, had been in times of yore protected and preferred by my forgiven father; but on our family being exiled out of the province by Seradj-ed-dö8la, he had been the foremost in seizing the lands, villages, and forts, that constituted my djaghir, and hereditary estate. He gained some of our commanders in these forts, and drove the others by main force. But the commander of the fort of Aly-nugur, who was a Radj-p8t-mundiár⁽⁷²⁾, and a relation of that ungrateful man, was conferred

(72) The Mundiars are a subdivision of the Radj-p8t, or military tribe, which is itself one of the four grand divisions of the Indian, or Hindoo nation.

in his post out of regard to himself, and to his uncle, the zemindar of Chergam. Radja Ram-naráin, who conformably to his promise, had shewn me a great deal of kindness, seemed intent on putting in execution Mir-djaafer-qhan's order, concerning my brother Naký-aali-qhan. He spoke much to Bishen-sing on the necessity of his evacuating the forts and lands of my djaghir, and carried away in hostage his son Naráin-sing, then a boy; he then permitted my brother to go and recover my estate in those parts; and, on his representation, he directed me to get him accompanied by some of the soldiers of my corps. With respect to myself, as he seemed disinclined from parting company with me, I followed him to Azimabad. Meanwhile, Naký-aali-qhan, with his small troop, marched to Rhotafs, and forced several forts and villages belonging to me; but could do nothing against the castle of Aly-nagur, not only as it was of some strength, but likewise as the faithless Radj-p8t was encouraged in his insubordination by Bishen-sing, his relation. The matter becoming of importance, I represented my case to Radja Ram-naráin,, who immediately wrote to Radja Sunder-sing, zemindar of San8t, with injunctions to support Naký-aali-qhan in his right. I also wrote myself to him on the same subject. The Radja, who was a sensible equitable man, and who remembered how much my forgiving father had been instrumental in rendering him the principal zemindar of the province of Azimabad, thought proper to take in this affair such an active part, as was incumbent on his gratitude; and his interference was of much weight; as Aali-verdi-qhan, to whom he owed his greatness originally, had enabled him to cut an eminent figure in the province, where he always appeared with the insignia of a kettle-drum, and a fringed paleky. He therefore wrote a severe letter of reprimand to Bishen-sing, his brother zemindar; and sent a threatening message to the refractory Radj-p8t; so that both these faithless men, fearing the consequences that might arise from an obstinacy which produced threats from every where, surrendered the castle to Naký-aali-qhan; and this affair being brought to a conclusion at last, the whole district, in question, submitted with pleasure to order and controul.

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All

All this while, I lived with my worthy mother, at Azimabad, where I enjoyed a great share in Ram-narain's estimation, and where I had for my companion Séyd-aali-qhan, the youngest of my brothers, and the kindest and most attached to me. Some little differences only, would arise now and then with Naky-aali-qhan, who on the supposition that the djaghir had been released on his account, was somewhat assuming. But for that flaw in his character, he is an amiable man; and, God be thanked, he is now united with us all, in that sincerity which becomes a brother. Only some parts of his behaviour discover a mind inclined to controuling; and he seems impressed with some pride: but this is what he cannot help; nor can he correct his overbearing spirit, as such is his natural temper.

We have just seen how the Navvab had been extricated by his good fortune from a very dangerous conspiracy; this success augmented both the old man's indolence, and his son's imperiousness: this son who was the light and flambeau of his family, as well as the soul of his father's government, no sooner saw himself rid of that ill-concerted conspiracy, than his pride and haughtiness knew no bounds. Both the father and the son became insupportable, and seemed to touch the firmament with their foreheads: the son boiled over, and he resolved to make away with Mir-cazem-qhan also. That officer, who after having resigned the command of his corps, and the office of paymaster, lived now privately within his family. This unfortunate man, intent on eradicating every thing like suspicion from Miren's mind, used to come often to court with only a small number of menial servants; and he seemed to mind nothing but amusement, although underhand he made interest for being readmitted into favour. But the winter time being now come, Miren used often to amuse himself with paper-kites, and other flying engines; in which, to lull Mir-cazem-qhan a-sleep, and to put him off his guard, he always requested his taking an active part in those amusements, desiring him to come every evening for the purpose of contending with him, or as often as there should be any wind stirring. The poor man found himself under the necessity of employing himself in such pastimes, and of acquiring in them a skill, that
gradually

gradually entangled him in the net of artifice and destruction. His custom was to come in the evening; where, after having paid his respects, he used to repair to the strand which spread under Miren's house, in the bed of the Baghratty, and often to contend with him. On a Saturday, the twenty-first of the second Reby, of the year 1172, he came as usual, without arms, and with nothing but a *dopata* about his loins(73), in which condition he paid his respects to Miren. It was in the evening. Miren had taken into his pay two or three hundred Rohila-afghans, who might have been considered as the remains of the army of Sham, and full as thirsty as they, of the blood of Séyds(74). He had lodged them in the out-buildings of his palace, where he reserved them for sudden executions. Some of these, whom he particularly trusted, he had in the morning called to his closet, where he had secretly given them orders to put the poor man to death. Their instructions were to let him walk in, as usual, to pay his respects in the evening; after which, the moment he should turn about, in order to repair to the strand, they were only to let him walk a few paces out of the gate, and then to fall upon him at once, so as to hack him to pieces. At the usual time, Mir-cazem-qhan came, and Miren spoke much to him about his kites, and about bringing them to an engagement. There happened to be then present, a young man called Mirza-abdollah, son to Mirza-mehmed, alias Aga-mirza, who had been introducer to Shudjah-qhan, once sovereign of Bengal. As he took a mighty delight at these paper amusements, and he wanted then to contend with Mir-cazem-qhan, he got up to join him. But his death was not to happen that day; nor had Miren any thought abouts him at all: far from that, he was debating with himself how he might part them, and whither such a precaution would not disclose his secret. On the

(73) The *dopata*, which is, as its very name imports, of *two* breadths of linen, each about seven or eight feet in length, serves often for a sash or girdle in an undress; but a full dress requires a *camer-bend*, or sash and girdle in form; or else, it requires a *patca*.

(74) To understand this passage, it must be remembered, that it is an allusion to the army sent from *Sham*, alias Damascus, by Yézid, against Hosséin, who is the first of Séyds, and perished with thirst at the battle of Kerbela. Now Mir-cazem was both a *Séyd* and a *Sbyab*; and the Afghan's are, to a man, Sunnies, as was Yézid.

other hand, he was loath that the man should lose his life for no reason at all. An incident extricated him from his perplexity: Mir-cazem-qhan having advanced three steps out of the gate, came back, and said that the agent of the Radja of Nediah would be glad to pay his respects. *Let him come in, said Miren, and you Mirza-abdollah, do you go upon the strand and raise your kite, until your antagonist is at hand to join you.* These few words saved Mirza-abdollah, by making him part company with the devoted victim; they seem to have been suggested by Providence itself: otherwise, and but for that circumstance, the poor man would have been involved in the other's massacre. Mir-cazem-qhan having come back to introduce the agent, had time to live the few moments more which were yet of his portion; and he was returning to his paleky, when the Afghans getting up, surrounded him; and one of them ran an Afghan knife, which is equal to half a sabre, through his side with so much violence, that it came out at the other side. At this signal, the others fell upon him, and with their knives and sabres, they hacked him to pieces, and sent him to the desert of nothingness: May God Almighty have joined his soul to the assembly of his pious ancestors! Mirza-abdollah, who saw this execution, was much surprised and confounded; but the next day as he came to court, Miren embraced him tenderly, drew him to his bosom, congratulated him on his having come to life a second time, and seemed mightily pleased to see he had so providentially escaped; he added, that not one knew any thing of the secret, save his fool Lahorybeg. But the fool hearing the assertion, rejected the compliment; and although he might, in consequence of his master's acknowledgement, assume the honor of an inviolable secrecy, he thought it more prudent to say, *that his highness, indeed, was pleased to say so: but that, in fact, he himself knew nothing of the matter.*

Mir-cazem
involved in
the position.

The murdered Séyd was of the race of Beni-moqhtar, and son, to Séyd-yssa, an Arabian, who married a daughter of Akydet-qhan's sister; and this last was a nobleman of high rank, who was himself, son to the famous Emir-qhan Umdet-el-mulk⁽⁷⁴⁾, viceroy

(74) These words, which were a title hereditary in that family, signify the greatest of the State.

of Cab8l, a man of distinction, and of an illustrious pedigree even in Iran*, where he enjoyed a high office in that country. Mir-cazem's ancestors, on their very coming in Hindoostan, had been raised to the highest dignities, and they had always been, from father to son, in such offices of importance, as put it in their power to oblige an infinity of persons. He drew his origin in a direct line from Naamet-ollah, the Hassénite(6).

Miren having quieted his mind by this murder, turned his view towards the consort of Ali-verdi-qhan and his two eldest daughters, as well as towards that prince's daughter-in-law, Lootf-en-néssa-begum, relict of Seradj-ed dö8la, from whom she had an infant daughter, now four years old. All those illustrious, those unfortunate, defenceless women, were turned into a loathsome confinement, although himself, with his whole family, owed every thing to that house: although it had indelible rights over his gratitude: although so lately as the time when Seradj-ed-dö8la was seeking Mir-djaafer-qhan's life, Gahafity-bibi, the eldest daughter, had assisted him secretly, as well as his adherents, with every eshrefy† which she had been able to save of the wreck of her fortune: although she had greatly advanced thereby the revolution that saved the father's life; and she had, at last, brought him to the very steps of a throne. All these illustrious women, after having been kept confined in the most indecent manner, were huddled together into some bad boats, and sent to Djehanghir-nugur, in the most disgraceful and shameless neglect: for now a black cloud was gathering over his head, and he wanted to ease his mind by getting rid of every object capable of exciting his suspicions.

Several illustrious, but defenceless women, thrown in to a loathsome prison.

Hardly two or three months had elapsed since Mir-cazem-qhan's murder, when a strong report prevailed that the Imperial prince Aali-goher, son to Alemghir the second, was coming into Bengal. It is the same prince whom Mir-sheabeddin, who bore the title of Umad-el-mülk (or prop of the state) had brought out of confine-

* Persia.

(6) That is, the Séyd descended from the branch of Hassén, elder brother to Hossén.

† A rupee of gold is worth fourteen or fifteen rupees of silver.

ment, after Ahmed-shah's demise, to seat him on the throne. The prince thought proper to invite Mahmed-c8li-qhan, governor or navvab of Ilah-abad, to accompany him in his expedition against Bengal. This Mahmed-c8li-qhan, alias Mirza-c8tchee, was son to Mirza-mohsun, who was himself nephew to Ab8l-manf8r-qhan, the vezir. But whilst this approaching war was the general topic every where, the troops in Bengal, who received nothing of either arrears or actual pay, being reduced to downright beggary, had often come to an open sedition, and had besieged Mir-djaafer-qhan in his very palace. All that did not avail: nor did the navvab alter his conduct. At one time, even Dilir-qhan and Affalet-qhan, had joined the besiegers; for those brave sons of Umer-qhan, had been reduced to the same beggary as others, although they had risked their lives and ruined their fortunes, by their attachment to Mir-djaafer-qhan, over whose gratitude they had acquired such incontestible rights, as were indefeasible. Even such meritorious men became an eye-sore to Miren: even these he wanted to drive from Bengal, unmindful of the many obligations which both himself and his father had owed to those two heroic brothers; and nothing would have prevented the scheme from being put in execution, but a well-grounded apprehension of the extremities to which resentment might carry two such Herculean men, whenever once their natural prowess and known bravery should have been pushed to despair. Nor was Miren a man to desist so easily, but for the certain intelligence which came at this very time, that the Imperial prince had set out from Ilah-abad, accompanied by Mahmed-c8li-qhan, on his way to Bengal. The father and son, on hearing such a piece of news, thought it high time to listen to the complaints of the troops. They gave them a small part of their arrears; and the seditions and clamours of those people subsided for the time, and left him some leisure to think of Azimabad.

Ram-narain, the governor of that province, was known for a man timid, wavering, and artful: far from being sincere in his professions to the navvab, he hated and despised him; but as he was likewise under engagements to the English, he did not choose to bring himself under the imputation of faithlessness and treason to a
man.

man with whom they were confederated. In his heart he did not like his situation, and he waited only for a favourable moment to get rid of it; nor were the two zemindars, Sunder-sing and Pahlavan-sing, better inclined towards the new nazem, or prince. Indebted for their greatness to Aali-verdi-qhan, and impressed with gratitude to that house, they wished to promote the ruin of his enemy, and to tear his family by the roots. And indeed, those very persons that had taken a disgust at Seradj-ed-dö8lah's person, for the ferocity of his manners, and the levity of his tongue, by which last he used to ridicule and render contemptible the grandees of the country; those very men who had wished for his ruin, in hopes that a man advanced in years, as was Mir-djaafer-qhan, and full of experience, as they expected, would govern them with moderation, without carrying things to extremety, against a family to which he was allied, and to which he owed every thing; those very men, I say, on seeing the despicable conduct of the father, and the detestable actions of the son, became another set of men, and were totally alienated from the old man. They now remembered Seradj-ed-dö8lah, and remembered him with shame and regret: their enmity to him changed into pity and commiseration; and they were daily regretting him, and speaking to his advantage: and this was the general sense of the public, whether amongst the knowing ones, or amongst the simple, whether in public or in private. What shocked exceedingly, in Mir-djaafer-qhan's character was, that after having rendered himself so conspicuous in Aali-verdi-qhan's time by his liberality and his sympathy to the soldier, he should have become now a wretch of the most sordid avarice, and a very carrion in parcimony and stinginess; just as if he had forgotten who he had been, or what character he had once sustained. One day, some one took the liberty to tell him his sense of that alteration, in these very words: "*My lord navvab, a time was when you were renowned for liberality; What is become of it now?*" "Friend," answered he unconcernedly, "In Aali-verdi-qhan's time, the matter consisted only in taking up water from a river, and in bestowing another's money; but now that the river is become my own, my heart aches whenever I am obliged to part with any of its

" water,

The navvab's
detestable con-
duct renders
Seradj-ed-
dö8lah regret-
ed.

“water, were it even to a friend.” This state of things having been reported to Mahmed-c8li-qhan, prince of Ilah-abad, he resolved to avail himself of it. Indeed he was a man of no genius, and proved wholly destitute of intelligence; but yet, he had abundance of courage; and as he was wholly dissatisfied with the confined limits of his principality, and the smallness of his income, he conceived the design of bettering his fortune by the conquest of either Azimabad or Bengal. This scheme took so far possession of his mind, that he imparted it to his relation and neighbour, Mirza-djelal-eddin-haider, alias Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, viceroy or sovereign of A8d and Lucnow. The latter, who wished this long time to see his kinsman out of Ilah-abad, encouraged him in his scheme, promised his assistance, and offered to follow his steps, as soon as he should have made an impression on the enemies’ country. It was therefore, resolved between them, that the Imperial prince, Aali-gohar, now stiled Shah-aalem, should contribute to the expedition by his name, at least, and his pedigree; and as this prince, intimidated by the vezir Umad-el-mulk’s power and cruelty, was leading the life of a fugitive, and enjoyed but a precarious subsistence with Nédjib-qhan, in whose dominions he had taken shelter; he listened with pleasure to the many invitations by which he was requested to put himself at the head of the undertaking: after which, there would remain nothing more, than to march down towards those Eastern kingdoms⁽⁷⁶⁾. All these matters having been adjusted between those two princes, Mahmed-c8li-qhan repeatedly wrote to the Imperial prince, to request his presence. The latter, who had been this long while putting up his fervent prayers to Heaven for some such opportunity, seized it by the hair, and taking with him what servants and friends he had about his person, he proceeded to Ilah-abad. On his march he received respectful letters from Radja Sunder-sing, who also addressed my father on the subject; as he acted as prime minister to that forlorn prince; and he requested his pre-

(76) In Hindostan the general name for *A8d*, and still more for Bengal, is *P8r8b*, which signifies East, or Eastern region: Nor is the name of *Bengala* any thing, but a derivation from the word *Bang*, the name of Bengal, in old books, and also in the Imperial registers.

fence in countries, that waited only for the moment of receiving him with open arms. And here it must be remembered that the Gentoo prince, being bent on revenging Seradj-ed-dö8lah's death, had provided a large force, which he had furnished with every thing necessary; and that he panted in his heart for that happy moment, when some man of consequence might lend his name to the undertaking, and put it in his power to take a full revenge from Mir-djaaser-qhan; for he had borne a strong attachment to Aali-verdi-qhan, and thought his honour concerned in revenging the injuries offered to his family: for this purpose, he had likewise drawn Puhluvan-sing in his views, another zemindar of consequence; and it must be acknowledged, that this Hindoo prince was a man of great merit, brave and valorous; greatly esteemed in the province, very intelligent in business, and very grateful in his attachments:—in one word, he was a man of such uncommon qualities, and of such extraordinary talents, that it is highly probable, that had fate permitted it, he would have brought his enterprize to maturity, by overcoming every obstacle; but destiny cut him short in the flower of his age, and on the very eve of unfolding his project. Under pretence of making a tour throughout his dominions, and of seeing Radja Ram-narain, he set out from his fortress of Ticavy, and encamped in the plain, where he assembled his troops silently. Unfortunately, for him, the festival of *Besent-panchmi* (77), which is held sacred amongst the Gentoos, arrived at that time; and he was celebrating it with the usual rejoicings amongst the commanders of his troops. Amongst these was one Sheh-gholam-ghö8s, a son of the famous Sheh-hassen-cadyri, the Lucnovian, who had begotten him upon a *Kencheni*, or dance-woman, or actress. He bore the character of a brave man, had been employed in many difficult services by Sunder-sing, and had thereby so far endeared himself to that prince, that he often obtained whatever he had a mind to ask, the Radja having a paternal affection for him. This officer came that day, and with very little ceremony, requested the favour of a thousand rupees, to

Radja Sunder
fig. one of the
most zealous
friends of a
revolution, is
killed acci-
dentally.

(77) A festival celebrated by Gentoos at the beginning of spring. *Besent* itself signifying that season.

make merry with his friends: this request was introduced with no preamble at all, as he was accustomed to obtain much more important favours. These importunities at last had often fatigued the Radja; who, on granting one some days ago, had chanced to say in company, that *Sheh-gholam-ghö8fs* had indeed inherited an heroic bravery, and many military talents from his father; but that as to a turn of mind for importunity, which rendered him sometimes a disagreeable man, he held it unquestionably from his mother. Such an observation sunk deep in the officer's mind; and setting at nought all the obligations he owed to his benefactor, he resolved to sacrifice him to his resentment; and like a snake rolled upon itself, he only waited for a favourable moment; and to all appearance he had now come with such a design in his heart. This much is certain, that his importunities to-day exceeded all bounds. *Gholam-ghö8fs*, said the Gentoo Radja, *so much importunity is not likely to do you any good.*—He had hardly uttered these few words, when the other swearing he could not part with him, unless he obtained his request, the Radja got up with intention to retire; but the other having laid hold of him by the hem of his coat, drew him so low as to give him a violent blow with his poinard in the breast. The blow was mortal, and the Radja fell dead. On sight of this, B8ni-sing, the Cahtree, one of the prince's friends, ran upon the murderer to seize him; but was laid dead with another such stroke; and the villain having again wounded another man, who was a relation to the two dead men, fled instantly and ran to the gate, where meeting by chance a horse ready saddled, he jumped upon it, and fled towards the little river of P8n-p8n; where being incessantly pursued by several men on foot, four coffes together, at the head of whom was Sab8ri-sing, a relation of the murdered Radja, who lamed his horse, and called him a coward, much more capable to murder a defenceless man, than to fight an armed one; he turned about, dismounted and engaged his pursuer: in the scuffle, the officer's sabre having broke, he closed with his enemy, and threw him on the ground, where the struggling continued; but where he was soon dispatched with sticks and stones by some peasants, to whom Sab8ry-sing's reproaches had given courage. The man was punished; but the
murdered

murdered prince did not live long enough to carry that sort of consolation to his grave.

This accident proved of considerable detriment to the Imperial prince; but did not check the expedition at all: he had with him several persons of character and distinction, all attached to his fortune; but all in as much distress as their master. The first of these was the poor man's father, who went by the name and titles of Bacshy-el-mulk, Nassyr-ed-dö8la, Séyd-hedáiet-aali-qhan, Bahadyr-afed-djung (78); the second was, Medar-ed-dö8la, whose other titles I do not recollect at present; the third was, Fazl-ollah-qhan, Mumtaz-ed-dö8la (79), grand-son to Yticad-qhan, the Cashmirian favourite of Feroh-syur's; the fourth, Nobet-qhan; the fifth, Munnir-ed-dö8la, Reza-c8li-qhan, Nadyr-djung (80); the sixth, Bahadyr-aali-qhan, the eunuch. Let not the reader of these sheets imagine, that it is out of tenderness to my father, that I have placed him at the head of this noble list: it is notorious, that on the Imperial prince's coming out of Shah-djehan-abad, his circumstances were so distressful, and his poverty so complete, that not one man of character would think of either assisting him, or following his fortunes: every one was, besides, in dread of the vizir Umadel-mulk's resentment; nor had the prince been able to come out at all, had not that minister, who now breathed revenge against Shudjaed-dö8la, set out on a journey to meet Ahmed-qhan-bangash, as well as the other Afghan princes, whom he had brought over to his party: all considerable events, of which we shall speak fully in this Second Volume, when we shall come to recount the history of the emperors, and principle men of Hindostan: then shall we relate the events happened at the capital and its environs: then shall we mention, occasionally, what shall prove remarkable in them, as well as in the more distant provinces of the empire, towards the

The prince, Aali-goher, undertakes an expedition against Bengal.

(78) The pay-master (and also the generous) of the state, the valorous Séyd-hedáiet-aali-qhan, the succourer of the state, and its lion in battle.

(79) The perfect of the state.

(80) Reza-c8li-qhan (the lord, slave, or soldier, of St. Reza's) the enlightened of the state, and the incomparable in wars.

He is strongly
recommended
by his
mother to
Hedaiet aa-
li-qhan, fa-
ther to our
author.

Decan: at present our business is with the prince Aali-goher.—Zinet Mahal⁽⁸¹⁾, his mother, having obtained leave from her husband, the Emperor Alemghir the second, sent for my illustrious father at the gate of the sanctuary, where she put the prince's hand in that nobleman's hand, tenderly recommended him to his care; interchanged with him the most solemn and most tremendous oaths; and made use of so many entreaties, and so many tears, that my forgiven father was overcome by such an unexpected scene; and from that moment resolved firmly to support him with all the vigour and fidelity in his power: he then took the prince apart, and encouraged him to make some efforts in his own cause; as we are going soon to mention: for we intend to recount in this Volume, whatever concerns this prince's wars and journeys; and in particular, his expedition into these Eastern countries; and we shall reserve for the following sheets, whatever is relative to his taking possession of Shah-djehan-abad, or refers to the countries in the environs of that capital.

The Shah-zada having entrusted my forgiven father with his person and concerns, was seconding, as much as he could, the efforts which that nobleman was making in his behalf; he looked up to him as to a zealous friend, and constantly followed his directions. It is true, that he was not a man of great qualifications, or great knowledge; but he compensated that deficiency by shewing himself studious to give that illustrious nobleman every mark of deference and honour in his power, both in his absence and in his presence: nor did he relax in the sequel, but continued to oblige the brothers, relations, and friends of a man who was no more; and he did it to the utmost of his power and their own merits; and his gratitude carried such an air of sincerity, that even now it is probable he would, to all appearance, do something handsome for that nobleman's descendants, were he so much as to hear of them. Munnir-ed-dö8lah, who had been before in the service of Intyzam-ed-dö8lah, son to the vizier Cammer-eddin-qhan, as superintendant of his war equipage, was introduced by my forgiven father to the prince, and soon became his favourite and minister. But it would

(81) Zinet-mahal, signifies the ornament of the apartment, that is, of the women's apartment.

be unjust to conceal, that even after his elevation, he conserved the most grateful remembrance of the services rendered him by that worthy nobleman, my father; never speaking to him but with the utmost respect, and in the humblest posture; and even after his demise, he never missed an opportunity of obliging his children and family; and of shewing me, the poor man, in particular, so much deference and such marks of respect, as greatly exceeded my merits, as well as my station in the world, and even my age in life. He was a valuable man, unquestionably: May God have received him in his mansion of mercy!

As for the Shah-zada, as soon as he had received the letters of invitation from Mahmed-c8li-qhan, he made haste to assemble a large number of men, especially from amongst the distressed Séyd's of the ruined town of Barr, and with these he set out for Ilah-abad; leaving my father and Munnir-ed-dö8lah in those parts, as they had undertaken to prepare for him a field equipage, with some other necessaries; and to bring into his service, on the fame of this expedition, and on the hopes of bettering their fortunes, as many disbanded soldiers as they could persuade; after which, they were to march down to Ilah-abad. The Shah-zada having quitted Miran-p8r, the place of his residence, arrived on the frontiers of Shudja-ed-dö8la's dominions, where that prince marched out of his capital to meet him; and after having made him such a present, in money and effects, as he thought proper, he gave him much encouragement, informing him of his agreement with Mahmed-c8ly-qhan, and of his intention to march to his assistance; intention which, in fact, had never existed. The Shah-zada, having taken leave, proceeded to Ilah-abad, where on his arrival in the out-skirts of that city, Mahmed-c8li-qhan went out to receive him; and after having had the honour to kiss the columns that supported the Imperial throne, he made him alight at a lodging that had been provided for the purpose; and there he imparted to him the particulars of his scheme: so that for some days, frequent councils were held on that subject. The hungry grandees of the prince's famished court, were soon gained over by Mahmed-c8li-qhan, and soon were of his opinion; especially Medar-ed-dö8la, who was a

complete master of the art of becoming any one's friend, no matter whether good or bad, for his money; for he knew how to accommodate himself to all tempers, soon took the lead of all the Shahzada's friends in this affair, and soon became the channel of all intelligence, and all consultation between the prince and Mahmed-c8ly-qhan. Whilst they were holding councils, Shudja-ed-dö8la, who never had any other view but that of deceiving his kinsman, and who only waited for a good opportunity, took a journey to Ilah-abad, where he made him understand that he was ready to follow him as soon as the prince should have made an impression on the enemy's country: "But then," said he, "I cannot think of
 " quitting my own ground to invade any one's dominions, and espe-
 " cially the eastern ones, unless I have some place of safety where
 " I may leave my consort and family; and you know that I cannot
 " leave them in an open country, every moment exposed to the in-
 " vasions of Umad-el-mulk, of Ahmed-qhan-bangash, and of
 " the other Afghan princes. Now I see no other such place of
 " safety, but your fortress of Chennar; and although it has no ac-
 " commodations for princesses and ladies of rank, and its climate
 " and air are sultry and unwholesome, on account of the proximity
 " of the hills that come close upon it, yet we shall put up with
 " such an inconvenience. Let me have then such an order, under
 " your own hand and seal, to Mirza-nedjef-qhan, the governor of
 " the fortress, as I may in an emergency avail myself of, to lodge
 " my family and consort in that castle, together with your own: for
 " after all, our families and interests, you know, are one and the
 " same. Once my mind easy on that subject, I will soon follow
 " you with such a force, as, joined to your's, may insure success.
 " Believe me, what I say, is advantageous to both sides." Mah-
 med-c8li-qhan, who was a plain unsuspecting man, incapable of de-
 ceit, and who was, besides, actually impelled by the decrees of fate,
 gave the order such as it was requested, together with another to
 the officers of the garrison; and he even repeated his order to Mir-
 za-nedjef-qhan, then present, in these very terms: "You know
 " that there is no difference at all between the lord navvab and me;
 " we are german-brothers to each other, and sons of two brothers:
 " Whether

“ Whether I be present or absent, he is my representative: take care to do, as he shall command you.” Such were the expressions he made use of; for that senseless man conceived, that in the present circumstances, such expressions, such a confidence, and such a management, were so many strokes of policy, and would infallibly promote his expedition, by engaging Shudja-ed-dö8la to join heartily in it: and in that notion of his, he gave the order couched in such terms as the other dictated. Shudja-ed-dö8la, furnished with such a piece, returned to his capital; and Mahmed-c8li-qhan prepared to set out with what troops and artillery he was master of; adding only to his train two large pieces of brass cannon, which he brought down from one of the towers of the fortrefs of Ilah-abad, and which he mounted upon field-carriages. After all these preparatives, he made choice of a favourable moment, and quitting his palace in the fortrefs, he encamped in the suburbs of the town. It was in the year 1172 of the Hejira: two days after he set out on his expedition, taking the Shah-zada, and his whole retinue with him.

Mahmed-c8li-qhan, lord of Ilah-abad, joins the prince.

So mighty a scheme, and such movements, could not long remain a secret, far, as well as near; and Ram-naráin, who had at all times regular intelligence, was soon informed of the intended expedition. He gave notice of it to Mr. Amiatt, the chief of the English factory; and forwarded it, at the same time, to his two masters in Bengal. But neither the old navvab, nor his son, were men to march against such an enemy, without the assistance of the English. They applied, therefore, to Colonel Clive, and proposed that he should accompany them in this expedition; but although the English are such cautious people, as to have always their artillery and other necessaries ready, without being obliged to make them anew upon an emergency, as is the case with our Hindoostany armies and artilleries, which require to be fitted up anew upon every occasion; nevertheless they were not prepared for such a long journey, and could not set out on so short a warning. On the other hand, their confederates, that is, the navvab and his son, were so ill prepared, that but for the Colonel, they would have been incapable to move at all; it being impossible for them either to evade, or to satisfy

satisfy the demands of such multitudes of old troops and new levies. At last, after a deal of time spent in wavering, they found means to move just as Mahmed-c8li-qhan, with the Shah-zada, was arrived on the Keremnassa, which is a little river, that serves as a boundary to the province of Azimabad.

As soon as it became known at Azimabad, that the Shah-zada had moved from Banares, Ram-narain was struck with a panic, especially as neither the English made any motion from Calcutta, nor his two masters from Moorshoodabad; and mean while the enemies' forces, of whose prowess he had heard wonders, as being part of the famous army of Abol-mans8r-qhan's, were coming down upon him like a storm; and with all the terrors that always precede the Imperial name, were going to pour upon his country like a torrent swelled by heavy rains, or like a calamity that would overwhelm every thing. However, although overcome inwardly by his apprehensions, he thought it incumbent upon him to appoint an hour for putting himself at the head of his army; and he actually came out, and encamped at the garden of *Fateh-bagh*, close to Varifs-qhan's reservoir⁽⁸²⁾. The intent of this ambiguous position was, to turn the motions of the Bengal forces to his advantage, should they make their appearance first; in which case he would ascribe this manœuvre to his zeal, and to his readiness in serving his masters; and to close with the Shah-zada, should the navvab abstain from opposing the enemy, and should his English confederates do the same, on observing the backwardness of their ally: in which last case, such a manœuvre of his, would be naturally interpreted as a design of joining the prince. He therefore remained some days on that spot, eager for intelligence, and anxious to see which of his two wives would first be brought to bed.* In a few days it became ascertained, that neither the navvab, nor the English, had yet moved.

Ram-narain
tempers with
the two parties.

(82) This reservoir is neither at the eastern part of the city, where the Bengal army might be expected, nor at the western, to which the prince was coming; but only mid-way, betwixt the two. And here it is to be noted, that those reservoirs so common in India, but especially in Bengal, and all over the coast of Coromandel, are large pieces of water, sometimes of five hundred yards the side, or of about a mile in circumference; upon a depth of five or six feet in the driest weather, and of twice or thrice as much in the rains.

* This expression is literally translated.

from

from Bengal; and on the other hand, it became notorious, that the Shah-zada had forded the Keremnaſſa, and was marching to Azimabad. This laſt intelligence turned the ſcales. Ram-narain thought it prudent to cloſe with the latter: but firſt of all he went to conſult Mr. Amiatt, the Engliſh chief at Azimabad; and he told him, “ that to this moment, no one had thought of Ram-narain in Bengal, and none had moved to his aſſiſtance; nor was it prudent in him to go to war alone with the Shah-zada and Mahmed-c8li-qhan. He requested, therefore, Mr. Amiatt’s opinion, about what might be proper to be done by a man in his diſtreſſed circumſtances; and what party he thought convenient for him to take.” Mr. Amiatt answered in theſe words: *With reſpect to ourſelves, if our army comes, we ſhall remain where we are; elſe, we ſhall advance a few days journey towards Bengal, and there will ſtay, until we receive orders from the council, and until the times ſhall point out what is proper to be done. As for yourſelf, it is convenient that you ſhould manage with ſome art, and ſeem to humour the enemy: if, meanwhile, you receive aſſiſtance, it is very well; elſe, if you do not, take your own party.*

Ram-narain having received preciſely ſuch an answer as he wiſhed, undertook to manage both parties: to Miren, and to the colonel, he wrote “ That he had come out in military array, and wanted no better than to fight; but that he had not the means in his power; and he added, that if the Engliſh ſhould arrive in time, he would not fail to ſhew his zeal and attachment.” On the other hand, not thinking it proper to write letters to the weſtern army, he, by the means of convenient perſons, aſſured the Shah-zada and his general, of his good will and attachment.

Whiſt all this double management was going on, I lived retired in Azimabad with my mother and all my brothers, being ſuſpicious of the times, and fearful of involving myſelf in difficulties. But Naky-aali-qhan, my ſecond brother, who lived upon our eſtate, made cheap of theſe apprehenſions; although I had every reaſon in the world to fear leaſt Miren, informed of the great figure which our father actually cut in the enemy’s camp, ſhould ſo far liſten to the dictates of that generoſity innate in his character, as to write to his

his deputy, Ram-naráin, to effect our total ruin. In fact, he wrote him word that the exciter of all this storm was no other than Séyd-hedáiet-aali-qhan, the Shah-zada's great adviser, whose sons, who lived in Azimabad, had doubtless put that expedition into their father's head, and were therefore to be carefully watched. Such was the purport of Miren's letter. Now, I protest, that I was wholly ignorant of the prince's, as well as Mahmed-c8li-qhan's, intentions; and that years had elapsed since I had not wrote to my father; for the old nobleman, trusting altogether to his connections and affinity with Aali-verdi-qhan, whose grand-mother was sister to my glorious mother, had married a second time in Shah-djehanabad, with all the pomp of a mighty nobleman; after which he spent his time in taking fine women into service, purchasing pretty girls, to serve as saplings to his seraglio, and giving large salaries to singers and dancers, and especially to those that came from the school of the famous Lal-mia, the Cashmirian: and all this without having ever minded his family, or thought of us in any shape; so that in sixteen years time, in which he had been commanding armies, and spending monthly several lacs for his own household, and making the fortunes of an infinity of persons, he had never so much as thought of sending a single piece of gold to either my glorious mother or to any of his children. Meanwhile it had pleased the Almighty one, that feeds the whole creation, to make us find, with every one of Aali-verdi-qhan's nephews, a subsistence so honourable and plentiful, as put it in our power to live independently, without having been at any time under a necessity of applying to our father, or even of expecting that forgiven nobleman's attention. We lived on both sides with ease and dignity; inso-much, that months and years would elapse before an opportunity could offer to exchange a message or a letter. Will it not be surprising after this preamble, if Ram-naráin, on receiving the above letter from his two masters, should desire my attendance, and read it to me aloud? On hearing the contents, I answered, "That I took
 " God to witness, that I had not the least connections with this af-
 " fair, nor indeed any good will for it: that it was not probable
 " that a fallen nobleman, like my father, should have conceived
 " such

“ such mighty thoughts ; but much likelier that the whole expe-
 “ dition originated with Mahmed-c8li-qhan, who had a whole
 “ province at his disposal, with a full treasury, and an army trained
 “ by Ab8l-man8r-qhan ; and who besides, was nearly related to
 “ Shudja-ed-dö8la, himself a powerful prince, and the vezir of
 “ the empire : that independently of those considerations, it was
 “ known to all the world, that our family settled at Azimabad
 “ these many years, had ceased to entertain any connections with
 “ our father, or even to keep up a correspondence of letters
 “ with that nobleman ; article on which we felt our conscience
 “ thoroughly clear. But nevertheless, that if his masters found
 “ their advantage in injuring, ruining, and demolishing an innocent
 “ family ; and he thought it prudent in himself to comply with
 “ such orders ; we are ready, and at his command : nor could we
 “ entertain the most distant thought of resistance ; nor are we wil-
 “ ling, added I, to bring any blame upon you. Please then to ex-
 “ ecute your orders.” Ram-narain on hearing these few words,
 cast a glance at M8rly-dur, the head spy, who was one of the
 principal men of Azimabad, and had Ram-narain’s ear entirely at
 command ; and both joined in desiring me to be easy, and to give
 my mind no anxiety at all on that subject. I thanked them, but
 rejoined, *you are pleased to say so at this moment ; but should Miren*
come, and order you to make away with us, shall you put yourselves to
the trouble of saving us then, or of protecting our persons ? “ Please,
 “ sir, to be easy on that head,” answered calmly Ram-narain : “ we
 “ can protect you ; we will protect you ; and if we should not be
 “ able to shelter you, we shall convey you safe out of the province,
 “ and recommend you to your own fate.” On hearing these de-
 clarations, I returned them my humble acknowledgements for their
 goodness and grateful remembrance ; and I was yet with Ram-
 narain, when intelligence came that the Shah-zada, with Mahmed-
 c8li-qhan, now stiled Ytymad-ed-dö8la⁽⁸³⁾, was arrived, after hav-
 ing been joined at Banares by Séyd-hedäiet-aali-qhan, my father, at
 the head of a body of troops and a train of artillery. As soon as

Our author
 rendered sus-
 pected, on
 account of
 his father,
 clears him-
 self.

(83) The trust-worthy of the state.

Ram-narain had obtained a full information of this event, he imparted it to Mr. Amiatt, who did not seem dejected by it; but yet, as there were no news of any one's having moved in Bengal, this chief thought proper to embark on board of a number of badjarows and other boats which he had ready, and to descend the river for twenty or thirty coffes together, in company with a number of English gentlemen, which he had with him. He left in the factory a number of trusty musqueteers, of those since called *Talingas*; and he recommended them, together with the house, to Ram-narain's care. The latter seeing the Englishman's retreat, thought proper to look out for an accommodation with the Shah-zada, and with his general. However, this was contrary to the opinion of Radja M8rly-dur, who, although an illiterate man, was a very extraordinary Brachman indeed, and a man incomparable for taking his party, or for pointing it to others. This man, who could neither read nor write, was a complete accomptant, and understood thoroughly every matter relative to revenue or to government; but he spoiled all those qualifications by an insatiable ambition, which made him wish to have all the world dependent on his pleasure; and he was so covetous besides, that he endlessly busied himself in amassing and hoarding up immense quantities of money and wealth. This man objected to any agreement with Mahmed-c8li-qhan, and to any submission to the Shah-zada. He made cheap of their troops, and was firmly of opinion that they would never stand before the Bengal army, if the latter came supported by the English; and the event proved that he had guessed right; and that this man, who could not read in a book, knew very well how to read in futurity.

As to Ram-narain, overawed by the very name of an emperor, and intimidated by the fame of his Mogul troops, he made haste to conclude his agreement with the Shah-zada; and without informing himself of the wretched condition of those troops, or of the characters of their commanders, he went to see the prince; but it was to repent himself immediately, as we shall soon see hereafter. This resolution having taken possession of his mind, he sent for me, and going into private a closet, he desired me to repair to the Western army, and to endeavour by the mediation of my

my father, to gain the mind of the prince, and to open a door for some terms of agreement; (and doubtless he had already sent another person to Mahmed-c8li-qhan on a similar errand, of which, however, I knew nothing, but by conjecture.) He recommended to me not to disclose this desire of his to Radja M8rly-dur, or to any other person whatsoever; and he added to the injunction a very respectful message to my father, "where putting me in mind, at the same time, how he had renewed his acquaintance with his family, by the late services he had rendered me; he supplicated my father's favourable interference in the consecution of his wish." He was yet speaking, when Mustepha-c8li-qhan, brother to Mirza-iredj-qhan, father-in-law to Seradj-ed-dö8la, suddenly made his appearance. As he had had heretofore full liberty to enter, without being either stopped or introduced; and people even, after that prince's death, did not chuse to make any alteration in their behaviour to him; he was not stopped by any mace-bearers, but went on through all the apartments, until he found the Radja and me in a close conversation by ourselves. He at once guessed what might be the subject of it; and the Radja unwilling to disoblige him, and thereby to expose his secret, took at once the party of disclosing the whole matter, and of associating him to me, in the negociation. Turning therefore, towards me, "Sir," said he, "you shall explain all those matters to the Lord-qhan; but take care to keep clear of the encampment of Radja M8rly-dur, which is the foremost of all on your way: take to the road of Baky-p8r." Mustepha-c8li-qhan, after receiving this commission, came out with me to my tent; spoke much of his skill in politicks, and talked strongly of the improbability of any army being likely to come from Bengal, as well as of the concourse of people that flocked from all parts to the Shah-zada's quarters. He said all that, in hopes of my reporting his opinion to the prince; and he even made it a request. A little after, there arrived a small sum from Ram-narain, for the charges of my journey. It was brought by a trusty man of his.

My voyage being now determined, I wrote a note to my two younger brothers, and sent notice of it to my mother. Both my

The author
on an embas-
sy to the Shah
zada, or Im-
perial prince.

brothers availed themselves of that opportunity to kiss their father's feet; and came to me, desiring to be of the voyage: I consented; we took, at first, to the road of Baky-p8r; but struck, afterwards, into that which led to the prince's camp. In the way, we met numbers of harcarahs and messengers, that carried to town hourly intelligence of the Shah-zada's motions. Being arrived about Arvel, I descried a man on an elephant, with a retinue of an hundred horses; it was Medar-ed-dö8la, who was going from the Shah-zada on an embassy to Ram-narain. I could not help being amazed to see that with such a man in camp as my father, who was well known in the province, and universally respected, they should pitch upon a stranger for such a message. One of the troopers having asked of my people who I was, and whither I was going; these answered by mentioning the poor man's name, as well as that of my brother's, to which they added, that of my father's. A moment after, a messenger came up from Medar-ed-dö8la, with his compliments, and some enquiries about my welfare and health; to which civility I made a suitable return; and then we advanced to Shimshir-nagar. There I was surprised to hear, that Naky-aali-qhan, my other brother, had gone to meet my glorious father, upon that nobleman's request; and I could not help lamenting, that he had made himself obnoxious to the navvab of Bengal, by such a hasty step. About two hours before sun-set, we descried from afar the Shah-zada's army, which covered a plain that extended eastward of Dá8d-nagar; but it was two hours after sun-set, before we had the honour of kissing the paternal threshold,

A number of questions were exchanged between us, and this took up a deal of time: it soon appeared that his highness, our father, a nobleman naturally haughty, and accustomed to command, had already declined behaving to Mahmed-c8li-qhan with that deference and that obsequiousness to which Medar-ed-dö8la and Munnir-ed-dö8la had soon submitted; and he had therefore become a stranger to all transactions: and, indeed, how could it be otherwise, whilst that general was the soul of the army, and governed absolutely the prince and his whole court? Mahmed-c8li-qhan had been the contriver of all this expedition:—he was the soul of it; and the prince,

as well as every one of his people, were depending upon him for their very daily food, as well as for their hopes of victory and conquest. Surprised at such a state of things, and at a conduct so distant from the rules of prudence, I took the liberty to observe to his highness, my father, "That if such was the state of things, he
" had come so far only to see a very unpleasant reserve in the leading persons of the court; and a series of events, that might end in
" undoing our welfare, and in producing the confiscation of our
" landed estate, which last we had not been able to obtain without
" much trouble and much good luck." I asked "What could be
" then the advantage of such a long journey, after such a length of
" time? And since his highness had retired from the helm, and affairs had fallen into the hands of people without brains and without experience, it was to be feared lest the expedition should not
" end so well as might be wished." These indirect strictures did not please his highness, and he answered in a manner which discovered his secret displeasure at what I had taken the liberty to hint; nevertheless it appeared, that "he was convinced of the truth of my
" observation, as well as affected by his own situation; but that now
" that he had embarked in the undertaking, it was too late to recede: nor could that be done at all, without a proper opportunity: nor could it be expected, that Mahmed-c8li-qhan would
" chuse to submit to his directions and advice." Such was the purport of his answer; but what looks very curious is, that as the prince was exceedingly light headed, and often guilty of unaccountable proceedings, every proceeding of his that did not please Mahmed-c8li-qhan, never failed to be charged to my illustrious father's account, and to that of those that were of his party. In a couple days after this interview, my forgiven father took me in his company, and went with Munnir-ed-dö8la to see Mahmed-c8li-qhan; and as this general chanced to glance at some matters of discontent that affected his mind, he was answered in so proper a manner, and with such suitable excuses, that he seemed satisfied on that subject; but, however, he did not seem to relish my entering into a negociation with him, as it would have been highly improper to exclude at that particular juncture the persons which had hitherto been

been employed in negotiating with Ram-narain; and still more so, to change them for others, especially at a time when Mirza-issac, the Cashmirian, (stiled Mir-c8li-qhan) by whose means the negotiation had been carried on, had much power over the general's mind, who trusted altogether to his own abilities and penetration. However, the negotiation did not end well; and whether by the negociator's supineness, or by his master's reposing, through ignorance and inexperience, an implicit confidence in his agent, Mahmed-c8li-qhan came at last to loose his pains, his dominions and his life.

“ He that sits at your elbow, ought to be even better than
“ yourself;

“ He ought to be such as may contribute to the improvement of
“ both your intellects and morals.”

The reader, probably, will not find fault with our giving him some detail on that subject. Radja Ram-narain having, as we have said, taken fright at the very name of emperor, and at the fame of his troops, quitted the garden where he had encamped in the middle of his way, and retired within the city walls; where he applied himself to every measure that could strengthen the towers, and repair the whole extent of their circuit; appointing those commanders, which he chiefly trusted, to the guard of the most exposed parts; and he was hardly seated, when hearing that Medar-c8li-dö3la and Mirza-issac were approaching, as deputies from Mahmed-c8li-qhan, he sent to desire them to alight at a lodging which had been prepared for their reception; it was without the gates of the city, and at a distance from even the suburbs: from thence they received leave to come to see him; and they were admitted within the gates, with a small number of menial servants, and three or four of their friends on horseback. The ambassadors, after passing many encomiums upon him, opened the subject of their commissions, and held out the advantages that would accrue to him by attaching himself to the Shah-zada and to his general, to whom both they proposed his paying a visit. This overture could not fail to have its effect; and as Ram-narain, already overcome by his fears, had resolved to come to some terms, it was soon agreed, that he
would

would wait upon them, and submit to their dominion, under condition that his life, fortune and government would be held sacred and inviolable. But before he should perform his part of the agreement, he requested a paper written and sealed by Mahmed-c8li-qhan, as well as signed by the principal officers of his army, as guarantees to the treaty. The embassadors upon this, returned to camp, and brought back the papers under Mahmed-c8li-qhan's hand and seal, and under the guarantee of his principal commanders. Ram-narain being now made easy, and no intelligence coming yet of any troops being on their march from Bengal; he resolved to make a visit to Mahmed-c8li-qhan, as a preparatory step, to his kissing the footstool of the Imperial throne. In an hour, which his astrologers pronounced to be favourable, he set out for the camp in company with the embassadors, and the persons sent by Mahmed-c8li-qhan to meet him; and he landed in that general's tent, pitched on the plain of P8lvary. The Shah-zada hearing of his coming, prepared by Mahmed-c8li-qhan's advice, a tent of as much magnificence, as his circumstances could afford; and he placed a throne at the upper end of it, where he took up his seat, having on both sides of him, two rows of his generals and grandees standing, and all richly apparelled. It may be worth while to observe, that the day before Ram-narain's arrival, I happened to be with my father, and to say, that the Radja was extremely shrewd and cunning; and, "that as he had submitted to come so far, merely on the
 " report of the Imperial power, and on the fame of Ab8l-mans8r-
 " qhan's troops, it was probable, that after having got a view of
 " the weakness and misery under which they laboured in camp, he
 " might repent of his submission so far, as to never return to camp,
 " should he once get within the city again: that therefore, as he
 " was forth-coming, and such a step of his ought to be deemed a
 " most lucky event, he ought to be prevented from getting out
 " of their power." This speech of mine had a very bad effect: the old nobleman, who had no influence himself, seemed displeased with this advice, and he answered, "*that to this day the house of*
" Timur had never been faithless to any one." I replied, "that I
 " proposed no treason, neither; but only thought it incumbent up-
 " on

Faithless
 proposal made
 by our au-
 thor; rejected
 with indigna-
 tion by his
 father, and
 by the gene-
 ral, and the
 whole army.

“ on him to stand to the terms of the treaty concluded, and there-
 “ fore very proper to keep the Radja in camp, until the general
 “ should enter into the city in his company: a step which might
 “ inform the world that he had really submitted and joined you:
 “ and which would likewise render the Bengal army more cautious
 “ of advancing to the assistance of a man that had already surren-
 “ dered.” To all this he answered, *that Mahmed-c8li-qhan was*
the master. On this answer, “ I proposed that he should im-
 “ part the advice to that general.” He replied, *that as the general*
never asked any advice of him, so he had not the least inclination to ob-
trude any upon him. At these words I lost my temper, and could
 not help saying, that, “ if such was the case, then honour and cha-
 “ racter would suffer, and be gone; nor would they leave behind in
 “ their stead, any thing but repentance. Since your highness,”
 added I, “ would not chuse to be hearty in this affair, you ought to
 “ have taken no share in it at all.” To all this he answered by
 some angry words, and I remained silent. The next morning be-
 ing the day appointed for Ram-narain’s rendering his homage to
 the prince, I went in my father’s company to the hall of Imperial
 audience, and had a full view of the whole ceremony. At last
 news came that the Radja was arrived, and in a private conference
 with Mahmed-c8li-qhan; at the conclusion of which, he would
 be conducted to the presence by that general himself. This intel-
 ligence put me upon proposing my advice to Munnir-ed-dö8la, and to
 some others. But every one excused himself upon his want of in-
 fluence. Whilst I was speaking, Mahmed-c8li-qhan himself was
 descried, walking slowly with the Radja at his side. He left him at
 the outer door, and having advanced forwards, and made a profound
 bow, he took his post as vezir, at the prince’s left hand*; after
 him stood Byram-qhan, Medar-ed-dö8la, and Yahia-qhan, with a
 few other noblemen that had come with the vezir. My father in
 his right of paymaster-general, stood at the prince’s right hand, and
 immediately after him stood Munnir-ed-dö8la, then myself: next
 to me a number of noblemen and generals of the prince’s court;

* The left hand all over Asia, and from Turkey to India, being that of the sword and
 poniard, is the most honourable.

the general on getting in his place, commenced mentioning Radja Ram-naráin, and making his eulogium, "he is" said he, "a Gentoo
 "very intelligent, and of a conciliating mind: he speaks Persian
 "grammatically, and, there appears so much sense and wisdom in
 "every thing he says, that I have made him my divan, and my deputy
 "at Ilah-abad." The prince, whether from having heard of my proposal, or from his own good sense, answered in these very words: *As you have been so very little time together, how does it happen that he is become your trusty man at once?* On this Medar-ed-dö8la answered, by passing a general encomium upon the Radja's fidelity, and upon his attachment and zeal to the Imperial service. At these words Mirza-is-hac, intent on cutting some figure at any rate, broke forth and enumerated anew all his good qualities; and he went so far as to pledge himself for his fidelity and his submission to the Imperial pleasure. These noble persons, gained by two or three thousand rupees spread amongst them with some other presents, had lent a willing ear to the Radja's ambiguous promises, and to his general professions, and of course, were now unanimous and profuse in his encomiums. This was very natural; but what could be the reason why neither the prince nor the general, nor any one well-wisher to their cause, had ever thought of putting this plain question to the Cashmirian? *Suppose that the Radja, after returning into his fortress, should refuse to come out again, (as in fact he did) you that pledge yourself for the man's fidelity and submission, how shall you make him perform his promise, or bring him out again? This man has been faithless to his master; and you, a Cashmirian, pretend to pledge yourself for his zeal and attachment!*

"Where the eagle is loosing its feathers,

"What can be expected from its starving young one?"

Whilst the envoys were passing encomiums on Ram-naráin, he was already come into the presence, where having been made to bow in a manner which he had never seen in his life, he advanced with limbs trembling, and lips dried up by fear, near to the throne, where Medar-ed-dö8la laying hold of his hand, which was full of Eshruffies, and made the Shah-zada accept his nuzer and his homage. Immediately after the general mentioned the Radja's zeal

and submission, and supplicated that a qhylaat might be put upon him. The prince complied with the request; and the vezir having carried Ram-narain into an adjoining tent, put the dress of honour upon him, and adorned his head with a circlet, and an aigret, remarkable by Phoenix's feathers⁽⁸⁴⁾; such as is worn by the Imperial princes. Radja M8rly-dur having refused to be of the party, only two persons more received a qhylaat, and it was Ahmed-qhan-coréishy, and Mustepha-c8li-qhan, who were both with the Radja, and had bowed to the prince. Being all dressed in that manner, they all returned to the presence: but the Radja, who had always acted as a master, and who had never been subject to any constraint, was confounded at the respectful posture he was obliged to take, and at the repeated bows he was directed to make at every word spoke to him: he was overcome with heat and fatigue, and quite astonished at what he beheld. However, as soon as he had returned to himself, and found time to breathe freely, and to recover from his fatigue and surprise, he doubtless, reflected in his mind, on that air of wretchedness and misery that pierced through all the flimsy gaudiness which was intended to disguise the prince's condition, and that of his famished courtiers. The misery of what was stiled the *Imperial army*, struck his senses forcibly; and he repented heartily of his coming. It is true, he did not utter a word of all that; but I comprehended very well his sense of it, from his humbled looks, the colour of his complexion, and from the whole cast of his features; he wished himself gone, and out of the clutches of those famished vultures. A moment after, the general took his leave, and carried the Radja to the head-quarters, from whence, he had the folly to let such a game escape out of his paws, and to dismiss the man with all the ease imaginable. He had been lodged in a tent apart, but close to that of Mahmed-c8li-qhan's; and he had hardly commenced to breathe freely, when Mirza-m8suvi, one of those who had been dispatched in company with Medar-ed-dö8la, to bring him from the city, was sent to him with a message in these words:—*The government of Azimabad has been bestowed on the man you know*, (meaning Mirza-hassen, younger brother to Mahmed-

(84) This is the name given in Hindiu to the birds of Paradise, which the Dutch import from the Moluccas, with feathers and all.

c8li-qhan) and yourself have been appointed divan to both the governments of Azimabad and Ilahabad; for which I wish you joy. This particular has been affirmed by persons of great credit; who add, that Mirza-is-hac, who happened to come in at that particular moment, and to be joined to Mirza-m8fuvi in the same commission, could not help expressing his surprise at the numerous improprieties of the message. Both the envoys excused themselves, and respectfully represented, “ that such a message was not yet of season; “ and that they were certain it would never produce any good at “ all.” But these objections having answered no other purpose than that of putting the general in a passion, he sent one of his guards to bring the Radja; and on his coming in, he informed him of the dispositions that had been made. The man very wisely inclined his head in token of consent, congratulated the new governor on his promotion, asked his protection, and then took his leave and went to his tent: in the evening he sent a trusty man (it was Mahmed-afac, the cutwal of Azimabad) to inform the general, *he was going to town to refresh himself.* The general answered: “ You may; I “ wish you a good journey.” At these words, some persons present repeated to him the advice I had given; but he heard it with detestation, and said, that *it was downright treason: nor was any such matter stipulated in the treaty.* They answered, “ that they proposed no harm at all; but that it was not stipulated neither, that “ he should return to his castle.” At these words, the general’s indignation rose to a height; he refused to listen to any thing more on that subject, and added this remark: *Let him return to his castle, as much as he pleases: Where is the man daring enough to stand the blunt of my unsheathed sabre?*

“ A blind man having by chance stumbled on an opportunity,—

“ Made nothing of it himself, nor would let others put it to some “ profit.”

On the Radja’s coming out of the tent, a person, upon an elephant, received him into the chair, by the general’s directions; and he offered to carry him to the city. The Radja consented; but after having gone a few hundred paces with him, he excused himself on his being, as a Gentoo, forbidden drinking water in the same

place with a Muffulman; and calling for another elephant of his own, he got on his back, and drank water; and then pushed forwards with all the speed which fear and anxiety could give him.

“ Did you not say, that he would fly out of joy?”

“ He flew, indeed, but it was like a peacock that has got rid of its rope.”

The first words he uttered, on coming within the city was, an order to the garrison to stand to their arms, and to man the ramparts, the towers and the gates: and it was in this manner that an affair concluded for Mahmed-cSli-qhan, and that lay at his feet, was suffered to escape out of his hands. That general, proud of his prowess, and full of his own mind, passed his days, as well as nights, in amusing himself with the performances of a number of dance women, with whom he was plunging head long in all kinds of pleasures: fully persuaded all this while, that the Radja was his servant, and would never prove refractory. Impressed with this notion, he was every day sending some new order to his new subject, with which the other complied in some shape or other.— These words were always carried by either Mirza-if-hac, or by mace-bearers, who talked high, but who were suffered to talk, the governor being anxious only to hear of the Bengal army; and matters remained on that footing, until the sun, getting in the sign of Aries⁽⁸⁵⁾, the new year's day drew near; and people, anxious to put their predictions to the test, were waiting to see whether Ram-narain would come out or not, to present the nuzurs and offerings customary on that day: if he should come, then fortune had been more favourable to Mahmed-c8li-qhan than he had deserved; if he should not, then all that had been fancied and schemed by that general, was nothing but whim and dream. At last the new year's day came, and then Ram-narain sent to both the prince and general the number of eshruffies usual on that day, together with a vast quantity of eggs, plain, red and painted; as well as a number of trays full of several kinds of sweetmeats and confectionary, made lozenge ways, and covered with gold and silver leaf; but he did not

(85) The new year's day falls, for the Indians, on the 21st or 22d of March, just at the vernal equinox.

move from his lodgings: he excused himself at the same time on his being entirely taken up with executing the orders sent him; and he likewise wrote letters of excuse to the principal grandees; so that it became ascertained now, that he would come no more. This was the general opinion, excepted, however, that of the senseless Mahmed-c8li-qhan, who, trusting to his own idea of the matter, continued to believe him as much his servant as ever.

The prince and his vezir having spent much time in celebrating the new year's day, and in enjoying to satiety every kind of pleasure, which fine women could afford by their voices and dances, they came at last to remember of politicks; and it was resolved that the army should move from that spot, and encamp on the other side of the city, in that part which looks Eastwards to Bengal: but as the high road goes through the main street, and through several markets of it, Ram-naráin sent word to camp, "that the
" Imperial army, consisting mostly of Moguls, a sort of people
" from which the inhabitants were particularly afraid, it was apprehended, that if they came to pass through the city with those
" swarms of plunderers that always followed armies, many disorders
" and violences might take place, which might induce the gentlemen of the city to take arms in their own defence, and would
" give occasion to much quarrelling and much blood shed in the
" very heart of Azimabad; that he hoped therefore it would be
" found convenient and proper to send the pioneers of the army
" to make a road Southward of the city, on the skirts of a lake
" now dried up, along which the artillery, and carriages of the
" army would roll with more facility, as they would be assisted by
" the city pioneers, which were no less his servants, than those of
" the army; and that once the road made, he conceived that the
" general himself would find it more commodious for going to encamp at Djaaser-qhan's seat, which was Eastward of the city."

An expedient so artfully proposed could not fail of being adopted by Mahmed-c8li-qhan, who ordered the army to march that way, firmly persuaded still that Ram-naráin was his servant, and a man incapable of entertaining thoughts of resistance or independence: some days were spent in the encampment; and every day used to produce

produce messages, with new orders about sending the papers relative to the income and expenditure of the province; and every day the messengers and mace-bearers assumed a higher tone of voice, and exercised authority wherever they went. All that was borne with calm and patience by the Radja, who submitted to every thing, and endeavoured by every means in his power to keep the general in good humour. At last news came to the Radja, that Miren, eldest son, as well as deputy of Mir-djafer-qhan, had set out of Moorshoodabad with the *tried in battle**, and his English. This chanced to be at the very time when Mahmed-c8li-qhan's mace-bearers and messengers, presuming on their master's power, had exceeded all bounds in their threats and violences; insomuch, that both M8rly-dur and Ram-narain had lost all patience. The latter still intended to go on with dissembling, and with a submissive behaviour, until Miren and the colonel should be near enough to administer corporal chastisement to that senseless general, as well as to his insolent troops, without his being at any trouble for it himself: But such was the overbearing and outrageous behaviour of the mace-bearers, that they disturbed this arrangement. M8rly-dur himself had lost all patience; and he was anxious to re-establish his character, by throwing away the mask at once, and fighting the enemy for a few days; but the Radja prevailed upon him to keep his temper, and to wait a few days more, after having waited so long: and he added, that as soon as the English should make their appearance, it would be then time to cudgel these insolent mace-bearers into better manners, and to drive them totally away. It is a common adage, that many a fool will sometimes act like a wiseman; but Mahmed-c8li-qhan was none of those: his conduct was a continual scene of ignorance and folly: nor was it but after an immense deal of misery and trouble, that he found out his having been mistaken. Perpetually despising any opinion, not his own, he rendered useless, and of no avail, that very small stock of wisdom that might be in his camp; and he

* *Sabüt-djung*. This was the name colonel Clive went by in those times, and ever after, even when he came back under the name of Lord Clive.

went bluntly on with trusting none but his own insufficient genius. Matters came to such a pass at last, that nothing remained to him, but to bite his own hands out of despair: and this is what we shall explain briefly.

Radja Ram-narain having kept the mask on, and put up with the insolencies and extortions of the mace-bearers, until his time was arrived; at last drove away those men, and made use of their ministry to ask Mahmed-c8li-qhan, "What he meant by endlessly sending his disorderly servants with haughty messages, about the accounts of Azimabad, and the expenditure of the public money?" *I owed you, added he, as to my superior, a visit and a present, and that ceremony I have gone through; but that is all: for I acknowledge no master, but the Nazem of Bengal; and if you are displeased with this message, take your party by all means.* This message awakened Mahmed-c8li-qhan from his lethargy: he fell into a passion, exhaled his anger alternately in a abusive language, and in high-flown threats, and at last he swore that to-morrow he would unkennel from his hole, that man who was so daring as to talk with a tone of independence with him: at the same time he sent word to the prince, that to-morrow he would make an attack upon the place; requesting that the troops of his majesty might assist in punishing that deceitful, faithless man. Accordingly the prince sent for my father, and directed him to be ready at day-break, with all the troops and commanders in his service, in order to attend Mahmed-c8li-qhan, whom he was to obey in whatever he should command. On hearing this order, Yahya-qhan, who was cousin-german, as well as son-in-law, to the vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, got up directly, and with a view to shew his bravery and zeal, as he thought, but, in fact, only his ignorance and impudence, he mounted his horse, and having assembled his people, he advanced with them close to Haider-nevaz-qhan's seat, where my father was encamped: there he kept his people under arms the whole night, and drew, what he thought an intrenchment, for his protection; without it once coming into his head, that such a work, in the middle of an encampment, and at such a distance from the walls, would answer no other purpose than that of tiring his people, spending his money uselessly, and be-
traying

traying his ignorance. At day-break my father, at the head of the generals and grandees of the prince's court, mounted; and all, with their soldiers, ranged themselves before their lord's tent, as did Mahmed-c8li-qhan's commanders and men, before that general's quarters; and I, the poor man, was in my father's company. They all received orders to prepare for an attack, and were dismissed accordingly. Amongst the commanders of Mahmed-c8li-qhan's troops, was one Mir-hofféin-qhan; a man who had so good an opinion of himself, as to think he was the principal commander, and also the bravest soldier in the army. This man set out with his own men, and took post at Ram-naráin's seat, over against the little gate, or wicket of the city. Every one in the same manner fought out some spot which he thought would answer his purpose. My father with both his old soldiers, and his new levies, took post in the plain over against the horse-market, and the tower opposite to it; and as most of the prince's commanders, had been formerly in my father's service, or were otherwise attached to him, they strove to be in his company, and wished to distinguish themselves under his eyes.

At this very moment, and whilst my father was advancing to the attack, his younger brother, Abdol-vehhab-qhan, who was of the same age and temper of mind with me, the poor man; and who had for me, his *idiot nephew*, the utmost kindness, made at once his appearance. This nobleman, after having kissed his elder brother's stirrup, said that he had brought his family with him, and landed them at the garden or seat of Lon-golah, close to the mausoleum of their forgiven father, where he wanted to plant a standard, which he requested from my father, as a safe-guard for his family and baggage. As it appeared that there would be an attack, and he was apprehensive lest his family should suffer by the garrison's making a fally, the standard was granted; but as I had by no means any confidence in it, I requested that his family should be brought directly to the place where we were, as being more to be depended upon, than any standard whatever. My advice was not attended to. He took the standard-bearer with him, placed him at the door of the garden, took leave of his family, and came back to the field of battle, being unwilling, said he, to part company with his
good

good brother and good nephew in a day of battle. That nobleman had come from Bagal-p8r, notwithstanding all the representations of Alla-c8li-qhan's sons, with whom he lived, and who objected, but in vain, to the journey he intended. These representations did not affect him: for so soon as he came to hear that his elder brother cut such a conspicuous figure in the prince's army, and court, he quitted his place of residence, and setting out with his consort, family, children, and dependants; and with whatever savings he had been able to set by these many years, he came to render his brother a visit. A moment after, a ball of cannon came amongst us from the city walls; and, as if this had been only a signal, the cannon commenced firing every where against those parts where they could descry bodies of our troops: so that balls in plenty went over our heads, and spread in Ram-narain's seat, which was near the city-walls, and over against the small gate called the Ranny's wicket, where Mir-hussain-qhan had taken his station, in expectation of an assault. By this time the fire of cannon and musquetry was increasing on both sides; and it appeared that our's was somewhat superior. Mahmed-c8li-qhan himself, mounted on an elephant, and surrounded by a great number of men, came amongst us. This was over against the horse-market-tower, where commanded M8rly-dur. This man, on observing an uncommon throng of men against that part, concluded that Mahmed-c8li-qhan himself must be there, or possibly some other principal commander; and accordingly he exhorted the gunner to fire amongst that multitude, and if possible, to hit the man on the elephant. The gunner did as he was bid, and sent his balls in plenty; killing people at the right and left of Mahmed-c8li-qhan, over whose head some balls passed every moment. One of these passed a very little way above mine, and furrowed the ground for some time. Such an unprofitable bravery being not of my liking, I could not help saying something of it to my father, who was in his palenkin at a small distance from Mahmed-c8li-qhan: "My Lord," said, "what advantage are we likely to reap by standing like so many marks against these cannon-balls of the enemy's?" To this he answered coldly by these words: *You know that I meddle with nothing.* "It

“ may be so,” replied I; “ but then the matter must be men-
 “ tioned to the general of the army; and it must be represented to
 “ him, that if an assault is intended, it would answer no purpose at
 “ all to stand there mounted on an elephant, and to offer so fair a
 “ mark to every cannon-ball from the rampart. I added, that
 “ should his unhappily chance to be hit, such an accident would be
 “ enough to put the whole army in an uproar, and to dishearten the
 “ bravest, in which case the whole would take fright, and disperse im-
 “ mediately. If we intend to take the place by assault (an operation
 “ after all, which requires more vigor of mind than I see any where
 “ in this army) it is such a piece of work as cannot be reckoned
 “ easy: for the governor has within the place no less than four or
 “ five thousand horses, and ten or twelve thousand musqueteers,
 “ with a large number of swivels, and a quantity of large cannon,
 “ disposed over every part of the walls. He has abundantly every
 “ thing necessary for a vigorous resistance: and in case of need,
 “ he would be supported by the whole body of the nobles and
 “ gentlemen settled within the city. But there is more than
 “ all that: even after having got within the city, an enemy would
 “ find a resistance in every street, and would be obliged to renew
 “ the engagement; nor does it appear, that the artillery which I
 “ have seen, will ever be able to make a breach into such stout
 “ walls and ramparts. A few days ago, when a salutary advice
 “ was given, no one would hear it; and now, that all men talk of
 “ fighting, they only come to a slaughter, and to no purpose stand
 “ exposed round the walls, mounted upon their elephants, like so
 “ many marks to shoot at. One would think that the best expe-
 “ dient would be to avail themselves of some buildings close to the
 “ walls, in order to get over them; after which they might march
 “ under cover of houses and streets, up to Moorid-qhan’s house,
 “ which is on the water-side, and close to the citadel. Under
 “ cover of that building, and of the neighbouring ones, the troo-
 “ pers might alight, and stand ready for an assault against the walls
 “ of the fort, which being an old building of two hundred years
 “ standing, and entirely out of repair, so that hardly the bricks
 “ and stones can stand together, it might be brought easily down
 “ by

“ by a couple of guns properly served for one day, or even less;
 “ and as soon as such a large breach is effected, the place may be
 “ easily taken by assault, or by only ordering the musqueteers to
 “ march up. I concluded, by saying, that such a scheme was far
 “ from being impracticable; and that it was likely to be attended
 “ by success.” My father listened attentively to his advice, and he
 was going to impart it to Mahmed-c8li-qhan, when the latter, of
 his own motion, quitted the place where he was, and advanced
 Westward. My father followed, and I went with him, towards
 some ruined buildings, over against the horse-market tower; there
 Mahmed-c8li-qhan stopped, and making his elephant kneel, he
 sent for my father, whom he desired to mount on his amhary, where
 he commenced speaking earnestly to him. After advancing some
 hundred yards, my father sent for me, and I ran up thither, and made a
 bow to the general; on which my father said, that the lord navvab wish-
 ed to send me on an embassy to Ram-naráin. I expressed my readiness,
 but observed, that it would not be possible for me to get ad-
 mittance, at a time when the Radja, shut up within the walls, was
 intent on his defence, and nothing came from the ramparts but bul-
 lets and balls. At these words, the general beckoned to a man on
 horseback, and on his coming near, he said, “ This gentleman is an
 “ acquaintance of mine, and belongs to the corps of Sheh-hamid-
 “ eddin, a commander of Ram-naráin’s; he was yesterday enter-
 “ tained within the walls in that commander’s house, and he is now
 “ coming out of thence. It appears by his report, that Ram-naráin
 “ said to the above commander, that he (Ram-naráin) had made a
 “ visit to me, had submitted to my will, and thereby incurred the
 “ resentment of the viceroy of Bengal for ever; and that neverthe-
 “ less I had attacked him, and sought his destruction, at the very
 “ time he thought that all was adjusted and settled. On these over-
 “ tures,” added the general, “ Hamid-eddin has thought proper to
 “ send with this gentleman a message to me, to give me notice,
 “ that if I could resolve on forgiving Ram-naráin’s behaviour, he
 “ would undertake to bring him to me again. Now I desire you to
 “ go to Ram-naráin, and to tell him from me, that if he chuses to
 “ shew himself at the gate of submission and love, we also shall for-

“ get what is past, and remain firm in our promises and agreement;
 “ as we bear him no ill will at all, and on the contrary, we are desirous
 “ to see him obedient and faithful.” To this I answered, that if all
 that had any foundation, how came it that Ram-narain had not sent
 out a man of his own with a message? On this objection, the man
 on horseback answered, that the message he had brought was from
 him, and in consequence of his order to Sheh-hamid-eddin. On
 hearing which words, the general added: “ No matter: where is
 “ the inconvenient in our sending a message to the Radja? So soon as
 “ you shall be returned from the city, we shall know better what
 “ we are to think of the truth or falsehood of this piece of news.”
 These words imposed me silence; and finding that he was incapable
 of distinguishing the probable from the improbable, I said that I had
 no objections, and that if such was his pleasure, I would go; but
 that I thought the lord-navvab ought in the meanwhile to retire to
 some place, and to recall his people; this being the shortest method
 for silencing their fire, and for rendering the way to and from the
 city as free as before; indeed, the only one that could put it in my
 power to find access to the Radja: I added, that on my coming back
 I would give an account of what I had seen and heard. The gene-
 ral replied, that unless the Radja ceased firing on his own side, his
 people could not slacken their fire. To this I answered, “ That the
 “ Radja was necessitated to do as he did, as the enemies were
 “ marching up to an assault, and he had only put himself upon his
 “ defence; that should he cease firing, the besiegers would in a mo-
 “ ment get over the walls, and master the city. How then could
 “ he cease firing? and unless firing should cease, How could I make
 “ my way good into the city? Musquet-balls and cannon-balls do
 “ not make any distinction between an enemy and an ambassador.”
 The man on horseback, on hearing these words, said: “ Let him
 “ come with me, and I will carry him thither in all safety.” *With*
all my heart, answered I; *I will go wherever he will go himself*; and so
 saying, I took my leave. We went together for some while, when
 Abdol-vehhab-qhan, my uncle, out of tenderness for me, joined us
 by the way, and said that he would never suffer his good nephew to
 go alone. The man on horseback availing himself of every cover to
 shelter

shelter himself from the balls that flew about, went on until we arrived at Ram-narain's seat; which was the post which Mir-husséin-qhan, with some thousand musqueteers, had chosen for his station; and as the balls flew about like a storm of hail, it became utterly impossible to get out of the garden, or even to shew one's head without the enclosure of it, as it was close to a tower, and there was no such thing as a shelter or a cover in the interval. There I took some repose, and getting up again, I bid the man proceed, and that I would follow. The man, astonished at the danger, excused himself, and said that we must first of all look out for our way, and then set out with it: but the balls rained in such quantities, that there was no venturing out at all. The man non-plused, wrote a note to Hamid-eddin, and prevailed upon his servant to carry it. The servant came back in a little time, and said there was no passing forwards: the man, instead of being quiet, commenced urging his servant, and at last he offered him five rupees to carry the note.—The servant impatient, asked, “Whether he thought money more precious than life? And since you,” said he, “that are my master, dare not venture out, how can I, who am but a servant, venture upon such an attempt? I am a man myself, and have about me some of that very flesh and that very blood, which my betters are so careful of: poor men are just such men as the rich ones.” This dialogue diverted me a little; I was inclined to listen, but the man non-plused said, that we had better go back. I answered as I had hitherto done, that he was my guide, and that I would follow him. The man, ashamed of himself, returned; and on our being arrived close to Mahmed-c8li-qhan, that general asked us, “What news?” I answered, “Please to ask my guide.” The general soon found out what was the matter: and the man confounded, hung his head, said not a word, and shrunk away.

As to myself, I remained on the spot, looking at what these senseless generals, and officers were doing: in the evening I returned home; and in an hour's time, was followed by my father: most of the commanders likewise returned to their quarters; but the troops remained where they were, to guard their posts, and their artillery. At night, the plunderers of both sides, availing themselves

selves of the security in which the inhabitants of the out-houses of the city were sleeping (and these, trusted entirely to the safeguard of the prince's presence, who, in fact, was encamped amongst them) plundered those poor people, set their houses on fire, and deprived them of their little all. In the confusion, the family and baggage of Vehhab-aali-qhan underwent the same fate; and his lady and children found themselves in the morning without a single farthing, or a yard of cloth or apparel: luckily for them, that some generous officer passing by at the very nick of time, interposed timely enough to save the honour of that forlorn family; which, but for his interference, was going to be wrecked. He brought those hopeless women to camp, and having lodged them there, under some trees, he went away. All this time the unfortunate owner was searching for them throughout the whole plain, and throughout the whole camp; he spent the night in running about, and about the dawn of day, he was returning in despair, to my father's quarters, when he unexpectedly found them under the trees that were behind his encampment. The unfortunate nobleman, without minding their being almost naked, returned thanks to God, for their having escaped with their honour. He then remembered the advice I had given him; but remembered it when it was too late.

Matters being as we have been observing, there is no wonder in my resolving to quit this camp, although indeed, on my very first casting my eyes upon these blundering generals, and senseless politicians, I had long ago despaired of their ever being able to do any thing: at last I took my final resolution, being anxious about my own family which I had left in the city. But it chanced, that my illustrious mother, with all our families, was already in camp. On the evening of the day which preceded the attack on the city walls, her highness, my mother, (whose shadow may long remain stretched over me!) hearing that her husband, my father, was in Mahmed-c8li-qhan's army, had set out, with a number of ladies, our relations, each of them in a covered chair, and each with a female servant, a few clothes, and some bedding-apparel; her intention being,

ing, to pay her respects to her husband. With that vow, she advanced towards the western gate, where the guards opposed her passing further; but notice of this being sent to Ram-narain, he ordered that no one should presume to molest her, or her retinue; and this was an important service which he rendered our family; for had Miren, on his arrival at Azimabad, found them within the city, God knows what merciless usage he would have offered them. God Almighty be thanked for this signal proof of his providence.

Some time after, Mahmed-c8li-qhan having found his present encampment incommodious, quitted Djaaser-qhan's garden, and went to encamp southward of the city, in a part which the lake had left dry, and which was out of the reach of the enemy's fire. As for me, having tarried two or three days more in camp, to examine little more into the perverse intentions, and blundering schemes of these ignorant generals and famished grandees, with which it swarmed, I became tired of my situation; and could not help expressing my uneasiness to my forgiven father. "I observed, that
 "the number of unfortunate objects that were now present with
 "him, were not capable of following on foot: that such a city
 "was not likely to be taken, by such an army, in many months to
 "come: that mean while the army from Bengal, with the English
 "at their head, would soon arrive; and that Mahmed-c8li-qhan
 "would in time be tired, and in time return to his own country:
 "so that if his highness chose now to do something for those un-
 "fortunate objects, and to provide a retreat for them, it would be
 "very well; else, the matter would become impossible in a few
 "days." At these words he assumed a peevish countenance, and he answered, that as to himself he could do nothing; and that they had better do as to them might seem best. On receiving this answer, I provided some covered coaches and carriages for them and their little baggage, and I procured a further supply from the head cart-man of Alem-gundj, one of the suburbs of the city, who was my acquaintance; with these, and a supply of chair-men, I contrived to obtain an escort from the zemindar, Puhluvan-sing, with which I set out with my mother, my consort, and my family, together with the families of Mehdy-nessar-qhan, of Abdol-vehhab-qhan,

qhan, and of my two brothers. We passed the Sohon about Col8r, and we arrived safe in that zemindar's country, where I took my abode for some days at Saharferam, in the habitation of Shah-ky-am-eddin, grand son of Shah-cahlen, who was still living: and I was waiting the events which time might bring forth, when one day the Shah-zada and Mahmed-c8li-qhan, led by their ill fortune, made suddenly their appearance at Saharferam, and afforded me again the opportunity of kissing the dust of the paternal feet. This strange event was brought about in the following manner:

After my departure from the army, Mahmed-c8li-qhan, with the Shah-zada's generals, made many efforts to take the city: he advanced his trenches very near the foot of the wall, and lost a great number of men in killed and wounded; but as all these pains and all this trouble were taken with no knowledge, and no intelligence at all, they produced no advantage; and they only served to betray much ignorance and incapacity. Mahmed-c8li-qhan, who had directed his efforts against the tower of Mehdy-gundj, ordered his pioneers to tap the bottom of the wall. It was on the ninth day of the siege, and five men ventured to execute his orders. But the wall from above, having given way, smothered three or four of them; and the fifth only escaped. The assault was given immediately. The besieged, without being dismayed, were throwing on the assailters such quantities of powder-bags and other fires; and the neighbouring tower sent such a shower of bullets amongst them, that numbers that had got on the third part of the height of the breach, as well as some that had been higher, were scorched by the powder on fire, or wounded by the bullets, and they rolled down in heaps. Great numbers besides, were slain or wounded at the foot of the breach. They say that about two hundred men, or more, lost their lives in that manner; nor could the breach be got over. At night the troops retired within their trenches; but in the morning, in consequence of some messages that passed between the Shah-zada, and Mahmed-c8li-qhan, the latter took offence; and having ordered his troops to withdraw from the foot of the wall, he talked of returning to his country. The prince, informed that he had already sent away part of his baggage and tents, thought

thought it expedient to pay him a visit where he made some concessions, and where he engaged him to send a contra-order to his baggage, and to attack the wall anew. But much time having been already spent in messages, before the troops could return to their posts, it became too late to re-commence an attack the next morning: therefore another assault was given, and this was supported with so much vigor, that Ram-narain and his people, intimidated by such a perseverance, were on the point of abandoning the walls, and of flying by the opposite gate: and this was the state of things, when in the afternoon it appeared that the besiegers were retiring of their own accord.

This singular retreat was owing to two important pieces of intelligence, which Mahmed-c8li-qhan received at the same time. The first was, that the Bengal army, with the English at their elbows, was at hand: The second, that the fortress of Ilahabad was lost for him; Shuja-ed-dö8la having artifiiously availed himself of Mahmed-c8li-qhan's absence, to deceive the governor, and to take possession of that fortress. The general astonished and confounded at two such pieces of news, thought it better for him to abandon the siege, and to turn himself towards Shuja-ed-dö8la, in hopes of being able to impress him with some regard for those rights of consanguinity, which subsisted between them. The event proved, that he presumed too much upon such ties; and as fortune had now turned her back upon him, and the day of his death was drawing near, he did precisely what he ought never to have done. Having once resolved to return, he neglected the attack; and on the evening of that same day, he appointed the next morning for his march. He then retired to his quarters, and gave the Shah-zada notice of his intention, and of the arrival of the Bengal army with its English. The Shah-zada advised him to shew more firmness; and he repeated two or three times his entreaties and messages thereon; but with so little effect, that finding the general inflexible, he determined to retire likewise, and to seek out some asylum somewhere. In the morning, every one found out, by the total change in the disposition of the army, that they were going to decamp. In vain did Pahluvan-sing, the zemindar, and some
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others attached to Mahmed-c8li-qhan, strongly reflect on the impropriety of expecting to pacify Shuja-ed-dö8la, and on the necessity of tarrying some days more, as whatever remained for him to do, was to be done at those foot of the walls, until some other party might be taken. These remonstrances availed nothing: and in the morning he beat the general, and prepared to return to his own country. It was at this very moment that the Fransis, *M8sher Lafs*⁽⁸⁶⁾, arrived in camp. This foreigner entreated him to stay a couple of days more, to see how he would manage with the walls. "He observed that this was the purpose for which he had come running, and out of breath, from Chitur-p8r; and he offered to let him do as he should think proper, as soon as that short delay should be over." But Mahmed-c8li-qhan would hear nothing; so that *M8sher Lafs*, amazed at this sudden disposition of providence, resolved to return likewise; but thought it incumbent upon him to pay first a visit to the Shah-zada. The Shah-zada listened to the message and deferred his departure accordingly, until the troops that followed *M8sher Lafs* should come up. As soon as they arrived *M8sher Lafs* payed his respects to the prince, and asked what part he intended to take? The prince frankly acknowledged, "that hitherto he had joined Mahmed-c8li-qhan's cause, on the hopes of finding with him resources to support his troops and his dignity; but now that the general was bent on returning to his own country, he (the prince) did not find in himself either those treasures, or those necessaries requisite for fighting the Bengal army; and that his circumstances being such, he was forced to retire towards Chitur-p8r, in order to wait what should happen next." As *M8sher Lafs* himself was settled in that country, he approved his resolution of retiring thither; but he always made it a point to precede him by some coffes. On his passing at Saharferam, I went to see that foreigner; he much complained of the grandees of Hindostan, who by their misintelligences seemed to mind nothing but

(86) The Frenchman. This *M8sher Lafs*, is the same whom the French called Monsieur Lafs, a son to the famous Scotchman, John Law, comptroller of the finances in 1720, at Paris.

themselves,

themselves, to the ruin of all the world besides; and he severely reflected on Mahmed-c8li-qhan's precipitation, which he ascribed wholly to his ignorance and incapacity. "I have seen," added he, "all the country from Bengal to Shah-djehan-abad, and have been able to observe nothing but the ruin of the poor, and the oppression of the lesser ones, by their rulers and superiors. And although I have proposed to some of those ignorant inconsiderate princes, namely, to the vezir Umed-el-mulk, and to Shuja-ed-dö8la, to endeavour to bring order, tranquillity and union in the empire, after which, Bengal might be easily recovered from the English; I have found attention no where; and no where did any one pay any regard to my representations: nor did any one so much as once examine the good and bad side of my proposed expedition."

This stranger, after some conversation on the same subject, proceeded on his journey; and Mahmed-c8li-qhan, with the Shah-zada, arrived some hours after. My father was with him; but I could easily observe a great change in him: he took up his abode in the same house with me; bitterly complained of the ignorance and supineness of these two men; professed himself sick of following them; and asked me what I thought was to be done? I answered, "That it would be improper in him to return to Shah-djehan-abad, where he had every thing to fear from Umed-el-mulk's resentment; nor was it probable, that the Shah-zada's friendship and power would answer any purpose in protecting and bringing away his family, now forsaken in that capital: that on one hand there was no similarity sufficient between his highness's character, and that of Shuja-ed-dö8la's, to countenance such a step, as that of his going to take service with that prince; and on the other, an end had been put to the connections of our families with the people of Bengal, by our having followed our father's fortunes, and attached ourselves to the Shah-zada: so that I saw but one party left, which might possibly give umbrage to his highness, but which required our acquiescence; and this was to attach ourselves to Pahluvan-sing, a powerful zemindar of this country who was in high repute in the province, in great

“ credit with both M8rly-dur and Ram-naráin; and who, besides
“ a good body of troops, was master of more treasures than would
“ be imagined: that to all appearance he would find means to
“ make an agreement with government; but that I thought like-
“ wise, that out of a point of honour, he would so far compre-
“ hend him in the treaty, as to do nothing for himself, unless he
“ had done something handsome for his guest: that by such a ma-
“ nagement, there was a possibility of our family’s recovering our
“ landed estate again, upon the product of which his highness
“ might pass his days in peace and plenty.” My illustrious father
heard attentively, but remained silent a while, and he then said,
“ That he would not be much pleased, indeed, with the expedient
“ I had proposed; but that nevertheless we ought to take it up, as
“ we had no other at our disposal.” Upon this resolution, his
highness decamped from Saharferam, and went to pitch his tents
close to those of Pahluvan-sing’s, upon the little river of Durgaoty.
The Radja no sooner heard who he was, than he made him a visit,
in which he behaved in the most respectful and most obliging man-
ner, thinking it a happiness, as he expressed it, to travel in his
company. He also imparted to his highness his own scheme, which
was, first, “ To prevail upon the Shah-zada to return towards the
“ east, for the purpose of fighting Miren and his English: second-
“ ly, to take M8sher Lafs in his own pay, in which case he would
“ furnish all the money necessary for assembling a powerful army,
“ and would find means to afford to the expences of the expedition;
“ his sole aim being to acquire a name that might reach the latest
“ posterity;” he added, “ that he was bent on this design; had
“ taken his chance; had submitted, before-hand, to his destiny;
“ and would encounter whatever might happen, provided he could
“ avenge his master’s death.” The Radja sent me several times
with messages to the above purport, both to the prince and to
M8sher Lafs; but as he was a zemindar by trade, neither the
Shah-zada nor M8sher Lafs, would repose any confidence on his
promises. The Shah-zada at last took the party of writing to
Colonel Clive: this letter was intended to give a fair colouring to
his retreat, to lessen the levity and disgrace of all that undertaking,
and

and to impress that general with some concern for the prince's forlorn situation: with that view he sent his secretaries and seal to my father, with a request to draw up a minute of the intended letter: but the several minutes brought in, not proving consonant to his mind, he bid me write what I thought proper on the subject; upon which order, I took pen and wrote down what occurred to my mind. The minute having been every where approved, the m8nshies or secretaries received orders to write it fair; after which my father presented it to the prince, sealed it in his presence, and sent it to the Colonel. But as we have interrupted our history by these particulars, it is proper to put an end to the reader's surprise and anxiety, by resuming our narrative of the consequences of Mahmed-c8li-qhan's retreat, as well as of what relates to M8sher Lafs, and to the Shah-zada's history; we shall add, likewise, a few words about the good luck with which I saved my comfort and family, from that scene of confusion and danger; and then we shall revert to the history of Bengal, and shall speak at length of Miren's arrival with his English, and of their march towards Saharferam; our account shall be closed by saying a few words about what was the result of the friendship that had lately taken place between my father and Pahluvan-sing,

As soon as Shuja-ed-dö8la heard that Mahmed-c8li-qhan was returning from his infructuous expedition, he forgot at once all those ties of blood, friendship and consanguinity, which subsisted between them; and giving way to his inhumanity, and to all the faithlessness of an unfeeling temper, he ordered his deputy, Radja Beni-bahadyr*, to join Radja Belvent, zemindar of Banares, and to oppose that unfortunate man's return. The two Radjas having joined their forces, posted themselves about two coffes below Ram-nagur, a

* This deputy's sudden rise is no less extraordinary than his sudden disgrace. He was presenting some papers for signature to that prince, who was then in the delicious retreat of a qhafs-qhana, (a word which has been explained) when the latter chanced to say these words: *Nothing is wanting now but a Gentoo virgin of fourteen.* Ready, answered the man; and straight he sent for his sister, which was a beauty; and the beauty carried the brother to the office of prime minister. Several years after the peace of Ilah-abad, he had his eyes plucked out, for malversation, it was said, but in reality, because he had too many connections with the English.

town built by Belvent-sing, over against Banares, and where he had his palace; and after having placed their cannon and troops in such a manner, as to intercept the passage entirely, they sent a message to the Shah-zada and to M8sher Lafs, to inform them that, as they had no business at all with them, they were at liberty to go whithersoever they might think proper; but that they would oppose Mahmed-c8li-qhan's moving from his place. The Shah-zada thinking himself happy to escape unhurt from such a scene of confusion and perfidy, took M8sher Lafs in his pay, and struck into the road of little Mirza-p8r; his intention being to repair to Chitur-p8r, in the Bondul-cand, where he intended to take up his residence. Mahmed-c8li-qhan remained encamped at the little town of Séyd-radja, but was so narrowly watched, that if any one from his camp presumed to part with the main for ever so little a distance, he was presently plundered by the zemindars of Belvent-sing's country. However, Yahia-qhan, one of his commanders, having obtained the Shah-zada's leave, went out and encamped at Mirza-p8r with an intention to repair to Shah-djehan-abad: whilst Mahmed-c8li-qhan, with an army entangled in the net of a reverse of fortune, was losing his time and character in messages and negotiations. Most of his commanders, who were men of valour, advised him to fight his way through the troops of the two Radjas, as the best party he could take; and indeed it was the only one advisable: the only one, at least, that would have saved his honour, and rescued his character from reproach, even on the supposition that he would have miscarried in the attempt. But the unfortunate man was confounded, and like one bewildered; and had lost his presence of mind totally. As to myself, after having seen my father's junction effected with Pahluvan-sing, and made my mind easy on that head, I took my consort and family, with my brother Séyd-aali-qhan, and lodged in the Caravan-fera of Keremnassa, with an intention to repair to Banares; and it is at that spot that I heard my other brother, Ghalib-aali-qhan, was safely arrived in that city with his consort, his mother-in-law, and his whole family. I wished to join him; but there was no crossing the Ganga, the Radja Belvent having seized, and confined under his fort at

Ram-

Ram-nagur, all the boats in the river, whilst his people, meanwhile, were plundering and stripping, indiscriminately, every one that came from Mahmed-c8li-qhan's army. Fain I was to return back, and to apply to Radja Pahlavan-sing for his recommendation to Radja Belvent; and this he did with the best grace in the world, requesting his friend to send an escort for my safety, to furnish me with boats, and to lodge me decently at Banares. My father was pleased to write on his side a letter to Belvent-sing, of the same purport. Having dispatched the two letters, I took some soldiers of Pahlavan-sing's with me, and set out with my family and with Séyd-aali-qhan, by the road of Chéinpoor, which road goes along the skirts of the mountains. Naky-aali-qhan remained with my father. In the middle of my march, two servants of Radja Belvent's came to me, with an order of his to all his officers, by which they were directed to watch over my person and effects, to escort me by the road, and to provide me with lodgings and provisions. The two men moreover, had orders to attend me as my guides. Notwithstanding all those attentions, no sooner was I arrived near Mirzapoor, than I was stopped by the guards, and obliged to a second application to the Radja, who sent an officer to disengage me; this man carried me to Mirzapoor, where he made me alight in a good lodging. The next morning he furnished me with boats; so that with the favour of God, we crossed the Ganga, and arrived safe at Banares. There I passed some months in enjoying the precious honour of attending on his holy highness, his highness's saint Mahmed-aali-hezin, (whom God may station amongst the highest of his elect!) I had also the inestimable advantage of enjoying the company of my maternal uncle, Séyd-abdol-aali-qhan, the impetuous in battles. In a few days more another person of distinction contrived to escape out of Mahmed-c8li-qhan's army, and arrived safe at Banares. It was Byram-qhan, grandson to the navvab R8h-8llah-qhan, paymaster-general to the emperor Aörengzéb: he had already sent to that city his consort and family. A few days after my arrival at Banares, I heard that Mahmed-c8li-qhan having applied to the two Radjas for liberty to repair to Shuja-ed-dö3la's court, with only a few servants, they had thought themselves

themselves obliged to write for it to their master, who sent his consent. On that single consent he was simple enough to cross the Ganga, with a dozen of troopers and a few servants, and to advance towards that prince's capital. But at the same time, the two Radjas had received an order to seize his effects, to plunder his camp, and to strip his troops, as soon as he should have proceeded on his journey. The senseless man was hardly gone these three or four days, when the two Radjas mounted, and getting into his camp, they gave the plunder of it to their troops, whilst they proceeded to seize his effects; so that there arose in camp such a scene of confusion, screams and distress, as retraced to the mind the day of judgement. Numbers of soldiers and officers were ill used; and every one of them lost their little all. Those only escaped the general wreck, who having acquaintances in the enemy's army, had the good luck to retire by times thither in the night time. Numbers of others, especially of the Séyds of Barr, who formed a numerous body, threw themselves on the protection of a Séyd who had a command in Beni-bahadyr's army; a man of honour and character, who found means to protect them. Others had in the night time escaped to his quarters, where they remained safe from those rapacious hands, or were passed unnoticed in the confusion of that day. What seems singular is, that out of so many commanders of character, one only should have thought of putting himself on his defence: and this was Zin-el-abedin-qhan, the same who having in the sequel become vezir to Shah-aalum, lost his life at the assault of Azimabad: an illustrious commander, of whom we shall speak in the sequel. He escaped with his honour and his property in consequence of his own bravery and resolution, and of the attachment which his men bore to his person. This glorious action was performed in the following manner:

This gentleman, who was son to a general officer in the armies of Iran, and himself a man of character and valour, had, long before his taking service with Mahmed-c8li-qhan, served with distinction under Ab8l-man8r-qhan, under whom he had enjoyed offices in most parts of the province of A8d, and was highly respected every where. He was of a generous temper, keeping open table,
and

and obliging with his purse and credit, as many as applied to him; shedding over the thirsty fields of every needy suitor's heart, the refreshing showers of his liberality, without ever making any distinction between an acquaintance or a stranger. It was enough to be in distress, in order to have a claim on his assistance. This officer finding how matters went throughout the camp, retired with a small number of men into some ruined houses, that were close to his quarters; and there having shewn himself on the top of the house, and at some crannies, he cried out, that whoever would approach him with a hostile intention, would soon find that he must be slain first, and then only stripped. Intelligence of this being carried to the two armies, some officers of Beni-bahadyr's, who had served under him, joined some other commanders of Radja Belvent's, who had likewise been obliged and relieved by his munificence; and these going in a body, represented to the two Radjas, "that the officer, who with a dozen of soldiers, had put himself upon his defence in those ruined houses, was no other than the brave Zin-el-abedin-qhan; a man of great character, and to whom every one of their servants, now present, was indebted for favours received, and for assistance most generously bestowed: they added, that several there present had likewise served under him; and that impressed with very high sentiments of respect and gratitude for his person, they supplicated for leave to go in a body, in order to bring that commander away with all the honour and respect due to his merit; or for permission to share his fate, and to perish with him." The two Radjas, hearing the strain of the request, and being themselves in admiration at the man's behaviour, gave their consent, with permission to bring him under whatever conditions and stipulations he should himself desire. The officers and commanders having received this consent, marched in a numerous body to that brave man's quarters; and there some of the principal ones having alighted at a distance, made a profound bow, and then advanced on foot in a friendly manner: being within hearing, they exposed their errand. The officer surprised at this unexpected turn, passed many encomiums on their generous interposition, and returned his acknowledgements to the Almighty for his signal

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Noble character of an officer.

delivery; he then mounted his horse, and followed by the companions of his fortune, he was conducted with the utmost respect to camp, where he was lodged, and treated with much regard, and from whence he, in a few days, repaired to Banares, as soon as the tumult of sack and plunder had subsided. Let men of sense and honour peruse carefully the anecdote which I have been stammering out here; let them hang it at their ear as the most precious pearl, that it may remind them hourly of the advantages of beneficence: let it inform them, that as that celestial qualification is at all times of so great a resource in this world, by insuring a liberal man's peace of mind in it; so it never fails to insure his happiness in the other, by laying up for him a store of comfort and consolation. Whilst Mahmed-c8li-qhan's troops were undergoing such a merciless stripping, he was himself under confinement at A8d. But we must now leave this event, together with its consequences, as we reserve it for Shuja-ed-dö8la's particular history: for we are now to revert to that of Bengal.

As soon as Mir-djaaser-qhan, (and he had no other deputy and no other trusty general but his son) came to hear of Ram-narain's junction with Mahmed-c8li-qhan, and of his having acknowledged the Shah-zada, he was struck with amazement and fear; and as the English were now the only resource which remained either to the father or to the son in the world, they both wrote to Colonel Clive, whom they intreated, besought, and supplicated to come to their assistance. The colonel objected; but at last he consented. On his arriving at the head of his troops at Moorshoodabad, a council was held, in which it was resolved to march immediately. It must be observed that some time was spent in overcoming that general's reluctance; for the English, uninformed as they were, of the real state of affairs in Hindostan; and unapprised of the strange cast of mind that formed so principal a feature in the character of the grandees of that country, were impressed with awful ideas for the very name and sound of Imperial prince; and they bore a high respect to the Imperial race. The words, throne, and hereditary right, excited their respect so far, that they felt a thorough disinclination against appearing in arms in opposition to such

such sacred names ; and so little inclined were they to entertain sentiments of enmity, that, to all appearance, they would have preferred the part of mediators, had they observed in the prince, or in his minister, any firmness, or capacity or concert. On receiving intelligence therefore, of the misunion that raged amongst them, and of the wretched conduct of which it occasioned, they shook off all regard for his concerns, and heartily joined their own confederates, the navvab and his son. By this time certain advices having reached Moorshoodabad, of Ramnarain's having quitted the prince's party, and of his being closely besieged in Azimabad; this intelligence engaged the father and the son to march with the colonel to his assistance: and they set out together with a numerous army. In the way Miren, who was very much dissatisfied with that air of independence, which Qhadum-hassen-qhan had assumed at P8rania, became apprehensive, lest the man should avail himself so far of the confusion as to conceive higher designs ; and he resolved to be beforehand with him, and to seize his person, if possible. With this view he encamped for some time at Pointy, which is over against P8rania; but this intention of Miren's having gone abroad, Qhadum-hassen-qhan, who was a shrewd wary man, and who, besides, greatly suspected Miren's sincerity, thought proper to march from P8rania with his army, artillery and effects ; and under pretence of going to join the Bengal army, he encamped at Carangolah, which is the landing place of the province of P8rania ; from thence he sent to Colonel Clive, and put himself under the safe guard of the English. The Colonel interposed his good offices, advised Miren not to think of troubling the man at present, and engaged the two parties to come to a new agreement together. Qhadum-hassen-qhan being now fully confirmed in his suspicions, declined going to camp ; but he offered to come to an interview in the middle of the river Ganga, where each party should come in its own badjaraw (87). He added,

(87) A badjaraw, is a boat, sometimes of a hundred feet in length, and a proportionable breadth, so as to look very much like a galley, being rowed by ten, twenty, or twenty-four men. Such a boat is more commodious and more showy than any barge in Europe ; and it has as many commodities and conveniencies, as a floating habitation can comport.

The refractory governor of P8rania patches up an agreement by the interposition of the English.

that after having in this manner satisfied himself with the sincerity of Miren's intentions, he would return to P8rania with a mind eased of its burthen, and would henceforward attend speedily to the duties of friendship and attachment. Such a treaty was by no means conformable to Miren's mind; but it became obligatory on both parties in consequence of the interposition of a commander of high character, who found his own advantage in it, and insisted *that this was not a time to engage in new broils*. The interview took place, as it had been agreed to; and a new treaty was concluded and confirmed by the Colonel's mediation. This general having now got rid of this affair, advanced with Miren towards Azimabad; and this intelligence having soon reached Mahmed-c8li-qhan, the latter concluded that it would not be advantageous in any shape to tarry any longer in his camp; and raising the siege, he decamped instantly. The Colonel being arrived close to Azimabad, was met by Ram-naráin, who came out with all the officers of government, and all the principal persons of the province and city; and although it is not known under what point of view he had the art to represent his joining the enemies of the state, yet it is certain that he was received with more regard than ever; nor did it appear that his character had any ways suffered by his late double-dealing: but what is singular is, that this same Ram-naráin who had made use of entreaties to send me on an embassy to Mahmed-c8li-qhan, whom he would have joined infallibly himself, had he not been deterred by M8rly-dur's representations, now made it a point to complain of me; thinking, doubtless, that so much as he might charge on my character, would go far towards clearing his own; he, therefore, made it a practice to complain of me every day: "Gentlemen," would he say, "strange are become the times, indeed, and strange characters do they sometimes exhibit! What wrongs had I done to Gholam-husséin-qhan, that he should have quitted my service, to go and join his father? This gentleman, after such a shifting of hands, and such a changing of fides, doubtless thinks himself a very honest man." This was his usual language. It might have been answered to him that, "Strange men, indeed, must be the English, and strangely infatuated must they be, who after
" having

“ having seen him repair to their enemy, and join his party, still
“ thought Ram-naráin their fast friend ! But the matter is this,
“ that in these days, whatever a wealthy man is pleased to do, is
“ never imputed to guilt ; and money covers every defect and every
“ vice, nay, gives it very often the appearance of policy ; but still
“ there remains no difference on the subject betwixt the opinions
“ of the adorers of gold, and those of the men of sense and pene-
“ tration : both parties agree in distinguishing the man of merit
“ from the man of the croud ; nor do they mistake his worth.”—
But we have spoken enough of private concerns ; let us revert now
to the affairs of state.

Colonel Clive, after tarrying a few days in town, marched, at
Ram-naráin's request, against Radja Pahluvan-sing. But this wary
man, unwilling to cope with such an adversary in the field, kept
himself at the foot of the hills ; and for a few days preparations were
made for war and battle : at last, however, matters turned to a ne-
gociation, and Ram-naráin having proposed to send Miren back to
Azimabad, where he might enjoy at his ease the performance of
the finest dance-women, and of the best voices, he pledged himself,
that provided the Colonel remained with him, he would find means
to bring the Radja to reasonable terms. Miren, who wanted no
better, returned to the city ; and Ram-naráin, with the Colonel,
having tarried a few days at Saharferam, soon brought the Radja's
affairs to a conclusion. But what will hardly be believed of a ze-
mindar is, that Pahluvan-sing, instead of beginning by his own con-
cerns, had the generosity first of all, to bring my father's affair
upon the carpet, and to finish it to that nobleman's satisfaction.—
He had the attention to stipulate that “ He should have liberty to
“ return to his estate : that his djaghiry lands should be restored to
“ him ; and that no injury should be offered him on account of the
“ past.” And God Almighty be thanked that matters turned out
precisely as I had imagined !

About the same time the Shah-zada's letters came to hand, it
produced its full effect ; and the colonel seemed pleased with both
its stile and purport. Ram-naráin himself, who was a man of let-
ters, greatly admired the energy and dignity of its language ; and
the

the English, having once inclined to a sense of compassion for the prince, payed many encomiums to the writer. As I chanced some time after to commence an acquaintance with those gentlemen, I heard them speak so much in praise of the secretray, who had penned that letter, that I could not help acknowledging myself to be the penman whom they so much approved: and this produced a new flow of encomiums. Some years after, I heard it praised by the hope of the state, the valorous Mr. Hushtin, the daring in war⁽⁷⁸⁾, who had knowledge enough to distinguish the poor man's productions from ordinary one's, and condescendence enough to honour them with his praise. This letter I say, having greatly affected the colonel, he not only answered it in the most respectful manner, but he added thereto, some thousand eshruffies by way of homage. As to my forgiven father, as soon as he had obtained possession of his estate, he repaired thither to lead a life of ease and dignity; and the Radja Pahluvan-sing, returned to his zemindary, where he applied himself to every art that could restore husbandry, and industry in his country. This campaign having ended so happily, Ram-narain returned with the colonel to Azimabad, where he made it his affair to pay his court assiduously to Miren.

This young prince who had the good luck to see this expedition finished with so much ease, resolved to return to Bengal. But first of all he determined to rid himself of Assalut-qhan and Dilir-qhan, as well as of the other sons of Umer-qhan, whom he could not drive away openly, as they had been so long attached to his family, and whom he did not love, as they were of a daringness which he dreaded. His father, at his departure, had recommended to him to rid himself of those officers; but in such a manner as should not disoblige them, as they were men, who in such a case, would make nothing of murdering both the father and son, happen what it would. Miren therefore thought it expedient to dissemble, and to take those officers with him in his expedition against the Shah-zada. What is strange, and yet exactly true, is, that those very men whom he wanted absolutely to be rid of, were so far from having harboured at

(78) Umad-1-mulk, Messer-Hushtin bahadur, Djeladet djung

an time, any ill design against either the son or the father, that they had all along approved themselves Mir-djaafer-qhan's supporters and zealous friends ; and that too so early as the very beginning of his fortune under Aali-verdi-qhan ; and their attachment, as well as that of Umer-qhan, their father, was so strong, that Seradjed-dö8la had taken umbrage at it, and had dismissed them from his service ; infomuch, that for a year together, that is so long as that prince sat upon the throne, they had miserably lived at Azimabad, without receiving any satisfaction about those considerable arrears due to them from the treasury. Three years after, as I chanced to repair to the Shah-zada's army, where I was necessitated to join his cause, in the manner already mentioned, I recollected Dilir-qhan's unhappy situation, and I wrote him a letter to recommend to him my confort, and my family, left at Azimabad ; and also to invite him over to the Shah-zada's service : for we had been intimate friends together, and in pursuance of a custom in Hindia, we had exchanged turbans. He answered me, " That my confort and his
 " head must stand or fall together ; and that I might make myself
 " easy on that subject ; but that as to passing into the Shah-zada's
 " service, he was glad to inform me that, if even Mir-djaafer-
 " qhan should be reduced to his last soldier in the world, that last
 " soldier would be himself." He added these words: *Pray, my friend,*
put up your prayers to Heaven, that to whomsoever I may be once at-
ta:hed, to him I may remain faithful for ever. Miren who was of himself too insidious in his temper to need the caution given him by his father, kept fair with Dilir-qhan, until Ram-narain's return, and he thereby put him off his guard : for Ram-narain's return was the time fixed for paying the arrears due to that commander ; and as soon as he saw him arrived, Miren resolved to return to Moorshoodabad ; but he recommended to the governor to put trusty guards on the outside of the Western gate of the city, and a body of English Talingas within, with orders to hinder Dilir-qhan, or his people from getting admittance. At the same time he embarked in his boats, and went thirty or forty cosses down the river ; after which he continued his rout by land. Dilir-qhan finding himself deceived, was at a loss what to do, especially as Ram-narain took
 care

care to exculpate himself, by informing him that he had no orders about his arrears, and that it was better for him to quit the city, and to abstain from coming within the walls. Dilir-qhan himself, sensible that all was lost, quitted the environs of Azimabad, and with his friends and soldiers, he went towards Ticary, where he was entertained in the service of the two zemindars, Fatch-sing, and Buniad-sing, who were sons to Radja Sunder-sing, and who gave him a pension, upon which he made a shift to subsist himself, and his men. He was so much esteemed, that the two Radjas thought themselves very much honoured by affording shelter to a commander of that character. Some time after, Fatch-sing repaired to Moorshoodabad to strengthen himself in his zemindary; but his concerns were little minded, as Miren spent his time in all kinds of pleasures at Moorshoodabad, whilst Ram-naráin did the same at Azimabad.

It must be observed that Mir-djaafer-qhan had advanced as far as Radj-mahl to support his son; but that hearing by the way of the prosperous turn of his affairs, he had returned full of joy to his capital, where he availed himself of that accession of authority, which prosperity confers, to get rid of a man whom he had this long while in his eye; this was Sadacat-mahmed-qhan, son to Aga-bakyr, zemindar of Dacca, of which latter we have made some mention, in our account of Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, and of his deputy Husséin-c8li-qhan, who was, properly speaking, governor of the province of Djehanghir-nugur-dacca. The navvab who had conceived some unjust suspicions against this Sadacat-mahmed-qhan, had him blown off at a gun: an atrocious action, by which he laid up for himself a store of merits in the next world.

Whilst Dilir-qhan lived at Ticary, Cam-car-qhan, zemindar of Narhut-femái, incensed at the usage he had met with from Mir-djaafer-qhan, who on Ram-naráin's persuasion had put him under confinement, resolved to be revenged; and joining his cause to that of Dilir-qhan's, they both wrote to the Shah-zada, to invite him to a junction with them, under assurances of their being ready to join him. The forlorn prince, who had neither house nor home of his own, wanted no better; and assembling again his friends and
soldiers

soldiers, he quitted Chiter-p8r, and advanced towards Azimabad. As to myself, I quitted Banares, and came to my forgiven father on his estate, where, for a variety of reasons, I did not think proper to remain, but proceeded to Ticary upon some business, where I was entertained by Dilir-qhan in his house. However, as I soon came to find out that he had written letters to the Shah-zada, I quitted Ticary, sensible that no good could result from an attachment to that prince. Dilir-qhan pressed me to stay, and to join him; I objected to that party, shewed its disadvantages, and took my leave. Dilir-qhan was unwilling to part with me; but his discourses availing nothing, he made me accept such a sum of money for the charges of my return, as he could afford, and I repaired to Bahar, where Séyd-aali-qhan, my youngest brother, had taken up his residence some months before; and I was yet in that town, when news came that the Shah-zada was approaching; and that Cam-car-qhan would be soon in the neighbourhood of Bahar with his troops. As by tarrying in that town I brought on myself the necessity of waiting on the Shah-zada, and of feeding again upon that same mess, and out of the same platter, I resolved to quit Bahar, before a longer delay should have rendered it impossible for me to find admittance in Azimabad; nor was the last party without its full measure of inconveniencies, although it proved to be the only measure that remained; for Ram-narain had rendered me odious in that city, and was not pleased with my coming back. By good luck it happened that I recollected my being acquainted with the physician, Gh8lam-aali-qhan. As this gentleman who had acquired the governor's good will and confidence, by curing him of a distemper, was greatly attached to me, I availed myself of this particular, to write him a short note, in which I requested his interest in obtaining Ram-narain's leave for my residing at Azimabad. By the return of the messenger, I received the permission I had requested, upon which I repaired to the city with my brother, Séyd-aali-qhan. But this permission did not please Radja M8rly-dur, no more than some Mussulman friends of his: they took umbrage at it. Luckily for me, that a few days after, I went to see Mr. Amiatt, chief of the English factory at Azimabad, and also Doctor

Fullerton, the physician appointed by the council, to its service; and as I had an acquaintance with these gentlemen, but especially with the latter, I could not help telling them my story. Both those gentlemen joined in giving me assurances that I might stay in all safety: nay, the doctor offered me his own bungalow for my accommodation; so that on seeing myself so strongly supported, I took again to my ancient abode, as I had a good house of my own at Azimabad.

Second expedition of the Shah-zada's in Bengal.

Intelligence being now come that the Shah-zada was in full march, Ram-narain assembled his troops from all parts, and having got himself joined by Pahluvan-sing, and some other zemindars at the head of their troops; he found himself further reinforced by the arrival of a good body of Afghans, that came to his assistance from Moorshoodabad, under the command of Rehem-qhan, the Rohilah, a famous officer, who had acquired a character under Aali-verdi-qhan, and whom Mir-djaafer-qhan had selected on that very account. Ram-narain thus strengthened, marched out in a favourable hour, pointed out to him by his Brachman astrologers, and he encamped at five or six cosses on the road to Ticary. He had twelve thousand horse, a great deal of infantry, and several large pieces of cannon, together with a large number of swivels and rockets, as well as every requisite for war. Over and above all that force, he had a body of European English, commanded by Captain Cocran, who was accompanied by some other officers and sergeants; the latter commanded a body of Hindian soldiers, armed and accoutred and disciplined in the European manner of fighting; I mean those soldiers that are become so famous under the name of Talingas⁽⁷⁸⁾. They may have amounted to a thousand and some

(78) The sipahees, called Talingas in Bengal and in A8d, are those native soldiers, which were first raised and embodied by the French of Pondicherry, when they were besieged by Admiral Boscawen in 1746 or 47; but the French, who only gave them musquets and bayonets, were never able either to change their cumbersome dress, or to discipline them, or to bring them under controul thoroughly; whereas the English sipahees of these days (1786) as well as those of thirty years ago, are really trained and disciplined soldiers, well armed, well accoutred, and properly clad, and thoroughly under command. Originally they were commanded by Arabians, or those of their descendants born in the Canara and Cöscan, or Western part of India, where those foreigners stile themselves *Gharbies*, or Western.

some hundred men, all armed with flint-locks. They had likewise two brass guns, followed by their carts, loaded with ammunition ready made up; and these guns, furnished with their carts, were so handy, as to follow the troops every where.

Hardly had the Shah-zada passed the little river of Kerem-nassa, which is the boundary of the province of Azimabad, when he received intelligence of the death of Aalemghir the second, his father. This event happened in the following strange manner: A friend of the vezir Umad-el-mulk's (79), artfully turned the conversation upon a fakir or religious, freshly arrived at the monument of Firooz-shah, who performed wonders and miracles, and was visited by multitudes of persons. Aalemghir, on hearing this, had the simplicity to wish to see the holy man; and he mounted on his elephant to make him a visit: this was on the persuasion of Mehdy-nessar-qhan, the Cashmirian, brother to Ala-c8li-qhan; this nobleman accompanied the monarch thither, and carried him to the very room where the holy man was sitting; and he raised the curtain to afford an easier entrance to the emperor, who, giving him the long sword (80) which he carried in his hand, got into the room:

Western. Moreover their corps were composed mostly of Arabs, Negroes and Habishinians, all which bear upon that coast, the same name of *Gharbi*, which is Arabic for Westerling, and designed the situation of their native country, with respect to India: just as the *Taitch*, or *Dutch*, or *Germans*, bore heretofore the name of *Easterlings* in England. In time the word *Gharbi* was corrupted by both the French and Indians into that of *Gard*; which is now the general name for sipahces all over India, save Bengal and the neighbouring countries, where they are stiled *Talingas*; because the first sipahces that came in Bengal (and they were imported in 1757 by colonel Clive) were all *Talingas*, or *Tel8g8s* born, being of the coast of Coromandel, and speaking hardly any language but their native.

Native *Tel8g8*; their music to this day does not bear amongst themselves, as well as amongst the natives, any other appellation than that of *Arobi-taaf*, or Arabian flat drum or music, or march; for the word tom-tom, is a word coined by the English officers of that time, who being by no means so skilled in the Hindostany language as are their successors, and at a loss how to explain themselves, coined that word by *onomatopœa*, or in imitation of sound; and it was adopted by the sipahces as well as the natives, who took it to be English for drum.

(79) Alias Mir-sheabeddin, grandson to Nizam-el-mulk.

(80) This long sword is as broad, but twice as long as the *Curtana* of the English king's at their coronation; from which it differs likewise, by having a branch to its hilt. It is in a scabbard of velvet, and held like a walking cane, and is reputed a mark of sovereignty, and always of high command. It is called *D-b8p*.

this was immediately made fast from without; and the monarch was hardly seated, when the murderers, who were all T8ranians of the most merciless kind, fell upon him with their poinards, and dispatched him in a moment: after which the door being set open again, the body was drawn out by the legs and tumbled down stairs, at the gate which looks eastward towards the river, and was now on a plain of dry sand. Mirza-babr, nephew and son-in-law to Aalemghir, seeing this scene, drew his sabre and wounded one or two persons; but he was soon over-powered by Mehdy-nessar-ghan's people, who threw him into a covered paleky, and conveyed him to the fortrefs of Selimgur, which is the usual place of confinement for princes of the Imperial blood: from thence they brought out a prince whom they seated on the throne, under the name of *Shah-djehan-fani* or the Second. Meanwhile the body of Aalemghir remaining neglected, the l8ch-chas or vilest part of the populace, had the generosity to assemble and to carry it to H8ma8n's monument, where they committed it to the ground. So sudden and so mournful a revolution could not but confound and amaze the Imperial prince: his feelings were deeply affected; but he soon recovered spirits enough to write with his own hand an account of this unhappy event, and to send it secretly by a trusty person to my forgiven father, who then resided with his consort and family upon his estate, in the town of Husein-abad, which he had just founded and built. The letter, besides an account of the revolution, contained a request of some advice on what he thought was to be done. My forgiven father, on receiving the above letter, took pen, and without loss of time, wrote with his own hand a full answer, in which "he advised the prince immediately, on his receiving his "letter, to sit with the customary ceremonies (81) upon the throne " he

(81) The principal of these ceremonies consists in raising a parasol, or umbrella, or sun-screen, if you will, over the emperor's head, and in whirling it round the head several times; after which it becomes a constant appendage to the throne behind which it stands upright, and shades his head. This throne is made like an old fashioned arm-chair, with the back lofty and upright, the arms straight, and ending in lion's heads; the lower part is fitted with a foot-stool. This is the old Indian throne, as imported from Tartary, by the Babrian princes

“ he had inherited: to send without loss of time the casket of the
 “ vezir’s office⁽⁸²⁾, to Shudjah-ed-dö8la, together with a rich qhylaat
 “ in investiture of that dignity; and meanwhile to appoint some
 “ able Mogul, of those now present about his person, to act as de-
 “ puty vezir: he likewise advised the prince to invest Nedjib-ed-
 “ dö8lah⁽⁸³⁾ with the office of lords of lords, which implies that
 “ of pay-master general and commander of the forces; and to send
 “ him the qhylaat of that high office, which is next to the vezirship:
 “ to send Munnir-ed-dö8la in embassy to the Abdaly king, with a
 “ letter informing him of his accession to the throne of his ances-
 “ tors; and inviting him to come over to his assistance, as that

princes, and still in use at the Court of Dehli, on solemnities. But there is for other occasions, a throne in the Indian, and of course more elegant fashion: it is an octagonal palki, leaning upon eight feet, thirty inches high, and fashioned into beautiful pillars, with their capitals inverted; but still with the parasol, or umbrella behind; and this umbrella, which is so common a conveniency in the southern parts of Europe, as well as in China, is at Dehli, and all over India, an appendage reserved not to the Imperial family, but only the Imperial persons.

(82) The vezir’s casket is of gold, enriched with jewels, but yet kept within a velvet covering that fits it exactly; and it is richly embroidered. It contains the emperor’s broad seal; that is, a piece of gold, whereon are engraven the emperor’s name and titles, in beautiful Persian characters, with sometimes the name of his father. It contains also some stationary, and two or three seals of a lesser bigness. This seal may be two inches and a half in diameter, and circular, although the others are square or oval; and here is the seal which that prince took at that time, and which for a time, served likewise for stamping the coin. It is in verses; and these verses were made extempore by Mir-mehdi-qhan, a Persian secretary of the translator’s acquaintance. The words are disposed as follows:

<i>God, protector of the law of Mahomet shade, favour, Shab-aalem Emperor. 1202. Coin, struck for seven climates.</i>	Which words must be construed thus in Persian; <i>Sikké zed ber beft Kishver Saie-i-fazl-ilahbami- i-din Mobammed, Shab-aalem, padshab, 1202.</i>
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Which words must be read thus: Shah-aalem, Emperor, Protector, of the Law of Mahommed, by the Shade of God’s favour, has struck this coin for the seven climates, 1202 (1787.) This original name was *Aah-gober*.

Aaligo-ber, which signifies gem of high value: the name he now assumed, (and it was *Shab-aalem Padshab*) did not signify king of the world, as some have been inclined to translate it, but *Supreme Monarch* only; and possible in this expression, he had an eye to the many monarchies and principalities set up in India; at least this translation is what, not the words, but the Indian idiom points out.

(83) Alias Nedjib-qhan, the prince who founded some forty years ago an Afghan principality, North of Dehli. It is now possessed by his son, Zabeta-qhan.

“ mon-

“ monarch had already done in favour of Shudjah-ed-dö8la, of Ned-
 “ jib-ed-dö8la, and of some other princes of Hindia, who had
 “ once made the same application.” To these advices he added
 these words: *Your majesty, above all, must neglect nothing to gain the
 hearts of all the principal men of your court; nor is it necessary to ap-
 point me, your old servant, to the office you have intended: at present I
 am satisfied with the subsistence which I find in my humble retreat; but
 whenever I am so happy as to hear of your throne having been firmly
 established, and of your empire being supported by the columns of consent
 and unanimity; whenever I hear that the grandees of your dominions
 have attached themselves to their duty, and act unanimously in your ser-
 vice, then there will be found places enough for your ancient minister,
 and bread enough for your old servant: at present I wish for nothing
 but to see you both prosperous and happy.*” The prince was then at

The Shah-
 zada hearing
 that his fa-
 ther had been
 murdered by
 the vezir, a-
 scends the
 throne under
 the title of
 Shah-aalem.

Catoly: on receiving my forgiven father's letter, he ordered a
 throne to be erected, according to the usage of the House of Babr;
 and taking his seat upon it, he commenced his reign, under the ti-
 tles of Shah-aalem-bahadyr, Emperor. He then sent the vezir's
 casket to Shudjah-ed-dö8la, with a rich qhylaar: forwarded another
 to Nedjib-ed-dö8la; and appointed Munnir-ed-dö8la to go as his
 ambassador to the court of the Abdaly monarch; in a word, he
 made every disposition that had been pointed out to him by my fa-
 ther's letter; and he was waiting for the divine assistance, when
 Cam-car-qhan, with five or six thousand horse made his appear-
 ance, and had the happiness to kiss the footsteps of the Imperial
 throne. Dilir-qhan and Affalet-qhan, his brother, arrived at the
 same time, at the head of a thousand horse and foot and were re-
 ceived with marks of favour and distinction. Cam-car-qhan at the
 same time undertook to furnish the expence of the Imperial house-
 hold; and he soon found means to introduce plenty in camp. Dilir-
 qhan, who listened only to the impetuosity of his temper, and to
 the fury of his deep-rooted resentment, wanted to come immedi-
 ately to a general engagement, as soon as Miren should arrive, that
 he might have it in his power to punish that coward in the field of
 braves, for the infamous deceit he had put upon him: but Cam-
 car-qhan, who was a man of sense and experience, requested that
 first

first of all they should fall upon Ram-naráin, before he should be joined by Miren; after which they would provide against Miren himself, thinking it dangerous to let them effect a junction of their forces. This advice having been approved by the Emperor, multitudes of men that presented themselves, were gradually and silently enlisted, inasmuch, that in a little time he found himself in a condition to encounter Ram-naráin.

This governor was encamped on the river Dehva, when the Emperor advanced upon him. Some skirmishes took place, and these ended in a battle. The engagement soon became general; the first line of Ram-naráin's was led to action by Ahmed-qhan-coréishy, and by Rehem-qhan, the Rohilah: Radja M8rly-dur, the head spy, and Pahluvan-sing, with his Bohudj-p8riahs, followed next, backed by some others of Ram-naráin's troops. Captain Cocran was stationed close to that governor's troops, but without mixing with them. His men were ranged in the utmost order, as it is customary with the English troops, who always look like a wall. On the emperor's side, the troops were ranged in two large bodies. The one was led to action by Oam-car-qhan; the other, by the two brothers, Dilir-qhan, and Affalet-qhan. The emperor, with a small number of select friends and servants, took his post in the rear. But hardly had the engagement become warm, than the two brothers, like two tygers averse of slaughter, and two elephants in rut, rushed on the flanks of Ram-naráin's army, and made it give way; and as they were the foremost of those that had penetrated within the enemy's ranks, they soon were aimed at like so many marks; and now musket balls were falling from the English line like a storm of hail. The Bodj-p8riahs were firing at the same time; and all with a variety of other missiles were aiming at those two heroes, and at that intrepid troop that followed them. At last the elephant that carried Dilir-qhan's standard, being attacked on all sides, took fright and turned about. This was observed to that officer; *You talk to me of an elephant only*, answered the man; *I would not shrink for Heaven itself, were it to turn about*. At these words he jumped down from his horse, and with two or three hundred of his old soldiers, all dismounted, he rushed on the enemy with sabre and buckler in hand.

His

Noble character of an officer.

His brother, Affalet-qhan did the same. The two brothers pushing forwards, broke the enemy's ranks, and made them turn their backs a second time. It was not so with the English: these men stood their ground like a wall, from which fell such a rain of balls, as appalled the most daring. Nevertheless the enemy was flying: in this state of things Dilir-qhan was wounded by a musket ball, that pierced both his cheeks; and Affalet-qhan, his brother, was run through by a spear, which made a large wound. Thirty of his bravest men were slain outright; and forty more disabled by their wounds: they all drank with open chearful countenances, the bitter cup presented them by death, and plunged together in eternity. Forty more were wounded, most of whom followed their heroical commanders, as few of these recovered of their wounds. But yet, in consequence of this vigorous attack, the enemy had been put into much disorder, and had turned their backs; and the English fire seemed silenced. Rehem-qhan and Gh8lam-shah, two principal commanders on Ram-narain's side, were taken prisoners by some of Cam-car-qhan's and Medar-ed-dö8la's soldiers. M8rlydur was taken by Cam-car-qhan himself, and became his prisoner. M8rad-qhan, the Ball8ch, and Ahmed-qhan, the Coréishy, escaped by flight: in one word, all that line fled. As soon as the English fire was silenced, and the enemy was seen flying, Cam-car-qhan fell upon Ram-narain; who yet stood his ground with a small number of men. This governor, unable to stand such an attack, sent to the English commander to request one half of his men. The latter had, at the beginning, warned him, that he had better take his post amongst the English; but this he would not hear, as he found his pride wounded by the proposal, or he had some other object in view. This much is certain, that the captain who had orders to be careful of the Radja's person, was obliged to send him part of his men; and as his whole corps, which was but a handful, had already suffered much; his men on seeing themselves parted asunder, were confounded, lost their usual firmness, and dispersed; for Cam-car-qhan, making his attack at the very moment of their parting, rendered it impossible for them to form again, and afforded an excuse to their flight, which became less disgraceful on that very account.

account. The runaways being vigorously pursued by that zemindar, the flight became general, and thereby ceased to be a disgrace. The whole of Ram-naráin's army was put to the rout, and the Radja himself obliged to fly for his life. Cam-car-qhan joining him at that very moment, ran a spear at him, wounded him grievously, and would have killed him infallibly, had he not been vigorously opposed by the late Mir-abdollah; the illustrious gentleman whom we have mentioned to have been recommended to the Radja, by Mr. Watts; this officer, on covering his master with his body, received several wounds from arrows, and from spears; but still covered and saved his master. The latter, already wounded dangerously, fell speechless in his háolah, where, very luckily for him, he was sheltered by the boards of it from Cam-car-qhan's fury: for the latter struck his spear into it a second time, and hit him again. After that there was no remaining any more on the field of battle; and Ram-naráin appearing senseless, his driver turned his elephant about and fled with all his might. Captain Cocran and Mr. Barwell*, with some other English officers, were slain one after another, in consequence of that improper division which they had made of their forces, and which had occasioned a dispersion. What remained of their people was rallied by Doctor William Fullerton, a friend of mine, and possibly by some English officers, whose names I know not, who ranged them in order again; and as one of their guns was to be left on the field of battle, they found means to render it useless and of no avail, by thrusting a large needle of iron into its eye. The other being in good condition, they took it with them, together with its ammunition; and that handful of men had the courage to retire in the face of a victorious enemy, without once shrinking from their ranks. During their journey the cart of ammunition chanced to receive some damage; the doctor stopped unconcernedly, and after having put it in order, he bravely pursued his rout again; and it must be acknowledged, that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and undaunted bravery, are past all question. They join the most resolute courage

* Brother to Richard Barwell.



to the most cautious prudence; nor have they their equals in the art of ranging themselves in battle array, and fighting in order. If to so many military qualifications *they knew how to join the arts of government; if they shewed a concern for the circumstances of the husbandman, and of the gentleman; and exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in relieving and easing the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs,* no nation in the world be preferable to them, or prove worthier of command. *But such is the little regard which they shew to the people of these kingdoms, and such their apathy and indifference for their welfare, that the people under their dominion groan every where, and are reduced to poverty and distress. O! God, come to the assistance of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions they suffer*⁽⁸⁵⁾. The emperor satisfied with his victory, ordered his music to play in token of rejoicing, but forbore pursuing the vanquished. After the battle, it was found that Dilir-qhan had drank with the utmost courage and alacrity, the bitter cup presented him by death: that Affalet-qhan, his brother, was yet mounted on the pinions of death, and was hastening to the gates of eternity; and that a number of their lion-like companions were taking the same rout, in company with their intrepid commanders. M8rly-dur who was deprived of an eye, which he had lost in the battle by the stroke of a spear, was a prisoner; and so was Rehem-qhan also; but without being confined. The bodies of Dilir-qhan and Affalet-qhan were taken up from the field of battle, and inhumated in a monument betwixt Fat8ah and Bycant-p8r; and the slain in general were brought together, and all committed to the earth. Had the victorious followed their blow, and pursued the vanquished, they would have mastered the city of Azimabad at once, as there did not remain in it so much as a single soldier: they would have plundered it, and would have finished Ram-narain, who could not move. But as it was ordered by fate that the city should be saved, and the honour of so many noble families preserved, Cam-car-qhan contented himself with plundering the flat country, and laying it under contribution, without it

The Shah-
zada beats
Ram-narain
in battle, but
misses Azi-
mabad.

(85) A passage of the Koran in Arabic, often in the mouths of the afflicted.

having

having once come into his head to rush at once into a city that would have cost him no trouble at all, as it was totally undefended. I was talking with my friends in Doctor Fullerton's bangla⁽⁸⁶⁾, when news came of Ram-narain's being defeated. It was not believed at first; but the intelligence being repeated in several places, and some known persons returning wounded, news came at last that Ram-narain and Mir-abdollah were coming, both very much wounded. On hearing this, I went to see and to console that officer, who was extremely my friend. Meanwhile the inhabitants were seized with a general consternation, especially the rich ones; so that Mustepha-c8li-qhan, brother to Mirza-iredj-qhan put his family and wealth in a number of boats, and brought them under the windows of the English factory, ready to cross the river, whilst he repaired to Mirza-abdollah's lodgings, which were close to that factory, on the outside of the city walls. For my own part, as I had neither family nor money in the city, I was easy enough, and could not help reprimanding Mustepha-c8li-qhan for his hastiness; but he made no account of the admonition; and leaving his family in the boats, he took up his abode elsewhere. Mr. Amyatt hearing of Ram-narain's being come, went to see him, and to administer some consolation to his mind; but finding every thing in confusion in that family, he appointed some of his own people for the safety of that governor's person and house, and went away. Ram-narain asked him what was to be done? The other answered, "That it was not customary in his nation to give groundless hopes, or to write falsehoods: that as matters stood now, he ought to take such measures as might secure his person, by acting according to the complexion of the times, until an army should come from Bengal." This undisguised advice engaged Ram-narain to write a letter to the emperor, in which he excused himself on the pains he suffered from his wounds, for not paying him his respects, as it was his duty to do; and this correspondence having taken up two or three days, in which time the enemy neglected to push on

(86) A bangla is in general a building, run up with bamboos, or India reeds, mats, straw, and some bricks and mud; it has a lofty roof thatched, and of course, always cool.

to the city, which was incapable of making any defence; this interval afforded the runaways time to return thither in greater numbers, and to fill all the parts with armed men. News coming at the same time to the emperor and to Cam-car-qhan, that the Bengal army was on its march, with the Colonel and the English at its head; they raised their camp and marched forward to meet the enemy.

Marches to
fight the ar-
my of Bengal,
and the Colo-
nel.

And here it will not be improper to remark that Miren, who was the general of that army, having never been in any engagement, or chanced to be fixed by the piercing eye of a warrior accustomed to quench his thirst in hostile blood, he was inclined to entertain so very high notions of his own prowess, that he thought himself the most valorous man in the world; insomuch, that with his own troops only (and on those he reposed the greatest confidence) he intended to give the enemy battle, and to gain the victory, without the assistance of the English. Now it must be remembered, that the English in an engagement, always fight apart, never mixing with any auxiliaries or confederates, lest these last should disturb their order of battle; only, if some man of consequence should chuse, for his own safety, to take shelter within their ranks with a small number of guards and friends, he is always welcome. In consequence of this disposition, the two armies of the Colonel's and of Miren's, approached the enemy asunder from each other; and this was in an open plain, where the eye could reach every object from afar. Miren on descrying the enemy, mounted his elephant, and ranged his troops apart from the English. The English ranged themselves in their customary order, with their artillery in front, and their Talingas on the wings. As to the emperor's army, where there was not a man capable of equalling Dilir-qhan, it was divided by Cam-car-qhan in two parts: the first, being his first line, he put under the orders of two commanders of character, namely, Cadyr-dad-qhan, son to Qhalye-dad-qhan, the Tirinian; and Gh8lam-shah, the Lucnovian. At the same time he took charge of the other, with which he formed the second line. The emperor himself, with his household, took his post in the rear, and became an uncommon spectacle for both friends and foes. The
armies

armies having approached each other, Cadyr-dad-qhan, and Gh8-lam-shah, left the English army at their right, and falling at once upon Miren's troops, they afforded him a specimen of a furious attack, rendered dreadful by a promiscuous slaughter. On the first onset, numbers of Miren's troops were so appalled, as to confound their ranks: Miren himself, without minding his high rank and conspicuous station, was struck with a panic, and turned about; he fled for some time, followed reluctantly by some of his commanders, who in vain called on him to return; some even chided him; but the cowards who were flying with him, finding that his flight went so much to their own discharge, thought only of mending their pace. It was at that time that the English having commenced firing, the battle blazed out; and Miren chided by his commanders, plucked up some courage, and resolved to return to the field of battle. A number of braves took him in the middle of their ranks, and returned to the charge, where they behaved so as to be remarked from both sides. This was no sooner observed by Cadyr-dad-qhan, than he advanced, and let fly a shower of arrows; the very first of which having lodged in the breast of Mah-med-amin-qhan, who had espoused Miren's aunt, and was mounted on an elephant close to him, it killed him outright, and dispatched him to the other world. Another arrow hit Miren himself, and broke one of his teeth; and whilst he was carrying his hand thither, another arrow lodged itself in his neck, without finishing him however; for his last hour was not yet come. After this flight of arrows, Cadyr-dad-qhan's men falling upon the braves that surrounded Miren, came to hand blows with them; and being warmly received, the business of wounding and killing with sabre, and arrow, and spear, went on briskly; and numbers on both sides being wounded and slain, the engagement became hearty and warm. In a little time the ground was strewed with a vast number of bodies. But Miren had lost his presence of mind: he held his empty bow in his hand, without once remembering to put the other into his quiver: shook his head to and fro, like the flame of a burning taper, for fear, doubtless, of being hit again by some other arrow; and he was ready to turn about a second time. At this critical moment,

Beats the
Indians, but
is beaten by
English.

the

the English army moving forward, took Cadyr-dad-qhan's people in flank and rear; and a ball hitting that commander, killed him on the spot. Cam-car-qhan who had advanced to that general's support, having had a full view of the small number of his troops, and of the havock which the English fire was making every where, did not think it prudent to stand his ground; and he turned about and retreated. Gh8lam-shah, the second commander, was wounded, as well as Aziz8llah-qhan, comptroller of the emperor's household; and both being surrounded by Miren's people, were mercilessly hacked to pieces; so that victory remained to that prince. Cam-car-qhan, who had quitted the field of battle, thought proper to carry the emperor to Bahar; whilst Miren returned to his quarters, where having ordered the music to play in token of rejoicing on this victory, he spent his time in providing for his wounds, and those of his people, as well as in purifying and inhumeing the remains of the late Mahmed-amin-qhan. He also took care to render the last duties to the slain that covered the ground; and some days were spent on that spot; where meanwhile he was visited by every person in town, myself only excepted, every one striving to gain his favour. But Ram-narain and Mir-abdollah, were retained at home by their wounds.

We have said that Cam-car-qhan had carried the emperor to Bahar: he tarried there no more than two or three days; for as he expected nothing now but from his alertness, he resolved to leave the enemy behind, and by cutting his way through the hills and mountains, to be before hand with them at Moorshoodabad, where he would possess himself of Mir-djaaser-qhan's person, and of the wealth of so rich a capital. With this view, he made every preparative which his time would permit; and throwing away, or possibly putting into some castle, his artillery and carriages, (articles which might prove so many incumbrances in his passage through the hills and in a warfare of expedition) he set out with a disincumbered body of troops; and turning to the right, he struck into the hilly country, from whence he marched straight to Moorshoodabad. Miren being informed of this, dispatched a letter by the post to his father, and taking with himself most of Ram-narain's troops, which the latter

Cam-car-qhan detaches himself from the Shah-zada to fall by stealth upon Moorshoodabad.

latter had put under the command of his own brother, Durdj-narain; he in a few days set out for Moorshoodabad, by the very road by which Cam-car-qhan had proceeded. Such an intelligence could not but astonish the old navvab; but nevertheless he put himself at the head of what troops he could assemble, and of a body which he obtained from the English rulers of Calcutta; and quitting Moorshoodabad in a favourable moment, he marched out at the head of a respectable force. He was mounted on an elephant, and surrounded by his household and women, but always took care to move betwixt the lines of the European English, who marched, as usual, with their artillery in front, and their Indian soldiers, so famous under the name of Talingas, on their wings and flanks. The navvab's own troops marched in front of these, and to the right and left; but at a great distance. He also encamped in the same manner, and always in the middle of the European English: and this disposition continued, until his son came up, and their two armies joined.

During all these movements, two Marhatta commanders of character, namely, Shy8-bahat and Bab8-djan, with the Radja of Bishen-p8r, came to join the emperor, to whom they paid their respects. This junction of so much light cavalry, put Cam-car-qhan upon exerting himself. It happened that Mir-cassim-qhan, son-in-law to the navvab, and who had been sent for with his troops from his fodydary of Rangpoor, was encamped on the river Dam8der. Cam-car-qhan, who had received intelligence of it, marched sixteen cosses in one day, to fall upon him by surprise; but the other having betimes found out his danger, retired to the grand army, and only some of his people were intercepted by the Marhattas, who just shewed themselves, and overtook his rear. The navvab after that junction with his son, put himself at the head of that numerous army, and trusting to his numbers, and to the prevalence of his English, he presented battle to Cam-car-qhan, who had been encamped on the other side of the Dam8der; the latter not thinking himself a match for such numerous forces, resolved to deceive them, and to go back towards Azimabad. He tarried only that night in that post, and at day-break, he beat his nagara,

nagara, and took to the road of Azimabad. Mir-djaafer-qhan finding that the enemy avoided an engagement, crossed the Dam8-der with intention to pursue; and this being perceived by the enemy, Cam-car-qhan and Shy8-bahat, detached themselves from their main, and kept the enemy in play for some hours together with repeated skirmishes, until their baggage and main had advanced on their journey by four or five coffes; after which they left the enemy and rejoined their main. This retreat having set at ease Mir-djaafer-qhan's mind, who was already elated by his son's victory, he resolved to get rid *in his own way* of a man on whose account he harboured some suspicions, as he was accused of some correspondence with the emperor. This was no other than Sheh-abdol-veh-hab-canb8, a commander of character, who had served with distinction under Seradj-ed-dö8la. On this single surmise, the old navvab got him seized and blown at a gun: this being his second performance in that stile.

An officer
of distinction
blown off at
a gun, by the
Navvab's or-
der.

Meanwhile Cam-car-qhan finding himself so much out-numbered, had thought proper to go back to Azimabad; and on the other hand Mir-djaafer-qhan and the English troops, who are all infantry, had become tired of such laborious marches, and of such a desultory kind of war: both nations were to a man desirous of some repose. They therefore made choice of a proper spot near Bardevan, where they rested for some days, waiting to see what might be Cam-car-qhan's operations with his Marhatta auxiliaries; and in what part of the country he would emerge again; for the emperor had invited M8sher Lafs, the Frenchman, to join him again; and the latter had quitted his residence of Chitur-p8r, and was arrived in the neighbourhood of Azimabad, whilst he that had invited him over, was yet in the Bardevan. On his approach, a general consternation seized the whole city, as there were not in the place any troops either Hindostany or English. Ram-narain himself stood amazed; nor were Mr. Amyatt and the other gentlemen of the English factory, without many apprehensions on their own account: for far from being elated by the victory which their friends had gained, they did not think themselves on a state of defence against M8sher Lafs; and on the other hand Ram-narain, as
well

well as Mustepha-c8li-qhan and the other grandees of the city, were all out of their minds; nevertheless they sent a gentleman of distinction to compliment M8sher Lafs. It was one Mir-djaafer, who had got acquainted with that commander, when the latter had some years ago hired his house for lodging his people: his orders were to sound the Frenchman upon his intentions. The envoy soon returned, and brought intelligence that at present he had not so much as a thought about mastering the city; and there was a good reason for it; for as he had come from afar, and by continual marches, he had no information at all about the state in which the place could be; nor did he know whether it contained any troops, and in what number. Had he been informed how destitute it was of every thing that might be called soldiers, he would have not failed to lay hold of so fair and so easy an opportunity. There were no troops in the city; and all the force in the English factory, did not amount to more than one company of Talingas, and a few gentlemen; for I reckon for nothing those that had escaped from the engagement from Ram-narain: these were too much disheartened by their wounds and by their shameful defeat, to stand the brunt of an escalade, or an assault. The envoy having satisfied himself with the Frenchman's intentions, strove to render others easy; but this proved a difficult task; and the consternation remained until the Frenchman having decamped and marched by the outskirts of the city, and the suburbs of T8lfi-monduvi, went round and advanced two or three coffes, where he encamped on the road to Bahar: then only did the inhabitants of Azimabad think themselves safe; and then only did they commence to breathe freely, as if they had come to life a second time. Mir-djaafer reported, that M8sher Lafs had asked about his friends in the city, such as Mustepha-c8li-qhan, Mir-abdollah and Mir-afzul, and some others; and he added, that on his asking in the name of those friends of his, how matters went with him? The Frenchman had contented himself with answering those questions by these two verses of the poet's:

“Turn your eyes from us, for we are afflicted.

“We are sitting upon a consuming fire, and nearly reduced to ashes.”

On his arrival at Bahar, he spent his time in manufacturing gun-

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powder,

powder, and making every preparation which his circumstances could afford: but they had so good intelligence at Azimabad, that his preparations were known day by day.

It was at this very time that Camcar-qhan returned with the emperor from his expedition of Bardevan; but hardly were they arrived, when they heard several good news at one and the same time; for it was about this time that Qhadem-hassen-qhan, governor of P8raniah wrote word, "that he was attached to the Imperial service, and would soon come up with his forces to the emperor's assistance;" and meanwhile sums of money in small parcels came to the Imperial treasury from Radja D8ll8b-ram, by the channel of the Sanyassee fakys, who also brought letters which assured the Emperor of his attachment and devotion to his Imperial service. Nor was that silent manner of transacting business unknown to Mir-afzul, the Cashmirian merchant, a man of eminence, who assisted the emperor both with money and information. Unluckily for that prince, Qhadem-hassen-qhan was faulty in delaying his departure so much; for had he come at that time, it is certain that he would have mastered the city of Azimabad with ease, and that such a conquest would have added a great deal of renown and influence to the Imperial name; and indeed although the emperor and Cam-car-qhan, had thought proper on their arrival at Bahar, to give their forces some repose, nevertheless all was confusion in Azimabad, as there were not in that city any troops that could be trusted; and the governor as well as the inhabitants trembled for their own safety, even at the very time he did every thing in his power to encourage his people, and to put his towers and ramparts in repair. At last he found himself at the head of something that looked like a force; and his city was put in a state of defence. Meanwhile letter after letter was going to Moorshoodabad to represent the state of impotence, to which the departure of his brother, Dirdj-narain, with all the forces of the province, had reduced him. These efforts were seconded by Mr. Amyatt, who was preparing for his own defence, and had assembled in the factory about three companies of Talingas, who had been hitherto dispersed in several outposts. But hardly were those preparatives finished, when the emperor

The refractory governor of P8raniah wants to join the Shahzada.

peror made his appearance with his general, and at last besieged the city. Immediately the garrison was distributed every where, and every thing prepared for a vigorous resistance. But amongst those proposed to the defence of the walls, none cut so conspicuous a figure as Ráo-shitáb-ráy, who although but one of the many that had been in the battle lost by Ram-naráin, seemed to be the most humbled by that disgrace, and the most active in endeavouring to retrieve his honour. He passed every night on the ramparts without sleeping, whilst his corps, that did not amount to more than two or three hundred men, was so much encouraged by his example and by his liberalities, that his soldiers proved at all times the boldest and most active of the whole garrison. The emperor and his general were encamped at the Eastern gate, near the citadel; and an assault had already been given to it. The fifth or sixth day of the siege, M8sher Las having spied in the Southern part of the wall a spot proper for his design, applied a ladder, upon which some of his men mounted directly. Luckily for the besieged that Doctor Fullerton with some officers and a few Talingas, immediately ran to that part, where one of the officers finding a rocket under his hand, set fire to it, and threw it against the Frenchman, whom it overthrew in the ditch whether dead or alive. The report having brought Shitáb-ráy to the spot, he ordered his men to go round out of the gate, and to take the assaulters in flank; which being bravely executed by those people, whilst the Talingas fired upon them from the wall, the French were repulsed and obliged to desist. Two days after, at about four o'clock in the morning, M8sher Las commenced another attack on the Western side of the city; and he played his cannon and mortars with so good effect, that a general terror seized the inhabitants. At the same time another attack was formed on the Eastern side by Zin-el-abedin-qhan, of whose valour and high character we have made mention in our account of Mahmed-c8li-qhan's retreat: part of the wall, which was of masonry, had been thrown down by the French artillery; and Zin-el-abedin-qhan having ordered his standard-bearer to precede, planted some ladders, and mounted immediately, himself the foremost. Being arrived upon the top of the

wall, he planted his standard with his own hand, and was soon joined by a few men that were emulous of his bravery; and these commenced firing upon the garrison, which stood below, and killed so many men, that the others thought proper to seek their safety by flight. Nevertheless that brave officer was not within the place as yet: the wall was lofty, and it became necessary to draw up the ladders, and to let them down again; a manœuvre that took up some time, and put it in the power of P8r-dil-qhan-ball8ch, the Djonp8rian, to come up with his corps, and to support the garrison. A warm firing ensued, which soon brought Doctor Fullerton with a few Talingas thither; and matters became doubtful, when some musket-ball hit Zin-el-abedin-qhan in the leg, and shattered the bone into shivers. He was supported by his men, who took him up in their arms, and were at the pains of letting him down the wall in that condition; and thither they all followed him, no one daring to stand his ground without their brave commander.

Azimabad
greatly distressed but
relieved in
time by Capt.
Knox.

All this while I had been fast asleep; but being now awakened by the roaring of the cannon, I got up, and went on the terrace of Mir-abdollah's house⁽⁸⁸⁾, (a gentleman of whom mention has already been made more than once) from whence I had a good view of the double attack carrying on at the Eastern and Southern sides of the city. Our whole quarter was up now, and in the utmost terror and confusion. Luckily that the day clearing up, I discovered beyond the sands which were in the river's bed, and on the opposite side of the shore, some English colours and standards flying. At the same time I observed some badjarows and other boats putting off from the English factory, and making towards the opposite shore. On sending for intelligence at the factory, I learned that Captain Knox had brought up in so short a time, as thirteen days only, a detachment from Bardevan; and that Mr. Amyatt was sending boats to bring them over. It being now broad day, I took Mir-abdollah with me and went to see Ram-narain, who lived in Ismail-qhan's seat, whose garden came close to the city's berme. He

(88) Called by the author *Sefawi* because he drew his pedigree from the *Sefi*, or of the *Sefian* race, one of the first founders of which was *Shah-sefi*, who reigned in Iran, or Persia, in the fourteenth century. However *Shah-bâder* is the real founder.

was pale, his lips dry, his whole person impressed with fear; nor was Doctor Fullerton himself without some emotion. And no wonder: people were now under general apprehensions that, although the last attack had been got over with the utmost difficulty, yet the next might prove more difficult. The general opinion being now, that the enemy had found out the way to get within the city, and had only miscarried by an accident. It became notorious now that there was a breach in the wall, and that the same scene would be commenced again the next night; and as P8r-dil-qhan had been wounded with most of his people in succouring the breach, no troops could be prevailed upon now to go on that service, although the breach had been made up with mud; for so prevalent were every one's fears, that they all declined marching thither. The discouragement being then so general, the city could not hold out another night, and would assuredly be taken: in which case Ram-naráin with his family and garrison would fall in the enemy's power infallibly. Such were the discourses of that assembly, and such the face of things. In a moment I made sign to Doctor Fullerton, and I informed him that an English detachment was coming. *An English detachment*, said he with amazement; *where, and how?* I explained my intelligence: he was transported with joy; and Ram-naráin hearing it, commenced to breathe freely; and he sent a messenger to ascertain that piece of news. The messenger returned, and confirmed my report: the governor now got up, and seemed to have commenced to live anew. From Ram-naráin's house I went with Doctor Fullerton to Mir-abdollah's, and from thence to Mr. Amyatt's, where I found Captain Knox, who was an acquaintance of mine; and there I learned that he had set out from Bardevan with five companies of Talingas, and one company of European English: which detachment having performed in thirteen days, a march of full nineteen stages, was overcome with fatigue; although that officer, to leave no excuse to the soldiers, used to march on foot himself the whole day, and to give an example of patience to all. I heard also, that the reason of their having come by the other side of the Ganga, was out of an apprehension lest the enemy should advance a detachment to meet them,

them, by which incident their purpose might have been wholly defeated, or at least, their march so much impeded, that meanwhile the emperor might have rendered himself master of the city. Mr. Amyatt was busy in sending wine and other refreshments and necessaries to the detachment; and he advised the commander to let his people take some rest that day. In the evening Captain Knox embarked with his detachment, and with colours flying and drums beating, he landed at the Western gate, from whence he marched with a military look, and a resolute countenance, through the markets and the high street, as far as the castle, to the great comfort of the citizens, who on beholding the English march through their city, gave up their apprehensions about an escalade, and about an assault, and said openly, that now that the English were within their walls, the enemy would not dare to come to attack again. As soon as night came on, Captain Knox with two other officers more and a guide, got out of the city, and having approached unperceived close to the enemy's quarters, he viewed carefully the outside of the walls, and the enemy's encampment, with the roads leading to it, as well as the situation of the ground, and then returned within, without having been discovered. The next day, at about noon-day, a time when Cam-car-qhan had just eaten his meal, and laid down his clothes to take his usual nap, the English were already in his camp; and whilst his men, accustomed to the Indian habit of taking their afternoon nap likewise, had retired to some shady place for that purpose, or were busy in preparing their victuals, or in some other avocation, the Captain made suddenly his appearance with a small number of men, and made a discharge of musquetry unexpectedly. On the first fire the troops in the intrenchment turned about, and fled in the utmost consternation, leaving Cam-car-qhan to shift for himself: this general, surrounded by the English forces, thought himself undone; he had all the pains in the world to make his escape; and it was without either turband, clothes, or slippers. The Captain having taken away some of the enemy's colours, then flying on the entrenchment, with some other things that happened to be in his way, returned in triumph. After such an adventure, Cam-car-qhan

qhan had no stomach for tarrying any more in the suburbs of the city; he decamped immediately and pitched his tents in the plain, and at a distance from the houses, for fear of being surprised in the night time. In a few days more he found his place untenable; and quitting his post, he repaired to Gáya-manp8r, where he turned his views towards raising contributions for the emperor, who having no other resource but that zemindar, was obliged to give his consent to whatever he proposed. Meanwhile he had several times invited my forgiven father to come to his camp, and the latter had excused himself as often, under a variety of pretences; but in fact, because he rightly concluded that such a step of his would render him odious to the government of Azimabad. The emperor took offence at this refusal; and Cam-car-qhan was aggravating the circumstances of it; but as he was a man of expedients, he proposed to bring him to camp within twenty-four hours, by only ordering the Marhatta Shy8bhat to make some excursions on his estate and djaghiri-lands. The emperor approved his expedient, and laid his commands on the Marhatta officer accordingly; so that the whole estate was going now to be plundered and sacked, when my father thought proper to stay Shy8-bhat's execution, by expressing his readiness to repair to the Imperial camp; and he forthwith prepared his equipage. But this intelligence no sooner came to the ears of Ram-naráin, than he attempted to put an end to all intercourse between the English and me, by giving an exaggerated account of this affair to Amyatt: he said, "that Gh8lam-hosséin-qhan by his inter-
 "ccurse with the English, was enabled to give his father informa-
 "tion of every word and every transaction in the place: that his
 "father, although a subject of this government, and highly be-
 "holden to it for the favour of being reinstated in the possession
 "of his djaghir, was preparing to repair to the Imperial camp,
 "and to add fuel to a fire that was already consuming the land:
 "he added, that Gh8lam-hosséin-qhan must be enjoined to write
 "to his father so effectually, as to oblige him to abandon such a
 "mischievous design." On this representation Mr. Amyatt desired me to comply with the request. "I answered, by taking God
 "Almighty to witness, that since I had attached myself to the Eng-
 lish,

“lish, I had ceased all correspondence with my father, having never
 “so much as wrote him a letter, or even sent him a message: that
 “what Ram-naráin had been pleased to say, was true only in part,
 “the rest being founded on mere misinformation: that it was notor-
 “ious that my father, after having by a variety of artifices got rid of
 “the emperor’s service, was living peaceably upon his estate in the
 “middle of his family, and dependants: and now that he is threat-
 “ened with ruin and devastation, pray, Sir, what party would you
 “have him take? At a time when Ram-naráin armed, as he is,
 “with all the powers of government, finds himself unable to cope
 “with the emperor; what can my father do, who lives in the flat
 “country and in an open town, where his consort, his family, his
 “honour are exposed to every incursion? Ram-naráin, apprehensive
 “lest my father, by coming to live in town, and rendering his merit
 “known to the English, should inspire them with the thoughts of
 “putting him at the head of the government, is afraid of giving
 “him leave to reside in this city; and at the same time he pretends
 “that he ought in an open plain to resist the Imperial will, and to
 “withhold his submission: doubtless he must in his own defence
 “submit to the emperor’s commands. But if it be intended that
 “he should not join the enemy, then let an order be sent him, to
 “come and reside in the city; else, to send him injunctions not to
 “join the emperor, and not to submit to him, is nugatory; nor is
 “such an order of a nature to admit execution.” This speech
 made some effect; and Mr. Amyatt, who was a man of sense, and
 of a liberal disposition, having attentively heard what I had said, ac-
 knowledged the rationality of it, but added, that although he was
 convinced of it, he saw no inconvenience in sending the letter re-
 quested. To oblige therefore that gentleman, I took pen and wrote
 just such a letter as Ram-naráin had desired, and I put it in his hands;
 but to repel still more that governor’s imputation, I could not help
 observing, “that Ram-naráin’s earnestness on that subject seemed
 “calculated to render my person odious, together with that of my
 “father’s; that such letters and such requests would never pre-
 “vent my father from taking party with the emperor; and if it
 “was really intended to prevent that step, the best method would
 “be

“ be to require him to come to town with his family; otherwise he
 “ would unavoidably betake himself to the only expedient that
 “ could secure his life, honour, family and property; and in fact,
 “ the truth is, that I had not the least correspondence with either
 “ my father or my brother, or any one in the Imperial camp; and
 “ that I carried the precaution so far on that subject, that when-
 “ ever chance would have it so, that any one in the service of the
 “ enemy should come to see me, I constantly declined the in-
 “ terview: and God is my witness, that treason, artifice, and in-
 “ sincerity, have never been in my character, nor are in it to this day.
 “ I thank his divine goodness, that he made me live every where
 “ with honour and dignity; and that I have had opportunities to
 “ see with my own eyes, that traitors and artificeous people, so
 “ far from prospering in this world, soon or late, with all their cun-
 “ ning and shrewdness, fall into misfortunes, and are rewarded ac-
 “ cording to their deserts.

“ The plain Ahmed I was, and the plain Ahmed am I still.”

After this short digression, which the historian's character seem-
 ed to require, and which the candid reader's benignity shall doubt-
 less forgive, let us revert to my father. That nobleman, obliged to
 quit his residence of Hosséin-abad, took his second son, Naki-aali-
 qhan, with him, and repaired to the Imperial camp, where he was
 received with the utmost regard and distinction. The Emperor pre-
 sented him with a qhylaat of four pieces, composed of a turband
 that had been rolled on his Imperial head, and of a suit of clothes
 which he had put on. He became his prime minister of state, his
 deputy in the signet office, and the center of all business civil and
 military, as well as the person to whom all the grandees paid their
 court. Cam-car-qhan himself thought proper to pay him his re-
 spects; and M8sher Lafs came to visit him. The Emperor had
 fixed his residence in the neighbourhood of Ticary, which is sur-
 rounded by the lands belonging to the two Radjas, Sunder-sing,
 and Bohor-sing; there he spent his time in anxious expectation of
 receiving from day to day some letter of the Abdali king, with his
 injunctions to the princes and grandees of Hindostan, to recognise

his authority and his title*. Instead of that, news came that Qhadum-hassen-qhan, whose reconciliation with Miren had been but superficial, and who continued to harbour heavy suspicions against him, was marching to join the Imperial army, and to rid himself for ever of Miren and his father. But first of all he took care before his departure from P8rania, to plunder at pleasure his own country, and to squeeze money from whomsoever he could reach, whether high or low; then only did he set out on his march. He carried with him a full treasury, a numerous artillery, and an army composed of picked men and choice troops, which he had been preparing this long while. His army amounted to five or six thousand horse, and to ten thousand foot; his artillery was of forty pieces of cannon, large and small. With such a force he resolved to join the Emperor; and taking his route along the opposite or Northern shore of the Ganga, he arrived at Hadjip8r, which is over against Azimabad, but on the other side of the river. Had this arrival happened some time before, when Azimabad besieged by the Emperor, could hardly muster any force at all, whether Hindostany or English; there is no doubt but that he would have possessed himself of that city; would have thereby raised his reputation to the skies, and would have added a vast deal of power and lustre to the Imperial name. But every event having its moment assigned from above, how could the matter happen otherwise? or how could such a disposition from above suffer any alteration or any transposition whatever? So important an intelligence could not but affect Ramnarain deeply: he went to Mr. Amyatt, spoke much of the enfeebled state of his garrison, and of the smallness of its numbers, and seemed much depressed. Mr. Amyatt answered, “that at
“ present there was little to fear from the Emperor, who was oc-

* From several similar passages in our author, it appears that since Nadyr-shah's invasion, but above all, since the two mighty battles in the province of Delhi, where the Afghans destroyed a hundred and twenty thousand Marhattas; all the Indian princes (the Mussulman ones at least) acknowledge a tacit subordination to the D8rrani, or Abdali monarchy. This much is certain, that the *Peshito* language and Abdali dress, have gained all the Northern parts of Hindostan, as far as Lucnow, where the sovereign wears it in winter, and speaks a few words of *Peshito*; and where even the women of the seraglio make it a point to mix some words of it in their speech.

“ cupied in the pleasures of hunting and seeing dances, as well
“ as busy in raising contributions; that until he might come again,
“ he, as governor of the place, ought to assemble the few troops
“ he had, in order to keep one part on duty upon the walls, and
“ make over the rest to Captain Knox, who had undertaken to
“ fight Qhadum-hassen-qhan.” These words thunderstruck the
Radja: he could not help expressing his amazement that the Cap-
tain with a few hundred men, should think of attacking a whole
army of horse and foot; but finding that the scheme was fixedly
determined upon, he went away to provide the intended re-inforce-
ment; and he commanded Sheh-hamid-eddin, and Sahab-dad-
qhan, and some other of his commanders, to cross over with their
corps without delay, and to join Captain Knox. Sahab-dad-qhan
sent his bazar or futtlers, as well as his tents, not on the other side
of the river as he was commanded, but in an island in the middle of
the stream, whereon he displayed his standard. But Sheh-hamid-
eddin having his house and family at Hadjip8r, made no difficulty
to cross over, although he only made a show of his troops. The
next morning Captain Knox prepared himself for crossing the river:
he had three or four companies of Talingas, one company of
European English, two field pieces, and plenty of ammunition. But
as Rao-shitab-ray seemed attached to the English, and a man of
resolution; and he had in his pay about two hundred horse and foot
that had proved very active in the defence of the place, Mr. Amyatt
and the Captain proposed to him to be of the party: Shitab-ray,
who wished no better, accepted the offer; and without further
delay or preparative, he joined Captain Knox, and crossed over with
him. As to the auxiliaries which Ram-narain had provided, these
men, accustomed to that method that now disgraces all Hindostanies,
who take up full ten days to clear their accounts with the treasury,
and take up full ten days more to be paid and to make their prepa-
ratives; these men I say, managed so slowly, that not a man of
them did join Captain Knox. Nay Sheh-hamid-eddin, who to
save appearances, had in fact crossed over, and advanced two or
three coffes, was in reality so far from preparing for a battle, that
he went by night to Rao-shitab-ray, and spoke to him in these

words: "Sir, are you mad, to come hither? The Radja does
 "not love you, probably, and wishes to rid himself of your person;
 "and as to me, on selecting me, for crossing over, he had his views
 "unquestionably: he wants to inherit one full lack of rupees which
 "are due to me, as well as to my people, on our arrears; these are
 "his motives for sending you and me over to this warfare with our
 "handful of men. It is with us that he wants to fight at a dis-
 "tance such a man as Qhadum-hassen-qhan, who has seven thou-
 "sand picked horse, ten thousand musqueteers exercised, and for-
 "ty pieces of cannon. Will Captain Knox with his five hundred
 "men, and his two pieces of cannon, fight himself against all that
 "force? Were those five hundred men to be of stone, still they
 "will be infallibly knocked down. I advise you therefore not to
 "continue with them; imagine some excuse, and get yourself out
 "of harm's way. As for my part, I am resolved to have nothing
 "to do with this affair."

Sheh-hamid-eddin, after some other words to the same purport, went away. As to Sahab-dad-qhan, he was yet in town, when Qhadum-hassen-qhan was already encamped at about six or seven cosses from Captain Knox. This officer, finding the enemy so near, came in the dark to Rao-shitab-ray's quarters, and proposed to surprise them in the dead of the night. *Our people, said he, are in very small numbers; and I am afraid lest, on seeing the multitudes of the enemy, they take fright and lose their senses. I propose therefore to fall on the enemy by night; for I reckon either that we shall defeat and disperse them, or that we shall destroy his ammunition and spike his artillery, as well as seize his money. In either case, we shall disable the enemy effectually from doing any thing.* Shitab-ray answered, "that he had no will of his own: that he agreed in his scheme, and would follow him whithersoever he would lead the way, being entirely at his command." Then, replied the Captain, *take your meal, go to sleep, and let your people do the same, as we must be up by the middle of the night.* Shitab-ray did as he was bid; and he was up at midnight, when the Captain sent for him. This officer left one company of Talingas for the guard of his tents, and marched with the rest, under the guidance of an harcara, or guide, who the pre-
 ceding

ceding day had viewed the road, up to the enemy's camp, and had come back again. By a particular ill luck, the night proved so dark that the man lost his way; and they had much marched already, when the Captain approaching one of Shitab-ráy's men, who had his match-lock lighted, he found at his watch that it would be day-light within two hours; he observed "that this was the time" when they ought to have been within the enemy's camp; that it "was now too late to fall upon them by surprise, and that there remained no better party than to return to camp." Shitab-ráy assented, and they returned to camp. But hardly had they layed down their arms and washed their hands and faces, when Qhadum-hassen-qhan's van-guard made its appearance at day break. The Captain being the first man up, got his men under arms, and sent word to Shitab-ráy to do the same: the latter armed himself, got his men ready, and joined the English, resolved to share their fate. As soon as Qhadum-hassen-qhan saw the English out of their camp, he sent a body of troops, who plundered it thoroughly, and killed or wounded some men that had been left in it, as well as some others that were coming to join the Captain from the city. Many more had time to fly back; and some frightened chairmen with their palekeis on their shoulders, finding those boats at the water side, that had been provided for an emergency, got into them and crossed over to the city. Meanwhile Qhadum-hassen-qhan's troops having divided into several bodies, attacked the English on all sides. The latter stood their ground undauntedly, firing their cannon with steadiness and precision, their officers standing over them, and directing their fire, with the utmost coolness and intrepidity. Shitab-ráy was doing the same on his side: he was animating his men to do their duty; and whenever the enemy attempted to approach too near, they were constantly repulsed by Shitab-ráy's advancing on them, or by being occasionally assisted by some cannon shot directed from the English line, against those that pressed upon him. The engagement was maintained on both sides in this manner, as late as twelve o'clock: at this time Mir-afzyl, general to the enemy's troops, received orders from his master, to form the whole army in two bodies, and to attack at once on both sides. But as they

they had already observed, that in this manner they had lost an infinity of horses by the English cannon balls, they all alighted and marched up on foot; and now the cannon ceasing on both sides, the engagement went on with musket firing only.

I was at that time standing on the wharf of the English factory, and looking at the runaways that were crossing the water; Mr. Amyatt was standing close to me, looking with his glass; and on distinguishing an English paleky, he concluded that it must be some wounded officer which they were bringing back. At last the boats arrived, and the men landed; but as they had fled in a panic, every one of them reported that the English were undone, and that Qhadum-hassen-qhan had gained the victory. As they were unanimous in their report, fear and anxiety seized not only Ram-narain, and the whole of the inhabitants of the city, but the English of the factory themselves, who listened to every explosion in great apprehensions of what might happen. I was with Mir-abdollah, my friend, and some others, close to Mr. Amyatt, and endeavouring to encourage that gentleman and the rest by some observations of mine: "I took notice that these men gave no detail at all; that
" they seemed overcome with fear; that the smoke on the other
" side of the water was kept up; and the report of cannon and
" musquetry continued: how then could those runaways know
" that the English were defeated? If they have been defeated,
" who are those then that go on actually with the engagement?" After saying these few words, I went to Mir-abdollah's house, and standing on the terrace with a number of others, I was listening and looking. At this very moment a great explosion rent the air. On hearing it, I exclaimed out "that now, if after this we should
" hear the report of the cannon, then the English were victorious;
" else, it would prove the very reverse." Another explosion followed; and then for some moments all was silent again: and people became anxious and fearful as the cannon was heard no more. But this was not my opinion; and I declared that Qhadum-hassen-qhan was vanquished, and retreating. No one amongst the bystanders would believe me, so confounded were they with astonishment and fear. A moment after, some guns were heard again,
and

and then they ceased entirely ; but instead of that, we perceived a sudden flame that flashed out very high, and then subsided totally; and this flashing was successively observed several times. By this time the day was far spent, and the evening approaching, when a note came to Mr. Amyatt from Captain Knox, which mentioned that the enemy was defeated and flying. This intelligence was sent to all the principal men of the city, and occasioned a deal of joy. On this intelligence I went to the factory to compliment the gentlemen, when on the dusk of the evening Captain Knox himself crossed over, and came with Shitab-ráy in his company; they were both covered with dust and sweat; the Captain then gave some detail of the battle, and paid the greatest encomiums to Shitab-ráy's-zeal, activity and valour: he exclaimed several times *This is a real nawwab: I never saw such a nawwab in my life.* A few moments after Ram-naráin was introduced; he had in his company both Mustepha-c8li-qhan, and Mahmed-afac, the cutval of the city, with some other men of consequence, who on hearing of the arrival of those two men, had flocked to the factory; and on seeing them alone, could not help believing that they had escaped from the slaughter; so far were they from conceiving that a few hundreds of men could defeat a whole army. Nor could they be brought to believe (impressed as they were with Hindian notions) that a commander would quit his army so unconcernedly, unless he had indeed run away from it; nor would they listen to what Mr. Amyatt repeatedly said to convince Ram-naráin and the others of their mistake. Mr. Amyatt went on recounting, that as “ Mir-afzyl had been defeated with his troops, it could not be said that “ Qhadum-hassen-qhan had gained the victory; since he had no “ other troops than those led on by Mir-afzyl: that one might “ reckon on his having been certainly defeated, as his troops were “ dispersed, and himself retreating and retiring far off, to be out “ of the reach of a surprise: he added that the Captain finding no “ enemy in the field of battle, or in their camp, had pursued for “ a whole cossé: that he had brought away all the enemy's cannon “ and baggage, as well as vast a number of his wounded, which “ last he had taken care of; and that he had set on fire all the pow-
“ der

“ der and ammunition which had fallen in his hands: so that the
 “ blaze which had been perceived arose from that execution: that
 “ the Captain finding the enemy gone far off, had left the command of
 “ his troops to his officers, and returned to the factory to take
 “ some rest; and as Shitab-ráy had now extremely endeared him-
 “ self to the English, he had brought him over for the same pur-
 “ pose.” Ram-naráin and the others having their incredulity a
 little affected by such a circumstantial detail, returned home some-
 what easier than they had come. In the morning the same account
 came from several places, and ceased to be doubtful. Qhadum-
 hassen-qhan had fled towards Betiah; and the English and Shitab-
 ráy’s troops having tarried a few days more, crossed over and came
 back to town. It is from that time that we must date the high
 character, for bravery and abilities, to which Shitab-ráy rose amongst
 the English. He from that moment won the hearts of the whole
 nation; and all to a man became convinced of the sincerity of his
 zeal and attachment: and really he deserved that confidence, having
 afforded ample matter for it. Nor were the dignities and the
 station, to which he was raised afterwards, owing to any thing else
 but to the gratitude of the English, and to their talent for singling
 out and selecting men of parts.

A few days after this victory, intelligence came that Miren with
 the forces of Bengal, commanded by Colonel Clive, now stiled
 Séif-djung⁽⁹⁰⁾, was hastening to Azimabad by continual marches.
 The court of Mooshoordabad informed, that Qhadum-hassen-qhan
 was going thither with a great force by the Northern side of the
 water, whilst the Emperor was master of the Southern shore, enter-
 tained the more apprehensions on that subject, as the navvab knew
 how small a force was that which Ram-naráin could muster; and
 how small would prove the resistance which he could afford to
 make against two such powerful enemies. It was therefore resolved
 that Miren, who was his father’s general, should march to Ram-
 náráin’s assistance. Letters at the same time from Ram-naráin,
 which complained of the smallness of his force; and they were

(90) The sword of the state in battles.

supported by Mr. Amyatt, who on his side took care to represent that he needed an immediate assistance. These representations made such an impression at Moorshoodabad, that Miren set out with a numerous army, and numerous artillery: he had with him Colonel Clive and his English, and they arrived near Azimabad at the end of the dry season; but did not enter the city, as Qhadum-hassen-qhan was encamped on the other side of the Ganga. They crossed therefore that river in pursuit of the enemy: it was at the beginning of the month of Zilcaad, of the year 1173 of the Hegira. The governor of P8rania, who had been defeated by Captain Knox's small force, did not think himself a match for the joint efforts of the army of Bengal, and the English of the Colonel's; yet he continued to express himself in a very high flown stile: but it was only out of policy; and in reality, he was impressed with black fears, and wished only for an opportunity to make his escape to some place of safety. Nor was such a measure easy: the river Gandec, which comes from the mountains of the north to join the Ganga at some distance West of Hadjip8r, was full on his passage; nor could such a river be crossed over by so numerous an army, and so immense a baggage, as his, without a large number of boats: and on the other hand, Miren having marched several days consecutively, was now over against him. On this intelligence Qhadum-hassen-qhan dismissed his baggage in the latter part of the night, and with an army thus disincumbered, he marched so expeditiously, that in the morning he could hardly be discovered from the van-guard of Miren's army, being already at so great a distance. Miren who took those troops to be the Shah-zada's army, of which he was afraid, as he had received two wounds from them, declined the combat; and he also sent word to the English to caution them against being too eager in pursuing the enemy. A few shot only, with some musket balls, were exchanged from a distance; and whilst matters were yet uncertain, Qhadum-hassen-qhan, who had got near the woody country which he had been seeking, found means to effect his escape before the mistake could be corrected. Miren pursued without seeing an enemy: and after advancing some coffes, even beyond him, he found himself on the banks of a river, without knowing whither he

Colonel Clive
and Miren
arrive.

was going, or where he was actually. But now his last day was come; and the moment of his death was at hand. Most of Qhadum-hassen-qhan's men had lost their way; both because they were in a forest⁽⁹¹⁾, and because they were confounded by having the enemy at their heels. Dispersed in the middle of the woods, it became impossible for them to reach the rendezvous: it is even reported that Qhadum-hassen-qhan, for want of accommodations, had passed the whole night upon his elephant, as did most of his men upon their horses; and that he had undergone every hardship imaginable during the whole night. At day break, his people could not discover the morning star, and they concluded that it must be hidden by the chain of mountains close to which they supposed themselves to be actually: but now their case was deplorable: they had a river in front, the enemy in the rear, and were at a loss what would become of them. The next morning, luckily for them, Miren's last hour was now come; that hour which the Divine Providence had set apart for that tyrant's chastisement, and for a day of retribution: for now the rainy season had set in with its usual fury; and at the beginning of the night there fell such a violent storm of rain, as obscured the world from Miren and his flatterers, and turned the luminous days of his life and prosperity, into utter darkness and everlasting obscurity. It was now ten o'clock at night; but the rain continuing with unremitting violence, he had already dismissed two or three of his favourites, such as Séyd-mahmed-qhan and Himmet-qhan: two men who were his intimates and always with him. Half an hour after, Miren observing that the storm and rain increased in violence, quitted the spacious tent in which he then was, and went into one smaller and safer; one of those called Dilir-qhani-palls or tents,

(91) No man that has not seen the forests of India, can have an idea of the darkness and horror by which a visitor is at once surrounded. Lofty trees eternally green, growing close together, intercept, not only the light of the sun, but the very sight of the sky. Not a leaf is seen moving, not a bird is seen hopping about, save some crows; and chirping is as unknown there as would be an organ touched by a Handel. Such are the *Sal* forest that bound Bengal on the North; and such the *Sabwan* or *Tec* forest that bound it on the West and South West. Myriades of red ants still more formidable by their enormous bigness than by their voracity, seem, as well as stupendous serpents, to be the only inhabitants of these lonely woods; that is the Western ones. As for tygers, lions, deer, and other animals, they seem to avoid them, and to covet the thickets and grassy plains.

which

which are much lower and much closer to the ground, and likewise made fast by a greater number of iron pins. As he intended to pass the night there, one of his two or three favourite women which always followed him wherever he went, presented herself at the foot of his bed, together with a story teller and another servant, whose office was to chuppy his limbs⁽⁹²⁾, as it is termed in India. But as that woman's last hour was not yet arrived, she was dismissed, and the servant entering immediately, fell a handling his feet and legs, whilst the story-teller commenced his narrative to lull him asleep. God knows whether Miren really fell asleep, or whether he only waited for the angel of death with his eyes open: this much is certain, that at that very moment a threatening thunder rent the air with a dreadful crash; and the lightening of revenge and retribution, rushing down from the clouds upon his guilty head, deprived him of a life which he so little deserved. He was found dead, just as he was upon his bed, without any motion at all having preceded his dissolution. Thus did he fall a sacrifice to the Divine vengeance. The flame that had burned that odious man, communicated itself to the servant and to the story-teller, and burned to ashes the rising plants of the existence of those two persons.

Miren killed
by the
lightening.

"Beware of a bad man's company, beware:

"Preserve us from that, O! God, as from the fire of hell."

The rain and storm having ceased after some time, the servants that watched without, and whose turn it was to relieve the two others

(92) There are two ways of lulling asleep in India: the first, by the chuppy, a method of handling from the feet upwards, all the members successively; opening the palm of the hand as if going to gripe hard a handful of flesh, and yet grasping it so gently, as hardly to make any impression. The person that operates, is always a young one, and with long fingers, and a fattened skin. The second way is called *dabb*, or *dabna*, and consists in striking all the members successively with gentle fifty cuffs. In general people indulge in having two persons operating at one and the same time on each side, each in different methods, whilst the tale-teller contributes his part, by rehearsing some ludicrous, luscious, or high flavoured, or grave and affecting tale; and there are some that deserve to be printed, being exceedingly curious and affecting: (I regret the loss of such a collection). Within the seraglio, these three offices must be performed by women; and these, to the difference of men, have high salaries; but they must be pretty, elegantly dressed, witty, and ready at repartees. And it is from several of these that had belonged to Shudja-ed-döbla's seraglio, and to others, that the collection above had been made.

that were on duty, came into the tent, and found Miren with those two unfortunate youths, plunged in the endless sleep of annihilation; and although such a sight did much surprise and frighten them, they recollected their minds enough to awaken some officers and some other persons, without tumult and without noise. These getting silently into the tent, examined the body, and found that it had no fewer than five or six holes on the head, with six or seven streaks on the belly and back; and these last looked like so many strokes inflicted by an angry whip. On the sabre⁽⁹³⁾, which was close to his pillow, they discovered two or three holes, where the metal seemed to have run; but the wood of his bed towards his head was entirely rotten. This strange event having been reported to his highness the learned and excellent Sheh-mahmed-aly-hazin (whom God may place amongst the highest of his elect!) that holy man, who knew Miren's character, turned to the bystanders and said, *See how the lightening from above has, by dint of search, found out its man, in the recesses of that small tent.*

(93) It is customary to lay a sabre at the pillow of men of distinction, not against men, but against evil spirits, which are reported in India to be afraid of bare sabres; and it is for that reason likewise, that women in child-bed have always one at their head pillow; and also are surrounded and covered by four unsheathed sabres, when they come forth on the sixth day to shew the stars or the sun to their new-born; and they are preceded by an unsheathed sword, whenever they go to the bathing place, or to any one still more secret.

END OF THE NINTH SECTION.

SEC-

SECTION II. OF THE SECOND VOLUME,
 BEING THE
 TENTH OF THE SËIR MUTAQHERIN.

SUMMARY TO SECTION X.

DETESTABLE character of Miren, that worthy son of Mir-Djaaser's, who keeps a list ready of three hundred persons, which he intended to murder.—The two Princesses, prisoners at Dacca, condemned to death, submit to their fate with an heroic resignation.—Colonel Clive, for reasons of his own, quits India.—Hollwell, governor at Calcutta.—Vansittart, governor of Calcutta.—The Shab-zada puts the whole of Bahar under contribution.—Amyatt forms a strong party against Vansittart in the council.—Vansittart, who intends only to give a deputy to the Nawwab in the person of Mir-casssem, his son-in-law, is forced to make him absolute.—Wise administration of Mir-casssem-qhan's: he disciplines his troops after the European manner.—Gurghin-qhan, an Armenian, his principal minister and general.—The Radja of Birbhoom revolts.—His army routed by a handful of English.—Major Carnac defeats the Shab-zada totally, and takes M8sher Laff prisoner.—Revolution at Dehli.—The victorious Abdaly monarch strongly recommends submission to the Shab-zada, now Shab-aalem.—The latter is visited and recognised by the English.—Mir-casssem arrives with an army at Azimabad; and under the influence of the English, renders homage to the Emperor.—Amyatt would have no objections to Mir-casssem, were not the latter supported by Vansittart.—Ram-nardin, viceroy of Azimabad, brought under Mir-casssem's controul.—Immense sums amassed by the latter.—He provides himself with able generals.—He receives the author's father with the utmost respect.—Obliged to suspect every one, he interrupts all social intercourse.—Great abilities of Mir-casssem.—A conspiracy discovered and punished.—Singular story and execution.—Governor Vansittart, to put an end to the dissensions between the English and Mir-casssem, makes a visit to the latter at Mongher.

Mongher.—Gurghin-qhan's expedition in Nepal miscarries.—Serious disputes between the English and Mir-cassem.—Unconscionable principles and conduct of the party against Vansittart.—Mir-cassem, floating between submission and war, is determined to the latter by Gurghin-qhan's preponderance.—The Djagatseats, two potent brothers, seized at Moorshoodabad, and carried to Mongher.—Amyatt sent in embassy to Mir-cassem, spoils every thing by his haughtiness.—The conferences broke.—Amyatt returns towards Calcutta.

WE have heretofore observed that Miren had made himself easy by the murder of Qhadja-haddy-qhan and of Mir-cazem-qhan, just as his father had on his side eased his mind by murdering Sadacat-mahmed-qhan, and Sheh-abd8l-vehab-qhan, whom he had blown at one of his guns: this expeditious way of dispelling their suspicions, had taken entire possession of their hearts, and especially of the son's, who now commenced murdering promiscuously men and women, just as one name occurred to him sooner than another. Matters went so far, that he murdered some women of his own seraglio (72), having cut off their heads with his own hand and sabre; he even used to say, "That the adage *after suspicion, clearness*, meant nothing else, but that any suspected person, by being dispatched directly, cleared all suspicions at once; and he insisted that any other acceptation of that adage was absurd, and afforded no sense." In consequence of this new-fangled system of his, he repeatedly wrote to Djessaret-qhan, governor of Djehanghir-nagur Dacca, a nobleman highly respected in that province, to put to death

(72) There came at that time from Patna, or Azimabad, to Moorshoodabad, on their way to Calcutta, two pretty Portuguese women; that is, women of that embrowned colour which descended from some Portuguese of old. One of them was a widow, but her sister was a virgin. Miren, who heard of their figure, sent to offer them a distinguished place in his seraglio; but they excused themselves on their being forbidden by their religion from commencing such connections. They were suffered to proceed to *Plassy*, where two or three hat-men, their friends, were murdered, and the women brought back to Moorshoodabad, where they were put in Miren's seraglio: and we are apt to suspect that the two women put to death, are no other than these unfortunate creatures, who died six months after. They were reported to have sent messages to some Portuguese, or Frenchmen, in Miren's artillery, by whose contrivance they expected to escape to Calcutta.

those

those two unfortunate, defenceless, aged women, in whose house his whole family, as well as himself, had found not only bread, but the highest preferment; those meritorious women, who had been of late highly instrumental in raising him to the summit of power: those women were the two eldest daughters of Aali-verdi-qhan, (Gahafity-begum and Amnah-begum.) Even against these unfortunate beings, now exiled, forgotten, and reduced to poverty and distress; even against these he conceived suspicions; and he wrote accordingly in strong terms to Djessaret-qhan. This generous man, who himself owed his bread and preferment to those women and to their husbands, declined the odious task, and he wrote word, “ That “ he requested a successor might be sent him, in the government of “ the province, as he wished to be excused from executing such “ orders.” Upon this request Miren, on the point of setting out for his last expedition against Qhadum-hassen-qhan, sent one of his friends with instructions to put those unfortunate women in a boat, under colour of bringing them to Moorshoodabad, and when out of town, to sink the boat in some lonely place: he also wrote to Djessaret-qhan to deliver those women to such a one, who had orders to bring them to Moorshoodabad. After signing these two orders, he set out for Azimabad; and his friend repairing to Djehanghir-nugur, or rather taking the right road to hell, carried away those two unfortunate, friendless sisters; and under pretence of bringing them to Moorshoodabad, he put them into a boat and sheered off with his prize: being arrived at a lonely place fit for his purpose, he bid them purify themselves (73), and put on clean clothes;—some say

(73) This purification, which is called *woz8*, or rather *wodb8*, consists in washing the hands, mouth, nostrils, face, arms, head, neck, and feet, in a certain manner, and with certain rites and prayers; and this purification, with clean clothes, if possible, must always precede every legal prayer; that is, five times a day. There is another higher purification, always practised by women after menstruation; and by both sexes after cohabitation, after touching a dead body, &c. &c. It is called *gb8fz*, and consists either in plunging the whole body several times in pure water, or in pouring quantities of it over the head and shoulders. The former purification, and if possible, the latter, are always required of a man who is going to be put to death.—The report is, that the officer's orders were betrayed by his own emotion and tenderness. *Mother*, said he to the eldest sister, *you have eaten nothing the whole day: eat something; for you are going to take a long journey—and—*here he was interrupted by his own tears and sobs, &c. &c.

he

he informed them of his orders: Gahafity-begum, who was the eldest, took fright and shed tears; but the youngest, who was Amnah-begum, turning towards her sister, endeavoured to console and pacify her. *Why such fears, my sister? and why to weep?* said she; *we were destined to die one day; let that day be this.*—Here she paused, and taking a calmer tone of voice, she added: *Sister, as we have been great sinners ourselves, we ought to thank God, that we are offered this method of expiation; and that we are not going without having placed our own load on Miren's shoulders.* After these few words, they both purified themselves, and putting on clean clothes, for want of winding sheets; they rubbed on their foreheads and on their bodies some of the holy⁽⁷⁴⁾ earth, raised from the tomb of the prince of martyrs; and after asking pardon for their sins, they bid the man execute his orders. The man seeming to hesitate, they both raised their hands, and the youngest exclaimed, *O! God Almighty, we are both sinners, and culprits; but we have committed no sin against Miren: on the contrary, he owes to us every thing in the world; nor have we seen any better return from him, than this unjust order for putting us to death. We hope therefore⁽⁷⁵⁾, that after our death, thou sendest thine lightening⁽⁷⁶⁾ to crush his guilty head, and to exact from him*

Heroical
speech of the
princesses,
prisoners at
Dacca, on
their being or-
dered to die.

(74) This earth comes from Kerbela, where is buried Hossien, the idol, not of the Musulmen in general, but of the Shyabs in particular, who call themselves *Imamis*, or Pontificals.

(75) It is remarkable, that the style of this prayer runs in the same strain as those petitions presented to judges; and it ends in the same words used in filing a bill in a court of justice.

(76) We are certain that both the imprecation and speech were mentioned at Moorshoodabad, full thirty days before any intelligence reached the city of Miren's death; and incredible as it may look at this distance of time, this piece of news was stifled at first; and what is singular, but true, that death was attributed to the machinations of the English, say, of the English government, that had at all times taken much umbrage at that aspiring spirit of independence, so conspicuous in Miren's words, still more than in his actions. It was asserted, that Mir-cassem-qhan, who had already made his treaty public, or private, with Holwell, governor of Calcutta; and who could not compass his end, so long as Miren should stand in his way, was really at the bottom of the whole contrivance, (for contrivance it was called and not lightening); and this, together with the storm and darkness of the night, as well as the burning of the tent, was made use of as a curtain to conceal and colour the whole transaction. What gave a strong bias to the minds on that occasion is, that the Co-

him a full revenge on our own account and that of our children. After these few words, they pronounced their profession of faith in the usual posture*, with the addition conform to their particular belief; and having again kissed the holy bit of earth, they joined hands together, and jumped together in the boundless ocean of Divine mercy. It is reported that the lightening fell on Miren, (at two hundred leagues from thence), that very night. Some say that this event happened only a month after: but very accurate and very creditable persons affirm, that those unfortunate women suffered the last day of Shevval, or the first of Zilcaad, in the year 1173 of the

Colonel himself seemed to have his doubts; and that Lushington, his confidant and interpreter, whom he sent to inspect the body, was refused admittance: moreover, it is well known, that several officers of the Colonel's family, and amongst others, Captain Carnac, who held the first rank in it, and was unquestionably a man of extensive knowledge, keen genius, and much information spoke in strong terms of what they called this *dark affair*. Nevertheless, all those rumours, and all those doubts will vanish, when an impartial mind shall perpend the following facts duly: "1st.—The fact of the lightening is very probable. 2d.—A body murdered and burned, or scorched, has quite another appearance, from one struck by lightning. 3d.—Three men more were struck likewise; and these unquestionably had friends and acquaintances, who would have divulged every thing they might know or see. 4th.—The body itself was seen with legs and a head hanging for a whole day out of a *hâsdah*. 5th.—It was not buried immediately to disappoint curiosity and enquiry, but sent off to a spot, six days journey from thence, and exposed to a variety of prying eyes, in the many ablutions, sluicings, and other rites, to the number of twenty or thirty, which are required by the Mussulman law. 6th.—The contrivance was not reproached to Mir-cassem subsequently, and not even after his expulsion. 7th.—The report died away of itself, and like a popular rumour, to which a national jealousy against the prevalence of the English power, had given existence, as it does to-day as well as ever: The amazing prosperity of that nation in India, and indeed every else where, being of a nature not to be easily forgiven by national envy, combined with human malignity." But as this imprecation about the lightening, and the catastrophe by which it was followed, favour so much of the miracle, it must be remembered that the imprecation *may the lightning fall upon thee*, is very common in Bengal; *Bidjli giré teré Sppar! Bidjli paré teré Sppar!*

* The general profession of faith is that mentioned several times in the Koran, and it is this: *there is no God but God, and Mohammed is his messenger*. To this the Mussulmen, of the Shyah sect, or as they stile themselves, the Imamis or Pontificals, have added some hundred years after, the words: *And Aali is the saint of God, as well as the heir and executor of the messenger of God*. This profession of faith is commanded to be pronounced in a lofty loud tone of voice, with a particular emphasis, the body erect, the face turned towards Mecca, the left hand hanging at length, the right raised to the height of the breast, with all the fingers and thumb clenched, save the index which must point to the horizon and to Mecca: to all these conditions, the Shyahs add, the right foot advanced, as if going to set out.

Hegira; and that the lightening fell on Miren the ninth of the same month. *Almighty God, to thee belongs all revenge*(77). It is likewise reported by people of credit, and even by Miren's intimate friends, that he, in this his last voyage, carried about him a small pocket-book, in which were inscribed no less than two or three hundred names; and he used to say, that after having beaten and chased both the Shah-zada and Qhadum-hassen-qhan, he would return to Moorshoodabad, and put to death every one of these three hundred persons he suspected; after which, with a mind eased of its burden, he would think of enjoying the comforts of life in the society of his friends. But God Almighty, who is the Lord and disposer of mankind, did not permit that his bloody purpose should be brought to maturity. Let the reader conclude from this catastrophe, that when the Almighty artist of the creation sees his creatures addicted to crimes and sinning, he sends some tyrant or a ruler amongst them, who never fails to inflict the intended chastisement: But it does not follow from thence that he suffers the tyrant to lord it for ever over his creatures: for tyranny cannot have any solid foundation, nor is it everlasting; and in this manner is verified that striking sentence revealed in the holy writ to the prince of messengers: *Duration and permanency are sometimes allowed to infidelity, but never to oppression and tyranny.* But if even after having exercised such acts of tyranny, the oppressors repent of their crimes, and revert to a life of innocence, and a righteous mode of governing, then it becomes possible that the Divine justice should suffer them to live, and may forbear extirpating their power by the root; otherwise, God makes the oppressor over to some other oppressor, and the tyrant to some greater tyrant, whose mission is to pull the other by the root; *for everything is possible to God, says the holy writ; nor is any thing out of the reach of its power.*— But let us revert to our narrative of Miren's death.

The next morning, at day-break a man of credit went and informed the Colonel of that tremendous event that had happened the eve; for this general was the supreme commander of the

(77) A sentence of the Koran, often in the mouth of the oppressed.

auxiliary troops, whether English or Hindostanies, and the main prop of the whole army, of which in fact he was the head and supreme mover. He immediately adopted the opinion that this death ought to be kept secret; and he ordered the entrails and other parts to be taken out of the body, and buried; but the body itself to be carried about, as if Miren had been only sick. The next day he beat the general, and marched off, the body being carried, stretched on the háödah of an elephant, the feet hanging outwards, as those of a sick man; but that very moment, it became public that it was only a dead body stretched on an elephant; and every one on recollecting how Seradj-eddö-8lah's body had been brought into the city, did not fail to attribute this appearance to a full retribution on Miren's inhumanity.

The Colonel, become by this death the sole commander of both armies, advanced close to the fort of Betiah, where he tarried a little. On the persuasion of Miren's ministers and of Ram-narain's agents, he sent to the Zemindar of that country a message mixed with threats, exhorting him to settle his accounts immediately. The man, intimidated by the fame of the English army, and by the Colonel's presence, did as he was ordered; and that affair being put to an end, the two armies, now under the sole command of the Colonel, decamped from the plain of Betiah. Mean while Miren's body having been put into a coffin, was carried rapidly upon chair-men's shoulders, to the Ganga, where it was put in a boat, and hurried down the river, as far as Radje-mahal; but the abominable stench that exhaled from it, obliged the messengers to land it immediately; and it was buried in a spot which now goes by the name of his monument:

“Take warning, ye that have eyes and ears.”

As to the army, it took the road of Azimaabad, where it made a long stay; and it was there that Ram-narain's troops, now in the Bengal army, returned to their owner. The command of the rest of Miren's troops devolved on Radj-b8ll8d, a Bengali, who had been Divan to Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, and was now Divan to Miren himself.

Colonel
Clive, for
reasons of his
own, quits
India.

Whether this death made any alteration in Colonel Clive's notions, we cannot affirm; but this much is certain, that this renowned commander, who so long as he remained in India, had been always acknowledged as supreme commander of the army, as well as chief of the settlement of Calcutta, now took suddenly the resolution of returning home. But as he thought that the affairs of the English, hitherto confined to factory business, had become much more important now by stretching their influence all over the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, Oressa; and required the management of quite another man than Mr. Aymatt, whom he did not think equal to an office of so much consequence; he determined to send for Mr. Henry Vansittart, Shem-fed-döslah⁽⁷⁸⁾, Chief of Mendradj*. The other Councillors of Calcutta, on seeing his determination, assented to his choice; and it was settled, that for the present, and after the Colonel's departure, Mr. Holwell should command at Calcutta, but only until Mr. Vansittart might arrive; to whom the supreme command, with the power of binding and loosing, in the whole circle of affairs of state, was to devolve. As such a disposition was contrary to the established custom of the service, and to the respected rights of seniority; and Mr. Amyatt was reputed worthy of that high office, which it was his turn to enjoy, he no sooner heard at Azimabad of the dispositions that had been acquiesced to in Calcutta, than he strongly objected to them by letters. Not satisfied with that, he delivered his office of Azimabad to the second, and went to Calcutta himself to make vigorous objections to Mr. Holwell's sitting in the chair. But as the Colonel was already gone some days ago, and his dispositions had already taken place, it is probable that his representation answered no purpose: possibly also some mismanagement had been laid to Mr. Amyatt's charge, since the Colonel's dispositions were submitted to so easily. Be it as it may, the intelligence of Miren's death had already occasioned as great alterations in Moorshoodabad, where Mir-djaaser-qhan, who at no time had been in his right senses, now lost the little reason that remained to him; so that the

(78) These words signify the son of the state.

* Madras.

affairs of the army, as well as of government, being entirely abandoned to chance, fell into a confusion not to be described. But he had a son-in-law. For his daughter had been married to a nobleman named Mir-cassem-qhan, son to Séyd-arizy-qhan, and grand-son to Imtiaz-qhan, the poet, which latter was a Persian of distinction, who had enjoyed the office of Imperial Divan in the province of Azimabad; this Mir-cassem-qhan was therefore nearly allied to the old Navvab. But there subsisted no cordiality between him and his son-in-law, and they lived upon ill terms together. Nor was Miren wanting in doing every thing in his power to augment the disunion and mutual discontent; but independently of that, Mir-djaaser-qhan did not like his son-in-law at all. Nevertheless, after the loss he had just suffered, it became expedient to shew some more regard to so near a relation; and he gave him the government of P8rania, over and above that of Rangp8r, which he enjoyed already; and as he had a particular point to carry at Calcutta, he thought no man so proper to be sent upon that errand, as Mir-cassem-qhan was in experience, and in the art of managing with men, greatly superior to any one in the Navvab's family, and indeed to any one of his contemporaries. No wonder then, if the son-in-law in that short voyage, found means to ingratiate himself so far with the members of the council, that they adjudged him to be fitter for government and command than either the Navvab, or his late son. On the other hand, Mir-cassem had performed so well the business for which he had been dispatched, that on his return home he seemed to have acquired some of the old man's good will; and as the latter had no children, but such as were under age, and of course, utterly unable to manage their father's concerns, the son-in-law of course became the center of all business, and the person that served to dispatch the public service, or to appease the turbulence of the military: a sort of men at all times ill paid, but whose arrears had now fallen back considerably on account of Miren's death, and of the indolence and confusion that were the consequences of it. They had become exceedingly clamorous, and so unruly, that more than once they had passed from importunities to action; had besieged the old Navvab in his

Vanfittart,
Governor of
Calcutta.

his palace, and had spoke with the utmost violence. In one of these dangerous scenes, Mir-cassim-qhan interposed; and after having quelled the sedition by his personal authority, he took upon himself part of the arrears due to the army: but some further emergencies having happened at this time, it became necessary that he should repair to Calcutta again; and although the father-in-law was not much satisfied with the necessity of this second voyage, and seemed irresolute, nevertheless he at last granted him permission, and the latter departed. It was just at a time when Mr. Henry Vanfittart, better known under the appellation of Nassir-el-mulk-shems-ed-dö8lah-bahadyr⁽⁷⁹⁾, was already arrived at Calcutta, and had assumed what is called, the chiefship, of the factory, but which in fact was no less than the government of a city which seemed to be the head of an empire. In appearance, Mir-cassim-qhan's views seemed centred in his going to take possession of his government of Persia; but under such a veil he concealed a variety of high designs; and he had left his friend Aali-hibrahim-qhan-bahadyr, at Moorshoodabad, with secret orders to enlist as many men for his pretended journey as he could procure. He was instructed likewise to gain the hearts of the ancient officers of the army, and to conciliate the minds of the ministers of the old court, as well as some other persons of consequence that had served under the old administration. This nobleman is the same person of whose merit and valuable qualifications we have made a cursory mention in our account of Aali-verdi-qhan, and in our relation of the engagement against Shemsir-qhan, the Afghan. We spoke succinctly of his genius and penetration, as if our business had been to shew one unity out of a thousand, and a handful out of a heap. Mir-cassim-qhan, having left at the city so zealous a friend and so able a manager, proceeded to Calcutta: but as we have interrupted our narrative of the Emperor's expedition, we must necessarily, to give some consistency to our history, revert to that subject and to Cam-car-qhan, as well as to some other events relative to Azimabad.

(79) These words signify The Sun of the Empire, the valorous Succourer of the State.

Miren having been made to feel the vengeance of the Supreme Avenger, the command of his army devolved on Radja B8ll8b, who had been his Divan; and who led it back to Azimabad, which province was yet in prey to the incursions of the Emperor and of Cam-car-qhan. It became necessary therefore to return Ram-narain's troops to their master, who stationed them about the city of which he was governor. The English army likewise took up its abode there: and all these troops were forced by the rains, which now drowned the whole country, to remain in their quarters to the end of the season. This inaction left the Emperor at full liberty to act as he liked: he was eternally hunting or travelling, or visiting the country in that tract of ground that extends from the environs of Da8d-nagur, to the environs of Bahar. The reason of such a wandering life was, that having nothing to subsist upon, but what he found in the fields and amongst the farmers of the flat country, both himself and his cavalry and cattle would have been exceedingly distressed, had he sojourned for any length of time in one place; in such a case he would have suffered for want of straw, grain, and for every thing requisite for an army. His authority was not acknowledged in the province; and he was obliged to live by rapine and plunder, just as if he had been in the country of some stranger; nor did a single district suffice to all his wants; nor had Pahluvan-sing, no more than Radja B8niad-sing, nephew to Radja Sunder-sing, thought proper to join the Imperial troops to this day: Being both unwilling to submit to Cam-car-qhan, his general, whom they looked upon to be only their equal; and Cam-car-qhan, on the other hand, who bore a cordial enmity to Sunder-sing and his family, being loth to put an end to a sojourn that ruined the lands of his personal enemy, and spared his own: so that this was one of the reasons why the Emperor and his troops were so fond of hunting and travelling throughout B8niad-sing's country. It happened one day, that the latter had set out from the fortress of Ticary, his residence, to repair to the castle of C8rva, where he kept his family; but intelligence of this having been brought to Cam-car-qhan, he ordered a thousand Moghul horses, of those in the Emperor's service, to way-lay and seize him. The Moghuls having made a forced

The Shah-zada, or Emperor, puts the whole of Bahar under contribution.

forced march, seized on the Radja, and brought him to camp, where he remained some days in confinement. From thence he wrote several petitions to my father, requesting his "interest with the Emperor, and offering to bring to camp a good body of troops, and to render more services than Cam-car-qhan had ever done, should his majesty condescend to forgive the errors of his past behaviour. He added, that Cam-car-qhan himself on seeing his efforts, would be fired with emulation; and that his majesty's service would reap the benefit of the concurrence. My brother, Fateh-sing," said he, in his petitions, "commands a body of troops amongst those of Mir-djaaser-qhan's, in Bengal, where he shall gain over all the commanders of that army; after which he will come with them to the foot of the Imperial throne. All this, I promise, shall come to pass; but if his majesty, out of regard to Cam-car-qhan, should chuse to enter into a negotiation with us through that Radja's channel only, in such a case as the latter's interference, would redound to our discredit; we would be disabled from doing the Emperor any service."

Proposals of such a nature carrying an air of importance and probability, my illustrious father thought proper to expose them to the Emperor, who gave orders to release B8niad-sing; and the latter no sooner recovered his liberty, than he went to pay his respects to his protector, who carried him to court, where he promised to shed his blood in the Imperial service. He afterwards sent for his troops to camp; and he wrote every where to his dependants and officers, to send plenty of ammunition and money, and necessaries. Such a change could not but give umbrage to Cam-car-qhan: He complained of the Emperor; and one day he told him plainly, "that if so much favour continued to be shewn to B8niad-sing, his servant would be obliged to take his leave, and to quit the camp." The Emperor on these words had the weakness, or rather the imbecility, to order B8niad-sing again into confinement, when that Radja came as usual to pay his court. My forgiven father, shocked at such a proceeding, could not help speaking to the Emperor in strong terms of discontent and reproach; the Emperor excused himself on Cam-car-qhan's having threatened to quit his service. Cam-car-qhan,

“car-qhan,” answered my father, “is too far gone now to leave you: he has no other party to take in this province, but that of remaining attached to you; nor has he any other court to go to but this.” This representation however, produced no change, so attached was the Emperor to Cam-car-qhan; and this affair having disgusted my father, he ceased to go to court, being highly discontented at this whole affair. But Cam-car-qhan himself gave it another turn. That General, after having kept B8niad-sing in confinement for some days more, thought proper to set him at liberty, were it but to acquire with his prisoner the merit of his release. But the prisoner sent word to my father, that henceforward the Emperor ought to expect nothing from him; and that in two or three days he would take his leave; as in fact he did, to my father’s great discontent. The Emperor at last sent Bahdyr-aali-qhan to make some concessions in his name to his Prime Minister, and to bring him to court. My father answered, “that it was to no purpose for him to stay at camp, whilst Cam-car-qhan was absolute in it; and that he hoped to obtain permission to retire from his Majesty’s service.” The Emperor endeavoured to soothe him; but all proving in vain, fain he was to accept his resignation. *Well, said the Emperor, you may go; but remember to act your part at a distance from us: take possession of as much country as is within our reach; and after having raised forces, come to us⁽⁸⁰⁾ again.* The Emperor after this dismissal, sent him, but without Cam-car-qhan’s knowledge, some thousand rupees for the charges of his return; and this sum was brought to him in secret. My father set out, and repaired to his estate, where he applied himself to the execution of the order he had received, and where we shall leave him for a while to revert to Bengal and to Mir-cassim.

That nobleman having so ably executed the commission for which he had been deputed to Calcutta, took occasion from thence in his conversation with Mr. Vansittart, to expatiate on Mir-djaaffer-qhan’s indolence; on the confusion into which all affairs, both of revenue and government, had fallen; the mutinous disposition of

(80) It is to be remarked that the Emperors of India never speak of themselves but in the plural whether in their letters or otherwise.

the troops, on one hand for want of pay, and the thoughtless profusion with which unnecessary buildings and palaces were raised, on the other; he also inveighed against the exorbitant power which such vile men as a Chunny-laal and a Munni-laal, as well as an Agno-sing the harcara, were suffered to assume in the government by the neglect and incapacity of their master: upon all these disorders he made lively representations. These discourses made a great impression on Mr. Vansittart, who had already got full information of Mir-djaaser-qhan's incapacity, and felt the enormous inconveniences resulting from it, so far as to have been discussing with himself these many days, what possible remedy he could apply to evils of that magnitude. He therefore betook himself to the expedient of appointing Mir-cassem himself, deputy to his father-in-law, under condition of his being obliged to give him an honourable pension, and of promising never to depart from a submissive respectful behaviour to him, as to his superior and master. There was not one man then amongst the English who could equal Mr. Vansittart in keenness of penetration, extent of knowledge, and experience; and with such talents as these, he soon discovered the high qualities of Mir-cassem, and how far he was superior in abilities, not only to his father-in-law, but to every person in that court. Impressed with the idea of his being the only man capable of retrieving the affairs of Bengal, he imparted his mind to the members of his council, and asked their opinion and advice. Most of the principal members assented to Mr. Vansittart's expedient, and fixed their minds upon it. But as Mr. Amyatt bore impatiently the humiliation of seeing another seated in a chair, which he thought his due; and he fretted at the necessity of being obliged to obey his commands; and he had also formed a party amongst those members that wished to see him at the head of affairs, (and such were Mr. Ellis, Major Carnac, and Mr. Batson); he vigorously objected to the proposed expedient; and all the four refused to give their consent. They found inconveniences in the scheme, objected to it as to a shameful bargain, and harangued against it every council day: not that Amyatt was not in his heart fully sensible of the old Navab's incapacity; but being himself incensed at Mr. Vansittart's promotion,

promotion, and wishing to be in his place, he in conformity with the proverb, *nothing of Aali's will ever please Moáviáh* (81), took care to object to any party proposed by Vansittart; and as soon as the latter had shewn any predilection for some view, the other was sure to counteract it, and to use every endeavour to defeat its end. Both these men, in their letters to Europe, depreciated the abilities of each other, and made it a point to load each other with taunts and reproaches; each accusing his antagonist of infatuation, and avarice, and covetousness, and chicanery, and obstinacy. In this manner they endlessly wrote complaints against each other; and it was this disunion of their's, which by involving whole nations in its consequences, ruined and demolished an infinity of families, as we shall soon mention with all that air of truth and candour which characterise impartiality. Nevertheless, Mr. Vansittart's party proved the strongest; his scheme took effect; Mir-cassém-qhan carried him his point; and it was determined that, to put the scheme in execution, Mr. Vansittart should repair to Moorshoodabad.

Amyatt
forms a strong
party against
Vansittart.

Mir-cassém, satisfied with the success of his voyage, returned to that city, and was soon followed by Mr. Vansittart himself, who carried with him Mr. Hushtin, the supporter of the empire, who at the moment I am writing these memoirs, being Saturday, the twenty-third, of the blessed month of Ramazam, in the Year 1194 of the Hegira, is now at the head of the English dominions in India, and indeed at the head of most of the important affairs of all Hindostan. Mr. Vansittart had also some other gentlemen with him; and he was soon followed by a number of officers, who took the same road with one half of the English army. But whilst the English were advancing towards the capital, Mir-cassém was preparing to make a magnificent entry in that city: he had sent orders to his friend, Aali-hibrahim-qhan, to come to receive him at Palassy, with as many men, soldiers, and others, as he could af-

1780 & 1781.

(81) Moáviáh, son to Abdo-sofian, and cousin-german to Mohammed, whom he had served as secretary, was the first who refused to acknowledge Aali the prophet's cousin and son-in-law as his legitimate successor: he also transferred the Arabian empire from the prophet's family to his own, which was that of Ommiah, but still a younger branch of Mohammed's family.

semble; to which he was to join as many of the ministers and grandees of the old court, as he had gained over to his party; recommending to him to encrease the number of the mace-bearers in his retinue, and to provide a new equipage equally rich and brilliant, and such as might enable him to make as pompous an entry as possible in the city. Aali-hibrahim-qhan, who has not his equal in the art of executing a commission, went even farther than his friend had wished; and going to meet him at Palassy with a retinue equally brilliant and numerous, he enabled him to make his entry into the city, with the utmost splendor and magnificence. Mir-cassem, on his arrival went to his lodgings, from whence he paid a visit to the old Navvab. The next day in the evening Mr. Vanfittart arrived, and took up his quarters at M8rad-bagh, which is a seat on the other side of the Baughratty. The next day at about nine in the morning, Mir-djaaser-qhan went to see him; Mr. Vanfittart received him with the usual ceremonies*, and then exposed the motive of his voyage, with the expedient he had devised for re-establishing order and arrangement in the government and finances. The old man refused his consent, and spoke a great deal, and seemed uneasy. Mr. Vanfittart sent a person to fetch Mir-cassem-qhan; and meanwhile the conference went on with mutual expostulations and reproaches. The old Navvab refusing absolutely to give his consent to the regulation which the other proposed, got up, declined waiting any more for Mir-cassem, and took his leave. Whilst he was crossing the river to return to his palace, he perceived Mir-cassem in his own boat crossing over to M8rad-bagh, and he made him sign to return; his intention being to prevent his going thither for concerting the execution of some scheme to his prejudice. But the other, who thought his honour concerned in not returning back, went on, and did, as if he had neither seen the sign nor heard the voice. Being arrived at M8rad-bagh, Mr. Vanfittart exposed to him minutely the whole conference from the beginning to

* These ceremonies are of etiquette, and consist d in pulling his hat, advancing at the very end of the hall, making a bow, presenting a Nuzor, (which was always declined as coming from an equal) and in embracing, and bringing the Navvab to a couch, where the two parties seated themselves together, and at the same time.

its end. Mir-cassem answered: "That he was sorry matters had taken
" such a turn; as now the old Navvab having conceived suspicions
" against him, would give himself no rest, until he had made away
" with his son-in-law." Mr. Vansittart answered, he could not
help it: the other replied, "If you cannot help me in this affair,
" how should I help myself, who have been all along helpless?"
Mr. Vansittart's dinner being upon the table, he desired Mir-cassem
to sit still, until the dinner was over, when he would speak to him
again; on which the latter retired to another apartment, and there
sat some time exceedingly surprised and pensive: after this he con-
sulted Aali-hibrahim-qhan, whom he had brought with him, and he
asked him, What he thought of the present posture of affairs? The
other answered: "Tell Mr. Vansittart, *whatever is the matter*, and
" whatever you have to say; if he does not consent, then without
" going home again, send for your troops and money hither; and
" taking your departure from this very spot, march towards Bir-
" ohom, and canton yourself there: act as one revolted, and live
" by plunder and rapine. As most of the troops are attached to
" you, and the Emperor and Cam-car-qhan shall favorise your
" views undoubtedly, it is probable that even in this manner your
" scheme may chance to succeed." Mir-cassem approved this ad-
vice; and as he was now upon the worst terms with Mir-djaaser-
qhan, he kept this expedient in store in his bosom, as a remedy
that might be resorted to at the last extremity. And really the
troops, extremely discontented on the prospect of losing both their
pay and their arrears, were all averse to the old Navvab, and all at-
tached to his son-in-law, especially since the latter had taken upon
himself the discharge of their arrears. The two Djagatseats, that
is Mahtab-ray and his brother Radja Ser8p-chund, were Mir-
cassem's secret friends, and favoured his views underhand, al-
though little suspecting how far matters would alter one day, and
what strange events the divine Providence, by its fullness of power,
would at some time hereafter bring out of the present disturbances.
Mr. Vansittart, after his meal, sent for Mir-cassem again; and the
latter exposed the difficulties and necessities of his situation: he
added, "That if the scheme was not brought to bear, as it had
" been

“ been agreed to, matters might end in mischief, as they had now
“ come to a crisis, and he had no other resource to save himself.”
Mr. Vansittart, hearing these words, took apart Mr. Hushtin, with
one or two others, and spent a very long time in consultation and
conference; at last, after a deal of dissertation, it was determined,
that to-morrow they should go together with Mir-cassem to the pa-
lace, to execute the scheme in the manner it had been agreed upon.
But Mir-cassem having now conceived heavy suspicions against his
father-in-law, sent orders to his troops, and to all his friends, to
assemble in great numbers in his house and in his quarter, where
they were to keep themselves in readiness. He had previously or-
dered his household people to keep ready victuals dressed for all that
multitude, by which expedient those vast numbers that had thronged
in his palace and in his whole quarter, were kept together, and did
not disperse to take their meals. The consultation being ended at
M8rad-bagh, and a final resolution taken, Mir-cassem was dismissed
to his home; and it was determined, that to-morrow at day-break,
he should be ready and armed with all his friends and troops; and
that one hour before the dawn of the day, the English officers, with
their soldiers and guns, should take possession of the gate of the
Navvab's palace. Mir-cassem, after taking leave, ordered a lane to
be formed of his troops, down to the water-side, along which he
went and took boat; and after crossing the river, he went along
another such lane up to his palace, where he passed the whole night
in offering to the Supreme Judge of pretensions, prayers for the suc-
cess of his undertaking: after which he spoke to his friends and
his well-wishers; so that it was late at night when he took some
rest. The next day, as the morning of Mir-cassem-qhan's prospe-
rity was just dawning, that nobleman being waked by his good for-
tune, ordered all his friends and troops to stand ready to accompany
him; and as soon as he saw them assembled in vast crouds, he ar-
rayed himself in the attire of a sovereign, and recommending his
person to his fortune, he mounted the steed of hope and success,
and advanced towards the old Navvab's palace. There he found
that Mr. Vansittart, with Mr. Hushtin, and some other persons of
distinction were already arrived, with a number of officers and troops,
all

all ranged in the outer yard of his palace, with some cannon ready primed: they had placed guards with orders to suffer none to come in or out. Mir-cassem stopped at the Nacar-qhana, or theatre of military musick, and mounting a horse, he remained there surrounded by his people. Messages, meanwhile, were going in and out, but to little purpose; nor could all Mr. Vansittart's argument persuade the old man, that instead of abandoning the government of his dominions to two or three wretched Hindoos, capable of nothing but of enriching themselves, and leaving the troops, with the gentry and nobility to starve, ready to come to an open revolt; he had better recommend his affairs to his own son-in-law, who by being admitted to the helm, as his deputy, would bring no detriment to his affairs; which, on the contrary, would be now freed from all the embarrassments they had laboured under, and would leave him at full liberty to pass the remainder of his days in the pleasures of society and the enjoyments of life: the Navvab would not listen to any such reasoning: he remained obstinate; nor would he lend a willing ear to the insinuation of the English rulers: a deal of time was spent in messages and answers, and all to no purpose. At last the English Talingas approached the gate, and the cannon was got ready. At the noise they made, the troops within the gate, where they had been assembled by the Navvab for his defence, took fright; and by one of these accidents which never arrive, but amongst those in whose hearts God himself has implanted a dread of those sorts of soldiers, as if to punish a sinful race in the inhabitants of these regions; they, one and all, under some pretence or other, slipped out of their posts one after another, and most of them repaired to their houses. Mr. Vansittart finding that even this desertion had made no impression upon the Navvab, could not help saying, "That since the man proved obstinate, and would listen to no sober advice, it was needless to wait for his consent; and that they had better proceed on the business of regulating the country, satisfying the soldiers, and easing the subjects." This opinion having been assented to by all the rulers and officers who were with him, all of whom, to a man, were convinced of the justness of his observation; he directed Mir-cassem-qhan to take his seat on the

Mesned

Vansittart, who intended only to make Mir-cassem deputy to the Navvab, is obliged to render him absolute.

Mesned of the three provinces, and from thence to issue his commands every where. At the same time he got the gate opened, and driving away the few men that were there, he placed English Talingas on the several apartments for their safety; and a particular guard at the gate of the women's sanctuary. After taking all those precautions, he sent for Mir-cassem-qhan, made him sit upon the mesned of command and sovereignty, which was placed under a lofty canopy of rich embroidery; and after assisting at that ceremony, he retired to a distant apartment where he took some rest. This event happened on a Sunday, being the tenth of the first Reby, in the year of the Hegira 1174; and it carried Mir-cassem-qhan's steps from the dignity of deputy, which was all that was intended at first, as far as the absolute dominion over the three provinces, of which none had yet thought any thing. The military music struck up at the same time; and the report of his accession to full power, rushing with equal swiftness and eclat from house to house, most of those that waited at home to see what might happen that day, joined those favourites and friends of his who had already thronged the gates; and all together crouded upon him with their congratulations and nuzurs. Mr. Vansittart leaving Mr. Hushtin with some troops to guard the new Viceroy for two or three days, quietly returned to M8rad-bagh, but not without having sent a message to the discarded prince, whom he informed in the following terms:

"That if he chose to reside in Moorshoodabad, none would presume to offer him any injury; and that he was at liberty to choose what palace, and what spot he would be pleased to pitch upon: that else, if he chose to quit this city, and to reside in Calcutta, he might even there choose whatever habitation he would be pleased with." The old man, who was retired within the sanctuary with his women and children, answered, *that he would go to Calcutta*; and he asked boats and accommodations for that voyage. These being provided in a little time, Mir-djaafer-qhan assembled leisurely those treasures, and those inestimable gems and jewels that had been hoarding up for ages together, by several ancient families and princes, (such as Djaafer-qhan, his son-in-law Shudjah-qhan; and his grand-son Ser-efra-qhan; to which hoard immense additions

had

had been made afterwards by Aali-verdi-qhan, and by his three sons-in-law; and lastly by Seradj-ed-dö8la). All these had been hitherto kept in the sanctuary under the care of Menni, alias Menni-begum, who from a dance-girl, had become his favourite consort, and acted in every thing as the mistress of the house. He ransacked in the same manner the several wardrobes, left by all those preceding princes, from whence he took all those precious stuffs, and all those costly curiosities, which being so many miracles of art as well as luxury, had been amassed one by one by those ancient families, and were kept within the sanctuary out of the sight of mankind: in short, he carried away every thing precious or rich which he could recollect, or even think of; together with such of the ladies of the seraglio as had cohabited with him: he also embarked his children, which consisted in three or four little boys, and several daughters. All these being put on board, together with a number of servants of both sexes, he departed for Calcutta: being all along escorted for the safety of his person, by some companies of English Talingas, who accompanied him to the very gates of that city, which is now a place of an immense wealth and populousness, and the capital of those extensive dominions which the English have acquired in India. Arrived there, he purchased in the most populous part of the city, and near the market place, a spot of ground, whereon he raised several buildings according to his own mind and taste. It was remarked, that of all his friends, none had chosen to follow him in order to keep him company, but Gh8lam-aali-beg, who gave him that proof of attachment; but in reality he had no other corner to which he could resort.

By this departure, Mir-casssem-qhan had remained the sole possessor of the mesned of command and sovereignty; and nevertheless he sought to raise his importance by several sounding titles and firmnames, which he was at the pains of procuring from the Imperial court; these were those of *Nassyr-el-mulk*, *Imtiaz-ed-dö8la-mir-mahmed-casssem-qhan-nusret-djung*⁽⁸²⁾. A son being born to him a little before this sudden elevation, he looked upon his birth as presaging

(82) The Succourer of the State; the Distinguished of the Empire; the Valiant Mir-mahmed-casssem-qhan, ever Victorious in War.

certain success to his enterprise; and as he understood a little astrology, and believed in its maxims and predictions, he procured the child's horoscope to be accurately drawn by several able astrologers; and on their predictions he expressed his hope, that he would one day rise to the highest dignities. But he did not live; and he died two or three years after his father had appointed him Governor General of the province of Azimabad, and had procured for him from the Emperor, the titles of Mir-shems-eddin-aaly-qhan-bahadyr-naffyr-djung⁽⁸³⁾, with the grade of seven thousand horse. A seraglio had been provided for him, together with a number of servants, and officers, and chairmen, and horses, and elephants, all proportioned to his size; so that the child with its diminutive seraglio, and household, and retinue, became for a time a spectacle to the whole city of Moorshoodabad. The new prince, after having provided for his son, remembered his relations: he had a maternal uncle, by name Mir-aab8-t8rab, a poor wretch, whom in the first days of his power, he raised to the title of Muéz-ed-dö8la⁽⁸⁴⁾, (T8rab-aaly-qhan-bahadyr,) bestowing upon him a standard, a kettle-drum, a fringed paleky and a brigade of horse and foot. The son of this uncle was honoured with the title of Aab8-aali-qhan, Bahadyr, and with a brigade; and he took care to distinguish him, but without giving him any influence or authority; and the truth is, that he had not merit enough for such a distinction. The uncle himself was not a man of merit; nor had he any fitness for employs and commands; but he had the merit of remembering very well both those he had loved, and those that had shewn any friendship to him; nor did he fail, as much as it depended on him, to promote their welfare, and to watch every favourable moment of speaking in their behalf to the new prince, who soon after his elevation betrayed some ferocity in his temper. However, his principal care on the first days of the revolution, was only to establish and to confirm some stipulations and promises that had been agreed to with the court of Calcutta, and with the English nation. These stipulations had been

(83) The Valorous Mir-shemseddin, the Victorious of the State.

(84) *Muéz ed-dö8la*, the Honoured of the State.

written and witnessed by both sides; and they were now confirmed and agreed to anew: in consequence of which, Mir-cassem-qhan being invested with the power of binding and loosing, closely applied himself to the business of re-establishing the finances, and settling the government of the country. With this view he took to task all the heads of the several offices, whether those of old standing, or those that had been brought in by Mir-Djaaser-qhan, or his son Miren; he obliged them to render a circumstantial account of their administration, and thereby discovered an infinity of infidelities and embezzlements; and in this particular branch of administration, he had the art to get himself assisted by several ancient officers, whom he took care to soothe into compliance, by taking them into favour: these were of great service to him in discovering and convicting the others. By these means he came to have an exact account of the effective men in the army, and of the quantity of money, jewels, and furniture left in the palace or in the treasury. As a farther security, he appointed some of his friends, on whose abilities he confided, to act as comptrollers, and supervisors in the several offices. Aali-hibrahim-qhan, who was his truest friend, and who, to all his innate delicacy in matters of honour and fidelity, joins the incomparable talent of unravelling the most hidden mysteries of administration, and of discovering intuitively the decisive knot of the most intricate accounts, was proposed chiefly to the military examination, and to the business of ascertaining the real arrears due to the troops. But besides that appointment, he occasionally unravelled with an admirable dexterity, the hidden springs and artifices of the most complicated statements. But still an associate was given him in that business; and it was Sitaram, a man of a bad character indeed, and who was universally known for a mischievous wicked minister, but who was a complete master of all the intricacies of revenue accounts; and as he had been often at variance with the other accountants, he was thought the fitter for examining and bringing to light the embezzlements of the other officers of the revenue, and of the several penmen. Mir-m8nshy, the Nanyab's secretary, a man in whom he reposed

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a great

a great confidence, and who had been decorated with the title of Hafyz-esrar-qhan⁽⁸⁵⁾, was now proposed to audit certain accounts and to unravel certain expenditures that were of his province.

But a man who now appeared for the first time upon the horizon, and soon rose to engross the Navvab's unbounded confidence, was an Armenian called Qhadja-gurghin, brother to Qhadja-bedrofs⁽⁸⁶⁾. He was put at the head of the artillery, with orders to new-model it after the European fashion; and likewise to discipline the musqueteers in his service after the English manner: troops, which to this day have retained the name of Talingas, in imitation of their patterns and models. To raise his character, he was henceforward called Gurghin-qhan, and distinguished by many favours; and he soon became a principal man in the Navvab's service. There was no man equal to him in that prince's employment: none had so much credit upon his mind; and to this day, no general ever had the art of governing his master in so complete a manner: he, like the devil, was endlessly running after Mir-cassem-qhan; and having once laid hold of him, he mastered him, and kept him under at pleasure. Another of his favourites, who yielded but little to Gurghin-qhan, was Sheh-mesned-aali the Lucnovian, a man of the scum of the people, totally void of brains, but who now was raised to the highest rank in the army; his favour extended even to his sons, as well as to his two nephews, who after his death, inherited part of his offices, and were each of them pay-masters to four or five thousand horse. Ferhad-aaly had some thousand horse to his share, and Bereket-aaly in proportion; his son, Mahmed-aaly, had the command and payment of five thousand horse, who were disciplined after the English manner, and commanded by Hevalédars, and Djemaatdars, and S8bahdars, and Comidans, (commandants.) To

(85) *Hafyz-esrar-qhan*, is evidently a title, and signifies the *Lord Rememberer of Secrets*. But *Mir-m8nshi*, itself is no more than a title, and signifies the Lord Secretary.

(86) *Gurghin* is the Georgian and Persian way of pronouncing the Armenian word *Kircor*, which is a corruption of the Greek *Grigor*, or *Gregorius*. In Persian this word of *Gurghin* would signify wolfish.

Alias *Caja-petrus*, for so was he stiled by the English; he had been instrumental to Mir-djaaser-qhan, as his agent, both before and after the battle of Palassy. He died in 1782 with a great fortune, and the character of a serviceable, good natured, charitable man.

every troop of ten amongst these five thousand troopers, there was added a stout man, with a drawn sabre, whose business was, in a day of battle, not to fight himself, but to kill upon the spot, any one that should turn his back. On another side, Mirza-Shemseddin, who had been even from his youth attached to Mir-cassem-qhan, and was a man quick at repartees, and of a pleasing conversation, was sent to Azimabad, with the commission of gaining the hearts of Miren's army quartered there, and of conciliating to his government the minds of the principal persons of that city. This commission having been ably executed, soon rendered him one of the principal favourites of the Navvab's: he was honoured with some lucrative offices, for instance, that of the ward-robe, with the agency at the Emperor's court, and the management of the djaghirs, or appanages affected to some persons, now in the Imperial camp, as well as of some other lands and districts. It is remarkable, that some time before Mir-cassem-qhan's elevation, I received a very obliging and very polite letter from him, where he fixed upon me a handsome salary, and requested my interest with the English of the factory at Azimabad, and with some other persons of consequence amongst them, that he might by their means obtain the government of that province. He was unaware at that time, that his good fortune destined him to the sovereignty of the very country of which he wished to have only the government; and moreover would add to it the throne of Bengala.

He was hardly established on the mesned, when he instituted a scrutiny in the department of finances, where he was amazed and thunder-struck at the emptiness of the treasury, and at the immense balances which he had to pay to his own troops, as well as to those of Mir-djaaser-qhan's, for whose arrears he had pledged himself; and all that, over and above the large sums that were due to the English army and to the English rulers. He therefore resolved to keep a watchful eye over such districts of Bengal as had come in his possession; and at the same time he made over to the English the whole province of Bardevan, in assignment of what was due to them for the pay of their army: he also put into their hands his own jewels, as a pledge for the sums promised to that nation. From
thence,

thence he turned his thought towards the musters of the army, where, after repeated reviews and a minute investigation, made under the eyes of Aali-hibrahim-qhan, it appeared that enormous infidelities had been committed in the Pay-master's office; and that there was no other way of paying off the sums due to the army, than by liquidating one part of them by the monies accruing from the revenues; and one part, by giving assignments upon several provinces: after which there would remain one third part more, which might be payable at some future period. The troops, who under the preceding administration had been driven to despair by the inability of the treasury, satisfied with the steps taken to discharge their arrears, and to pay them regularly for the future, acquiesced in every thing; and it is on this subject probably, that Mir-cassem-qhan, in consequence of some previous agreement, received of the Djagat-seats a sum of money: a disagreeable operation to which he was driven by the necessity of his affairs. These arrangements being over, he turned his views towards his own income, and he curtailed his expences so, as to bring his expenditure on a par with his revenue, retrenching as useless and burdensome, a variety of expences usual and customary in India, and which men in power believe to be necessary to their pleasures; for instance the ram-office, the nightingale-office, the antelope-office, and some others, all belonging to the menagery department. Of all that multitude of animals, he kept only a few of each species, and made the rest over to the Zemindars of the provinces, on their paying a certain price, which his treasury received from their agents. At the same time, Chunny-laal, and M8ny-laal, those men that had fattened so long on the vitals of the people, were seized, and served according to their deserts; and vast sums of money accrued to the treasury from the confiscation of their effects.

It must be observed that Mir-cassem-qhan had been from his earliest youth in favour with the family of Aali-verdi-qhan, on account of his being son-in-law to Mir-djaafer-qhan, whose consort was half sister to that prince; and it was on her recommendation that he had received the command of a troop of horse, for which he drew pay regularly. This circumstance, by giving him access to all
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the offices, and to the houses of most of the men in the management of the revenues, had procured him a thorough insight into their infidelities and embezzlements; so that he was informed early of the faculties of every one of them: infomuch, that when he came to the sovereign command, it became easy to him to find out every one of those managers, whom he knew or suspected to have been money-hoarders. He now availed himself of a variety of pretences to strip them of the greatest part of their acquisitions, by bringing them under the lash of the auditing office. Matters went so far, that he took to task even some women who were known to have had the management of some expenditures within Mir-djaafer-qhan's seraglio, or in that of his son Miren, or who appeared by the accounts of the steward's office to have been entrusted with the keeping of jewels, or of sums of gold, or with furniture of that metal, or with some curious and costly things; or who appeared to have received any quantity of them in present. All these were now seized, and by threats obliged to a restitution; and some of them were made to refund more than they had ever received. Nay, he ferreted out and took to task some slave women, and some eunuchs of the household of Aali-verdi-qhan's, and of his sons-in-law: old people who having bought some protector at court, had retired, and were passing their lives in corners, and retirement: even these were made to pay as much money as it was possible, as much at least as informers had given advice of; so that one would think that he had been present, and had heard the poet Saady speak, when the latter pronounced these famous verses:

“ Why do not you put every one under a contribution of some
“ silver?

“ That there may come every day some treasure into your
“ hands.”

Amongst the old heads of office who had served under Aali-verdi-qhan, there was one Radja Djagat-sing, who had for a number of years acted as deputy to the two Divans, Djankiram, and D8ll8b-ram, but who had as much influence and authority as either of them. Being grown old now, he had retired from affairs; but on observing how matters went abroad with others, he sent an exact
list

list of the effects and money he had been hoarding up these fifty years past, and thereby redeemed his honour and character. The whole amounted to an incredible sum; and indeed, it wrought a singular effect. The Viceroy, having remitted him a small part of his substance, took possession of the remainder; but he from that moment paid much regard to the man, to whom he henceforward shewed so much attention, that whenever he came to court, he made him sit at his left elbow, close to his Mesned. From this man the Navvab passed to another: this was a nobleman who had been Daroga, or introducer of the hall of audience to Aali-verdi-qhan, for a number of years, in which time he had been a favourite so far, as to have amassed lacs in that office. The nobleman was now desired to refund the whole, both jewels and cash; but nevertheless was continued in his office: his name was Gholam-hosséin-qhan. In short, the new Navvab, having by the mighty sums he assembled from all parts, brought it within his power to establish regular payements for the troops, picked from amongst them those he liked most, dismissed the others, and discharged entirely their arrears. After putting the army under a proper regulation, he turned his views towards the strong holds of the Zemindars, all of whom he was determined to bring, not only under controul, but even under a thorough submission.

Amongst the Zemindars in the kingdom of Bengal, none was so near neighbour to the city of Moorshoodabad, its capital, as the Radja of Birb8hom; and none so powerful, whether by the number of his troops, or by his personal character for bravery: he likewise piqued himself upon a sense of honour, and a delicacy of sentiments, qualifications very extraordinary in a Zemindar. Now Mir-cassém-qhan in his heart, had been at all times an enemy to Zemindars; and it must be acknowledged, that they are a set of men faithless to a high degree, short sighted, impatient of controul, ever ready, on the least appearance of a revolution, to turn their backs on their masters, and to forget the most important favours received at their hands: losing no opportunity to execute all the mischief which occasion presents, and on that account, as well on account of their strange and inconsistent character, requiring at all times

times the strong grasp of a curbing hand. It is for such a variety of reasons that the ancient Emperors and princes, unwilling to repose any confidence in such men, used to manage every pergannah or district by their own officers; a precaution which rendered the country in those times, populous and flourishing, the husbandman easy, the traveller safe, the land every where tilled and green, and the inhabitants of towns and cities, prosperous and happy: whereas now that Zemindars are left to themselves, and with the reins floating on their necks, mischiefs are increasing every day, the country becomes desolate, and the revenues fall short and are in confusion; and if matters remain in this state, the country shall go from bad to worse, and all will go to wreck. But to return to our purpose; the Zemindar of Birboh8m, Bedi-us-zeman-qhan, who went by the name of Divan-dji, had always been in his youth, as he was now even in his riper years, extremely addicted to his ease and to his pleasures; and it was to enjoy himself he had left the management of his dominions to Aaly-naky-qhan, the most capable of his sons, his whole ambition being to pass his days in quiet and enjoyment. But this hopeful son of his dying in the flower of his age, the father, who was already disgusted with the world, and deeply affected by the total ruin that had befallen Aali-verdi-qhan's family, to which he was extremely attached, put on a fakyr's garb, and placing at the head of his dominions Affed-zeman-qhan⁽⁸⁷⁾, another son of his, but born to him from his *Rani*, or princess⁽⁸⁷⁾, he retired again out of the tumult of affairs, and seemed pleased with nothing but the conversation of fakyr's, and with retirement and tranquility. It happened at that conjuncture that something above the usual rent had been asked of the new seated Zemindar: the Navvab had asked as a sovereign urged by the necessities of his state; and the other had refused for fear of establishing a precedent. Probably there was another reason, and this was, that the new Nav-

The Radja of
Birboh8m
revolts.

(87) Affed-zeman-qhan, the Lord Lion of the times.

(87) *Rani* signifies Queen, the consort of a Radja or King; and it is observable that Radjp8t Princes turning musulmen, as did this Zemindar's ancestors, conserve ever after many of their old Gentoo customs, such as eating only with their families, marrying within their families, giving Gentoo titles to their consorts, &c. &c.—for *Rani* is a Gentoo title.

vab, who passed as yet for only an ungrateful man that had risen but yesterday to an elevation which seemed to put all mankind at his feet, was not supposed to have acquired so early a sufficient stock of authority and power to render his government respectable. Be it as it may, the Navvab set out of the city, and encamped at B8d-gam, which is at about ten or twelve cosses distance; from whence he dispatched Qhadja-mahmedi-qhan, to chastise the Radja of Birboh8m. This officer, who had been in the office of Paymaster General so early as the times of Mir-djaafer-qhan's accession to the throne, was accompanied by an Englishman, called Major York, and likewise by Gurghin-qhan, alias Codja-Kircor, the Armenian, who was grand master of the artillery, and had been raised and promoted by Mir-casssem-qhan. It must be observed that this officer had orders to march forward with his troops, and if possible, to put an end to the war with the Radja, before the English could come up with their detachment. But as there did not remain now any one of those officers and generals that had been formed by serving under Aali-verdi-qhan; and the troops had none at their head but those vile unexperienced men, that had been brought forward in great numbers by Mir-djaafer-qhan and his son, and none of course on whom they might repose a confidence; matters went on very ill in that campaign: for Affed-zeman-qhan, having requested his father to govern the country as his Divan, or Prime Minister, in his absence, took the field with about four or five thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, which he posted at Kerivha, a spot of difficult access; from whence he endlessly dispatched detachments to possess themselves of all the difficult passes, and to scour the enemy's country. And I found matters in that posture when I arrived myself at the camp at B8dgam.

I had been sent thither by Major Carnac, who had succeeded Colonel Clive as his deputy, and was likewise commander in chief of all the English forces. This officer in concert with Mr. Hay, the acting chief of the factory of Patna in Mr. Amyatt's absence, had given me instructions to represent to Mir-casssem-qhan, the state of affairs in the province of Bahar, and the propriety of his taking a journey thither; and this was what I exposed to that prince in my first

first visit, where I delivered faithfully the message which I had brought; and it was during my sojourn in that camp, that news came of the victory obtained in Birbohm. That event happened in the following manner: Some English Captains, who were quartered with a few companies of Talingas in Bardvan, advanced from thence on Affed-zeman-qhan's rear, and availing themselves of that neglect and supineness which they perceived in his troops, they broke suddenly into his camp, and dispersed his whole army. A few discharges of cannon, and some volies of musquetry, killed and wounded numbers in the Radja's army, and put the others to flight, who taking fright, dispersed on all sides. On the report of the cannon, the navvab's troops hastened forward, and came just time enough to shew themselves, and to pursue the runaways a little; after which, they encamped on the spot which the enemy had abandoned. The Navvab having heard enough of this affair to become sensible of the cowardice and unwillingness of his troops, conceived a dislike against every one of them, but especially against their General, Mahmedy-qhan, with whom he was not already much pleased. But we shall give some account of the consequences of this engagement, as soon as the reader shall have been informed of the posture of affairs at Azimabad, and of the conjunctures which brought me to the Navvab's camp.

The radja's
whole army
dispersed by
a handful of
English.

We have already mentioned that Mr. Holwell, having commanded sometimes by interim, Mr. Vansittart came and took the command at Calcutta, where he soon figured as the supreme mover of whatever was transacted in the council. But some days before, that is, immediately on Colonel Clive's departure, Mr. Amyatt, with Major Carnac, Mr. Lushington, and some other English rulers, had already repaired to Calcutta, where he had been received as second in command, but where he soon commenced a chain of dissensions and misintelligences with Mr. Vansittart, whom he was endlessly accusing of ignorance and incapacity in all his letters to Europe; nor was Mr. Vansittart backward in retorting the accusation, being forced into this warfare by his very circumstances. Colonel Clive, had already, God knows for what reason, quitted the command of the army, and repaired to Europe; and he had been

succeeded in his military command by Major Carnac, who was the next in order: Mr. Lushington himself had returned to Azimabad some time after Mir-cassim-qhan's elevation. As I happened, although the last of men, to be so much connected with the English rulers, that the new Viceroy had some time before thought proper to solicit my interest with them, by settling a handsome salary upon me, and even by introducing that request by a sum of money; so those gentlemen, who knew that particular, as well as the necessities of my situation, availed themselves of that opportunity, to support my claim, to a djaghir of six hundred thousand dams, in and about the town of Mongher⁽⁸⁸⁾, close to the castle, which estate had been for ages in the possession of our family, and had been confiscated by Mir-djaaser-qhan, on account of my father's being so attached to the Emperor. These gentlemen, fully apprised of this, interposed so effectually with Mir-cassim-qhan, that they obtained of him a release of the said estate: and having received a patent of it, signed and sealed by the new Viceroy, as well as by the usual officers, they got it registered in the offices of Azimabad, and engaged Ram-narain to deliver it to me with his own hands; after which I sent a steward thither, who took possession of the land.

The rainy season being over, Major Carnac came out of the city of Azimabad, at the head of the English troops, fully resolved to put an end to that conflagration, which the Emperor and M8shur Lafs⁽⁸⁹⁾, with Cam-car-qhan, were keeping up throughout the province; and he ordered Radja Ram-narain and Radja B8ll8b to join him at Djaaser-qhan's garden, where he was encamped. Although I had no office, and held but a small rank in the world, I thought that the favours I had received of the English required my making the campaign with the Major; but, as in consequence of a variety of unfortunate events of many years standing, I was destitute of tents, horses, arms, and necessaries; the Major and Mr. Hay joined together in furnishing me with arms, horses, a tent, and

(88) The dam has had a variety of valuations. If it be equal to a peissa, then the djaghir was equal to about fifteen thousand rupees, at forty peissas to a rupee.

(89) Mons. Law. His name is pronounced Lafs by the French.

every necessary for that purpose; so that the poor man passed his time agreeably in the English army, being every day with the Major, and often admitted and consulted in affairs of consequence. But as the army remained encamped there for some time, and the two Gentoos, who were in camp at the head of large bodies of troops, agreed so little together, that what the one had proposed in his usual visit of the morning, never failed to be objected to by the other, in his evening interview: the Major, and the other English rulers, lost all patience; and disgusted at such a continual scene of dissention, they joined Mr. Hay in telling me, "That they looked upon me (the poor man) as one attached both to the English, and to Mir-cassem-qhan, whose affairs were likely to be ruined by these two Gentoos, whose dissentions had no end: that as they were both in high credit and authority, both at the head of whole armies, and both acting as servants and deputies of Mir-cassem-qhan, the English could not do any thing, nor even come to any final resolution, so long as these men should continue so opposed to each other; for the English were not enabled to distinguish whose opinion they must adhere to: it becomes then convenient," added they, "that Mir-cassem-qhan, their master, should himself come over; to the end, that after consulting those two servants of his, and hearing their respective opinions, he may take a party for himself; after which we shall have no other trouble than that of following the same; as we shall have then to treat solely with him. Not that we have not several times wrote to him on the subject; but our letters have produced no effect; because, forsooth, the affairs of Birbohm are of higher importance than those of Azimabad; or because the Radja is a more dangerous foe than the Emperor and M8shur Lafs and Cam-car-qhan. Do then repair to Mir-cassem-qhan, and by all means bring him hither." To this proposal I consented, and having been furnished with letters from the Major for Mir-cassem-qhan, and with other letters for Major York, that he might protect my person, should Mir-cassem attempt to offer me any injury, I departed: I was furnished by the Major with every thing requisite for my journey, and he added to them

one

one of those Imperial badjraws of the navy Djehanghir-nugur⁽⁹⁰⁾, which attended the English army. In descending the river, I met by the way Mr. Macguire, who was going to Azimabad, as Chief of the factory there; and as we were both travelling in haste, I only found an opportunity of making my bow to him from afar, and of sending him my compliments. Mir-cassem-qhan being not at Moorshoodabad, I repaired to his camp at B8dgam, where I explained my errand. The Navvab objected to his going to Azimabad; but as to the rest, he shewed me the utmost kindness and attention; he ordered a tent to be pitched for me, sent me tables full of victuals twice a day, and conversed familiarly with me; he also sent some of those delicate stuffs, such as turbants and fine malmalls, which are manufactured at Djehanghir-nugur⁽⁹¹⁾; and these kindnesses lasted until Ram-narain, by the channel of Djagut Seat's agent, who was likewise a pensioner of his, found means to convey a leter to the Navvab, by which he informed him, that being myself exceedingly attached to the English, whilst, on the other hand, my father cut so capital a figure in the Emperor's camp, I had come as a spy, on the part of both the English and the Emperor. Those malignant insinuations were introduced by Djagut-seat himself, through the channel of his own agents; and as Mir-cassem-qhan was naturally of a suspicious disposition, he ceased to shew me so much regard as he had done; and this change of behaviour impressed me with much concern, and some fears: but as Major York was not in the army, I was at a loss where to take shelter, and how to manage. To ask my leave of the Navvab, and to be gone, might have increased his suspicions; and, on the

(90) This navy consisted of a fleet of boats and vessels; some of them equal to the largest European gallies, and was always built and furnished by the province of Dacca. This fleet was over and above the Coror of rupees sent yearly from Bengal to Dehly, and over and above a vast quantity of delicate stuffs. See the remark 2d, Section 5th.

(91) The reader is, doubtless, apprised that at Dacca are manufactured the finest linen in the world. We have seen two malmalls sold for 250 English crowns, and have had at home one that weighed about fourteen ounces, being twenty yards long, and one and a quarter broad. They are called *ab revan*, or running water, and *shub-nem*, or nightly dew, as being when wet, not discernable from either.

other hand, to remain in camp, without that assistance on his part, which my want of equipage had rendered necessary, became impracticable. Nevertheless, two or three days being elapsed since my disgrace, I availed myself of it, to ask leave to return to Moorshoodabad. *You will go to Azimabad, I believe,* answered he, with a severe cast of features, *and you may.* I answered, that I had business at Moorshoodabad; and he dismissed me, with an air of severity, and without presenting me, as is the custom, with any thing for the charges of my journey. After making my way to Moorshoodabad, with some difficulty, I landed in the house of an acquaintance, where, some time after my arrival, he thought proper to send me a small sum of money, through the hands of Qhadja-Ashref, the Cashmirian, who was a nephew to the Prince of Merchants, Qhadja-vadjed, a favorite of the Navvab's (92).

After some interval, intelligence came "That Major Carnac having attacked the Emperor about Azimabad, had given him a defeat, and obliged him to retreat: that M8shur Lafs having in compliance with some custom established between the English and French nations, surrendered himself prisoner, had been treated with honour and distinction: and that some time after the Major, by sending some messages to the Emperor, had engaged him to listen to terms of pacification; after which he had paid his respects to that monarch, and brought him with him to Azimabad, where he had lodged him in the city." Mir-cassem-qhan, on hearing this news, hastened his march through the hills, and advanced to Azimabad. I resolved on my side to repair thither also; but as I was preparing to set out, I heard that T8rab-aaly-qhan,

Major Carnac beats the Shah-zada to tally, and takes M8shur Lafs prisoner.

(92) This Qhadja-vadjed, or, as his title imports, this (*Faqhr 18djdar*) Glory of Merchants, lived in a state by much superior to that of a Governor general, and equal to that of the present nominal Nazem of Bengal, Mubarec-ed-d88lah. He had fifteen elephants, and fifty horses of value in his stables, with one hundred and twenty women in his seraglio, fifteen Chop-dars, or Mace-Bearers, and two hundred other servants; he was master of five ships, and of about two thousand boats, having the monopoly of the salt. What his fortune may have been, is not known; but he lived at the rate of a thousand rupees a day, and at one time he presented Aali-verdy-qhan with fifteen lacs for his new year's gift. Such were then the riches of Bengal; although salt sold only for thirty or forty rupees the hundred maunds.

deputy to the Navvab in Bengal, had ordered that no letters should be delivered to the Hindostanies, whether coming to, or going out of Moorshoodabad; and that no one of them should quit the city without his leave. I was surprised and confounded at the prohibition: but at last I obtained his permission by the interposition of the chief of Cassimbazar, and quitting Bengal, I journeyed to Azimabad. And now we must revert to the thread of our history, that the reader may not wonder at our leaving unfinished the narrative of the manner in which matters were brought to a conclusion at Azimabad.

Major Carnac, after dismissing me to Moorshoodabad, marched at the head of the English troops, as well as those belonging to Ram-narain, and to Miren; his intention was to fight the Emperor, who was at Gaya-manp8r. The latter on being informed of that General's approach, wrote letter after letter to my father, requesting his joining him with the large body of troops which he had assembled in his retreat. But before my father could arrive, the engagement had already taken place, and the war was at an end. M8shur Lafs, with the small force, and the small artillery which he could muster, bravely fought the English themselves, and for some time he made a shift to withstand their superiority. Their auxiliaries consisted in large bodies of natives, commanded by Ram-narain, and Radja B8ll8b. But the engagement was decided by the English, who fell with so much effect upon the enemy, that their onset could not be withstood by either the Emperor or Cam-car-qhan. The latter finding he could not resist, turned about and fled. The Emperor obliged to follow him, quitted the field of battle; and the handful of troops that followed M8shur Lafs, discouraged by this flight, and tired of the wandering life which they had hitherto led in his service, turned about likewise and followed the Emperor. M8shur Lafs finding himself abandoned and alone, resolved not to turn his back: he bestrode one of his guns, and remained firm in that posture, waiting for the moment of his death. This being reported to Major Carnac, he detached himself from his main with Captain Knox, and some other officers, and he advanced to the man on the gun, without taking with him either a
guard

guard, or any Talingas at all. Being arrived near, this troop alighted from their horses, and pulling their caps from their heads, they swept the air with them, as if to make him a *salam*: and this salute being returned by M8shur Lafs in the same manner, some parley ensued in their own language. The Major, after paying high encomiums to M8shur Lafs for his perseverance, conduct, and bravery, added these words: "You have done every thing that
 " could be expected from a brave man; and your name shall be
 " undoubtedly transmitted to posterity by the pen of history: now
 " loosen your sword from your loins, come amongst us, and abandon all thoughts of contending with the English." The other answered, "That if they would accept of this surrendering himself
 " just as he was, he had no objections; but that as to surrendering
 " himself with the disgrace of being without his sword, it was a
 " shame he would never submit to; and that they might take his life
 " if they were not satisfied with that condition." The English commanders, admiring his firmness, consented to his surrendering himself in the manner he wished; after which, the Major with his officers shook hands with him, in their European manner, and every sentiment of enmity was instantly dismissed on both sides. At the same time, that commander sent for his own palky, made him sit in it, and he was sent to camp. M8shur Lafs, unwilling to see or to be seen, in that condition, shut up the curtains of the palky for fear of being recognised by any of his friends at camp; but yet some of his acquaintances hearing of his being arrived, went to him: these were Mir-abdollah and Mustepha-c8li-qhan. The Major, who had excused him from appearing in public, informed them that they could not see him for some days, as he was too much vexed to receive any company. Ahmed-qhan-co-réishi, who was an impertinent talker, having come to look at him, thought to pay his court to the English by joking on the man's defeat: a behaviour that has nothing strange, if we consider the times in which we live, and the company he was accustomed to frequent; and it was in that notion of his, doubtless, that with much pertness of voice and air, he asked him this question: *And bily Lafi, where is she?* The Major and the officers present, shocked at the

impropriety of the question, reprimanded him with a severe look, and very severe expressions: " This man," they said, " has fought bravely, and deserves the attention of all brave men; the imper- tinencies which you have been offering him may be customary amongst your friends and your nation, but cannot be suffered in our's, who has it for a standing rule, never to offer an injury to a vanquished foe." Ahmed-qhan, checked by this reprimand, held his tongue, and did not answer a word. He tarried about one hour more in his visit, and then went away much abashed; and although he was a commander of importance, and one to whom much honour had been always paid, no one did speak to him any more, or made a shew of standing up at his departure. This reprimand did much honour to the English; and it must be acknowledged, to the honour of those strangers, that as their conduct in war and in battle is worthy of admiration, so, on the other hand, nothing is more modest and more becoming than their behaviour to an enemy, whether in the heat of action, or in the pride of success and victory: these people seem to act entirely according to the rules observed by our ancient commanders, and our men of genius.

Immediately after the battle, the Major sent Shitab-ráy to the Emperor, with offers to live in peace with him, and to pay him a visit: and this was the most advantageous event that could happen. But that prince, who was defective in discernment, and had a boundless deference for Cam-car-qhan, declined the proposal, and dismissed the envoy. The latter on taking leave foretold, that one day, " His Majesty would of himself seek those very terms of pacification which he now refused, and would not find them; or if he found any at all, they would fall short of those now proffered, and would not redound so much to his Majesty's honour and advantage. Now those men are courting you;" said Shitab-ráy, " but when once they shall have despaired of success, and shall entirely withdraw their thoughts from an agreement, then should you in the sequel apply yourself for it, your Majesty may guess on what terms they will listen to it." This representation produced nothing; and Shitab-ráy came back to camp. My father arriving with his forces after Shitab-ráy's departure, highly blamed the Emperor

peror for his having missed so fair an overture; but it was too late: the moment was past. Cam-car-qhan, although vanquished, had still so much stomach for war, that he proposed to make new levies, and to fight once more. Mir-husséin-qhan, a man of whom mention has been made in Mahmed-c8li-qhan's history, was of the same opinion with Cam-car-qhan, and breathed nothing but war and battle; but my father made the Emperor sensible, "that Cam-car-qhan was a Zemindar; and that to be endlessly fighting, and flying, and flying again, was nothing but the trade he had been bred to: but that such a vagrant life was beneath the dignity of an Emperor, and highly disgraceful to his name; that a sense of shame was very proper; and that Shitab-ráy was not gone so far off, but that he might be sent for again, and his offers accepted." We shall see in the sequel what effect this discourse made upon that prince. But he seemed actually as much affected with the affairs of the empire, as with those of his own camp and person.

The Abdaly monarch was arrived at Shah-djehanabad, on the one side, and the Marhattas on the other. The latter had taken possession of the citadel, where they had confined a prince called Shah-djehan, who had been set up by the Vezir, Umad-el-mulk: and they had conceived such high-flown projects, that they wanted to place on the throne their own king, Vasvas-ráo, so as to extend their dominion all over Hindostan. It was in these conjectures that the Abdaly came, and being joined by Shudja-ed-dö8la, and Nedjib-ed-dö8la, and by the two Rohila princes, Hafyz-rahmet, and Ahmed-qhan-bangash; he gave those infidels a most destructive defeat. But⁽⁹³⁾, after a sojourn of nine months in Hindostan, he returned to Candahar and Herat, the capitals of his dominions: and this victory produced a mighty revolution, of which a particular account shall be given, whenever we come to speak of what relates to Shah-djehan-abad. The Abdaly monarch had strongly recommended Shah-aalem to Shudja-ed-dö8la, as well as to all the Afghan princes, whom he requested to seat that prince upon the

Revolution at Delhi; the victorious Abdaly monarch strongly recommends submission to the Shah-zads, now Shah-aalem.

(93) This battle cost the lives of Seventy thousand Marhattas left on the spot: eight or ten thousand more were dispersed; but few escaped.

Hindoostany throne, and to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Nor was that monarch a stranger to the Imperial family; his own consort was sister to Shah-aalem; but besides that, this forlorn prince, on hearing of his father's demise, had sent Munnir-ed-dö8la to him, with a view to obtain his support, as well as his recommendation to the several powers of Hindostan: so that the minister who had come with that monarch to Shah-djehanabad, availed himself of his weight to negotiate successfully with those princes themselves, who were then in the Abdaly camp. It was on the Abdaly King's instances, that Nedjib-ed-dö8la had seated in the citadel of that capital, the young Djuvan-baqht, as deputy to his father Shah-aalem; and it was on that same prince's recommendation, that Shudja-ed-dö8la had undertaken to bring up Shah-aalem himself from the frontiers of Bengal: for he had written several supplications to request his returning to his capital; and the latter, tired with the desultory life, and the endless incursions and retreats of Cam-car-qhan's, had adopted my father's advice, and had signed a note commanding Shitab-ráy's return; his intention being to repair first to the English camp, and then to Shudjah-ed-dö8la's capital. Shitab-ráy having shewn the note to Major Carnac, was permitted to repair to the Emperor's camp, where after some conference, it was agreed that the English commander should pay a visit to that prince. This concert having given umbrage to Cam-car-qhan, who observed the Emperor's growing inclinations, and how far matters were taking a turn contrary to his disposition of mind, he took his own party at once, and marched off with his troops, taking the shortest road to his own country.

The Emperor after this departure, advanced to a small distance, and encamped near the English army. The next day, which was that appointed for his receiving the visit of the English commander, he wanted to advance a little more, when Mir Husséin-qhan taking it for certain that the English would undoubtedly seize on the Emperor's person, and confine him, made his escape out of the camp and fled in earnest, his people crying every where, as they were going away, that the Emperor was going to be betrayed into the hands of the Frenghis, by his own minister, Nassyr-ed-dö8la Hedáiet-aali-qhan-bahadyr-

bahadyr-afed-djung, (meaning my father); and that whoever had any sense of honour left, ought to quit the army immediately, and follow them. At these words a vast number of senseless men abandoned the Emperor, and followed the fugitives: but as all this disorderly multitude was to pass by the castle of Ticary, where Radja B8niad-sing resided; his people sallied out, and plundered every one of those runaways. Mir-huss6in-qhan made his escape; but the fools that had followed him upon his word, perceiving how matters went, thought themselves very happy to effect their return to the army which they had quitted before. The Emperor at that time was advancing with his troops in battle array towards the English camp, when at about mid-day, the Major made his appearance with his officers, at about half a coss distance, where pulling his cap, and putting it under his arm-pit, he advanced in that posture, marching on foot close to the Emperor's elephant; but the monarch having commanded him to be mounted, that General got on horseback, and taking his station alone, he preceded the Emperor's elephant by about an arrow's shot: my father, on his elephant, followed the Emperor at a very small distance: he was himself armed at all points, and at the head of the Imperial troops, all armed and ready. They marched in that order, until they arrived at the river of Djumni, which flows at one coss and half distance from G4ya, a spot where the troops were to encamp. There the main of the army, together with the baggage, took post; but the Emperor, at the Major's request, went a little farther, and entered a tent pitched in a garden surrounded by a grove, close to the town of G4ya. As soon as he had alighted, the Major accompanied by his officers, by Ram-nar4in, by Radja B8ll8b, and by all the principal commanders of the two armies, paid him his respects, presented him with an entertainment, and offered his nuzur and homage, together with those of all the persons that accompanied him; after this ceremony he offered some presents suitable to the occasion, and worthy of the Emperor's acceptance. All this while, my forgiven father was on his elephant, with all his troops mounted and ready in the grove. The Emperor having withdrawn to a private room, my father went into the tent, and paid a visit to

The Shah-zada is visited by the English, who recognise his sovereignty.

the

the Major and to his officers; and those having saluted him in their mode, received him with honour. After the usual ceremonies of paan⁽⁹⁴⁾, atur, and rose-water, my father came out, joined the Emperor, and went to a camp pitched on the banks of the river; and it was nearly midnight before my father could find time to retire to his own quarters, and to take some rest. The next day the Emperor marched again, and took up his quarters at Gáya; and after some days of rest the armies set out again, and marched in concert to Azimabad, in the neighbourhood of which city they all encamped; the Emperor to the South, on the reservoir or lake of Muty-p8r; the English at Bauky-p8r, their old winter quarters, westward; Radja Ram-naráin, within the city; and Radja B8ll8b, at Djaaser-qhan's garden, on the Eastern side.

So much concert amongst people that had been fighting together but yesterday, engaged Mir-cassém to hasten his march to Azimabad, where he encamped on the Eastern part of the city, about Djaaser-qhan's garden, in the middle of his own army. On his arrival he was met by Radja Ram-naráin, and by Radja B8ll8b, who paid their homage to the new Viceroy. The former returned to the citadel, where he lived; the latter, with Miren's troops, joined those of the Navvab's. Major Carnac and the English chiefs wanted to introduce Mir-cassém-qhan to the Emperor; but some negociation became necessary on that subject, as the latter was either too suspicious, or too proud to go to the Emperor's quarters. At last it was agreed that the interview should take place in the English factory; and that the Navvab should pay his respects to the Monarch at that place. The day being come, the English were busy in turning their factory into an Imperial hall of audience; and a couple of those tables, whereon they take their meals, into an Hindostany throne: nevertheless the throne, as well as the hall, being spread and hung with rich stuffs, assumed a very splendid appearance. Every thing being ready, the Navvab started afresh

(94) The leaf called Beetle by the English. In presenting and receiving these marks of regard, there is a great variety of niceties, which the English either ignore or neglect; but which, if neglected by a native, would render him ridiculous and liable to censure; the same may be said of embracing, and receiving the embrace. These niceties cannot be dispensed with.

some objections against my father's accompanying the Emperor with those crouds of guards and servants that are customary; and the Major having interposed in this also, engaged the Emperor to come with a small retinue only: after which, he repaired himself to the factory, where the English had assembled in great numbers. These on hearing of the Emperor's being on his march, set out on foot with the Major at their head, and after meeting the Monarch, they continued to march on foot along with the moving throne⁽⁹⁵⁾. The Emperor having alighted at the gate of the factory, got into the hall, and took his seat on his throne. The English were all standing to the right and left of it, but the Major received orders to sit: he made a profound bow and took his seat. A little after the other English passed into another apartment; but it was to come again in order to stand at the foot of the throne. About one hour after, Mir-cassem-qhan came, and after having made his three bows in a respectful manner, he presented a *nuzur* of one thousand and one *eshreffies*; and immediately after, he offered to the Imperial acceptance a number of *qhoans* or trays, covered with precious and curious stuffs, fit for apparel; to which he added a quantity of jewels, and other costly articles. The Emperor accepted his homage, and honoured him with a *qhyla* of six pieces, a chaplet of pearls, with a circlet for the head, and an *aigrette* of jewels adorned by black eagle's feathers; after which the *Navvab* made the usual bows, and withdrew into the next room, which was that of Mr. Macguire, the chief of the factory; and there he discussed the revenues and probable charges of the three provinces; and after some conversation on other matters relative to that object, he agreed to pay his Majesty a yearly tribute of twenty-four lacs of rupees. This being settled, he returned to the presence, was dismissed with every demonstration of regard, and he repaired to his encampment. After his departure, the Emperor having consulted with the English rulers, accepted the offer; after

Mir-cassem arrives with an army at Azimabad; and influenced by the English, he renders homage to the Emperor.

(95) That throne rests upon two straight bamboos, or poles, carried upon eight men's shoulders. It may admit two or three men, and has not only a canopy over it, but an awning forward to intercept the glare of the sun.

which

which he, on their request, went to the citadel or castle, where he landed in some buildings called the Imperial palace, and which were affected to crowned heads only: But as Mir-cassém-qhan continued to harbour suspicions against my father, and was not much pleased, to see the Emperor's troops in the citadel, the English interposed again, and obtained of that monarch, that Séyd-hedáíét-aaly-qhan-bahadyr should not have any intercourse with him in the castle. The Emperor therefore wrote him a note, to desire his remaining in camp amongst the troops, to prevent their dispersing on account of the dissensions that reigned; requesting him at the same time to enlist new levies. But the Navaab was not the only person, that had taken umbrage at him: Ram-naráin, who was Governor of the city and province, was inclined likewise to harbour some apprehensions on his account; and he was uneasy, lest some day or other, an agreement taking place between the Navvab and my father, the government might slip from out of his hands into those of that nobleman's. Impressed with such idle ideas, Ram-naráin was assiduous in poisoning the Navvab's mind against my father, and in fabricating intelligences to which that nobleman had never given cause, and which had never come so much as in his thoughts. Mir-cassém-qhan ever prone to suspicion, and at this particular time somewhat inclined to jealousy, instilled so many notions into the minds of the English, that they sent my father word, requesting his returning to his estate about Rhotas. My father answered, that as he was a servant of the Emperor's, and actually in his post by the Emperor's command, he could not without his order, pretend to absent himself. The English, who are men of sense, and naturally lovers of frankness and equity, admitted the propriety of the answer, and sent one of their nation to inform my father, that as to their own part, they had no objections to him at all; but at the same time, they sent word to the Emperor, that it appeared that so long as Séyd-hedáíét-aali-qhan remained at camp, busy in enlisting new soldiers, Mir-cassém-qhan would never be brought to pay any money, or to fulfil any of the conditions of the treaty: adding, that it was proper that his majesty should send an order, for that nobleman's retiring, upon his estate. The Emperor consented, and sent such an order, as was requested.

requested. My father, finding how matters had turned out, went late at night, to take his leave of the Major, and of the English rulers; and the next morning, he took the shortest road to his estate. But his departure did not affect Aali-naki-qhan, my brother, who had followed my father, and had become pay-master of the Imperial household: on the contrary, he was now decorated with the surname and title of Fahr-eddö8lah-bahadyr-zaafer-djung; (96) and he continued to live with the Emperor in the exercise of his office.

It was at this conjuncture I chanced to arrive at the English camp at Bankipore, after having been at much pains to obtain by the interposition of the English chief of Cossimbazar, permission to quit Moorshoodabad; and this happened in the following manner: Some time before Mir-cassim-qhan had hastily quitted Birboh8m, I had returned to Moorshoodabad by his leave, where my situation had become very puzzling, as I found it impossible either to get out of that city, or to send, or receive a letter: and meanwhile Major Carnac, as well as Mr. Hay, and the English rulers of Azimabad, remained in the dark as to what might have become of me. Here it is proper to remember that as Ram-naráin was not sincere towards Mir-cassim-qhan, he wanted to inspire suspicions to the English against him; and as he bore me no good-will neither, he was daily rendering me suspected in that Prince's mind, either by the suggestions of his own emissaries, or by those of Djagat-feat's agent: his whole aim being to engage the Navvab to exasperate matters by offering me some ill usage. His brother, Durdj-naráin, at the same time, was acting his part at Azimabad. Meeting one day Mir-abdollah my friend, whom he knew to be extremely attached as well as extremely welcome to the English, he whispered into his ear, that his friend Mir-gh8lam-hofféin-qhan, had been made away with by a dose of poison, by order of the Navvab. This intelligence seemed the more probable as I appeared no where, neither at Azimabad, nor in the Navvab's camp, who was just arrived; and as no intelligence at all had been received about me, and no one knew where I might be, the intelligence was taken for a cer-

(96) The Valiant; the Glory of the State; the Victorious in War.

itude: add to this, that Dirdj-naráin had the art to entreat Mir-abdollah to say nothing of the matter, and by all means to conceal his name, that he might come to no harm on that account. But the injunction not satisfying Mir-abdollah, the latter imparted the intelligence to my youngest brother, Séyd-aali-qhan, who, with my confort and family lived in my house at Azimabad; and both receiving a shock from this piece of news, the more violent as endeavours were used to smother it, they resolved to inform the English of the whole matter; with the precaution, however, of concealing Dirdj-naráin, their author's name, as he was a Gentoo of consequence, and Mir-abdollah was a retainer of Ram-naráin, his brother. They went, therefore, to the factory (97), and informed Major Carnac and Mr. Hay, that they held the intelligence from a person of great credit. As those two gentlemen had a real attachment to Mr. Amyatt, as well as a rooted aversion to Mir-cassém-qhan's person, on account of his having been promoted by Vansittart their antagonist, they were perpetually on the watch for finding the Navvab in fault, in order to throw the blame of it on Vansittart's shoulders. On hearing therefore the intelligence, their displeasure blazed out into a flame like lightening: they swore, "That if it proved true that Mir-cassém had murdered a friend and an envoy of their's, he might depend upon their finding means to exact a severe revenge for his death." Mir-abdollah, frightened by the violence of their resentment, made use of every supplication, to make them proceed with less precipitation and more secrecy; and he proposed that letters should be written to the English chief of Cassimbazar, and to me. As he spoke to men of much sense, although angry, the proposal was easily admitted; and they also wrote a letter to me to inform themselves how matters went, and why I tarried so much. The letter recommended to me, in case of necessity, to apply to the chief of Cassimbazar, who was then Mr. Istánluc Batson (Mr. Stanlake Batson) if possible, as to my last resource: they also wrote a letter to the same gentleman, in the

(97) The word Factory, and Chief, ought not to mislead European readers.

These factories are built like mighty palaces; and those chiefs make princely fortunes, and come abroad in more state than several sovereigns of Europe.

character and language of the English, and sent both letters by one of my relations. The arrival of that man with his letters filled me with joy; and it procured me the only expedient by which I might extricate myself: I waited immediately upon the chief of Cassimbazar; and having got from him a boat, a messenger, and a pass, I arrived safe at Azimabad, where, God be thanked, I saw my friends again, and found myself once more in my house and home. But yet I was not quite easy, being in doubt whether I ought to visit the Navvab or not, as there subsisted every where such a strange appearance of double dealing, and discordance, that I could not help wavering in my conduct: My brother in the castle, and in high office with the Emperor; M8rlydur and Ram-naráin, in appearance my friends, and in fact, my enemies; myself highly obliged to both, and unable to make a proper return; Mir-cassem-qhan in his heart an enemy to Ram-naráin; the Emperor dissatisfied and uneasy in the castle; the English at variance amongst themselves; Macguire siding with Vansittart and the Navvab; and the Major with Mr. Hay, being closely united with Amyatt, in opposing Vansittart, and also in supporting Ram-naráin against Mir-cassem-qhan: such a confused scene was puzzling. All this while the Radja, sensible of the strong support he would meet with from the Major and Mr. Hay, and their party, dissembled with Mr. Macguire, and paid his protectors an assiduous court, to the great discontent of both the Navvab and Mr. Macguire: and it is for his having entirely neglected these two men, that he saw what he did see, and met with an untimely fate of his own seeking.

As to myself, the poor man, Mir-cassem-qhan disliked me because I had so many connections with the English; because my younger brother was in such high favour with the Emperor; and because he imagined I had still much intimacy with Ram-naráin, whom he could not bear: he likewise harboured many suspicions against me. And on the other hand, both Ram-naráin and M8rlydur, mistrusting in me the very appearance of being Mir-cassem-qhan's nominal servant; and fearing lest some day I should avail myself of my connections with the English, to dispossess these two men of their government of Azimabad, in which I might place my own father;

were much inclined to suspect that I was always brewing some mischief. Just at this time, the Navvab having for a purpose of his own, repeatedly expressed a desire to see me, I repeatedly excused myself on a pretence of illness ; until finding that he persisted in his instances, I repaired to his quarters. That prince, on seeing me, went to an inner apartment, where, after endeavouring to soothe my mind and to win my heart, he proposed to me a voyage to Calcutta. " You are," said he, " in connection with Mr. Amyatt, " the great supporter of Ram-narain : I wish therefore you would " go to Calcutta, and manage so as that he might let go his hold " of that man and join me, as I want the council's consent for my " bringing that Governor under controul, and for my becoming " his master, as indeed it is proper I should be." Such an overture, after what had passed between us, could not but surprise me, although I was not much displeased with its purport : I was myself for a variety of reasons inclined to quit Azimabad, and to go to Calcutta ; but dreaded the consequences of an alteration in Mir-cassem-qhan's behaviour, and the many suspicions with which his unsteady turn of mind would not fail to plague me, should I ever concern myself in his affairs : the very meddling with them seemed full of dangers. I answered therefore that I had no objections to my being employed in his affairs, but feared the unsteadiness of his temper, which made him sometimes alter his mind without a sufficient reason : " For instance," added I, " what was the poor " man's fault at Bodgam, when after having shewn me the utmost " kindness and inclination, you turned about at once on the simple " insinuation of Djagat-seat's agent?" After having said so much, I could not help insinuating, that although accusers might attempt to instil suspicions in the heart of a great man, (for which there was no wondering, since such was their professional line) yet that it behoved a master and benefactor to be more careful, and never to disgrace his servants without having probably ascertained their guilt. The Navvab heard all that, and then made use of the strongest assertions, and the most solemn promises, to engage me to be henceforward easy : he made me promise that I would undertake the voyage ; and next day he sent me two thousand rupees for my

my expences. The matter being now settled, I took leave of my friends, and set out for Moorshoodabad, where I arrived in four days, and where I lodged at the house of a relation of mine. As the Navvab had wrote to T8rab-aali-qhan, his maternal uncle, Governor of Moorshoodabad, to inform him of my going down for a service of his, that Governor assisted me expeditiously, in furnishing me with boats and every thing else I wanted: so that after a stay of two or three days at Moorshoodabad, I arrived safe at Calcutta, where I went to visit Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Gray, and Captain Knox, whom I frequented assiduously, and from whom I learned from time to time all the news of Azimabad.

The Emperor was still in that city; but whilst he kept himself ready to set out on his journey to his capital, he waited impatiently for the arrival of Munnir-eddö8lah, whom he had sent as his ambassador to Ahmed-shah, the Abdally monarch. But that Prince himself had already been invited over by Nedjib-eddö8lah, by Ahmed-qhan-bangash, and by the other Afghan princes, as well as by Shudjah-eddö8lah himself; and he had resolved to march into Hindostan, as far as its capital, where he intended to extirpate the Marhatta nation: for he had heard with anguish that those infidels had taken possession of the citadel; confined the young Prince, whom the ministers of his father, Aalamghir the Second, had set up under the name of Shah-djehan; and pretended to no less than to set up their own monarch in the young Prince's stead, and to become the sole masters of all Hindostan. With that view he advanced by long marches; and being arrived in the territory of Shah-djehan-abad, he gave the Marhattas several destructive defeats; and then returned to Candahar, his capital, after a severe campaign in India, which lasted full seven months, exclusive of the time he spent in coming and going. On his departure, he strongly recommended to the Afghan princes and to Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, in particular, to respect their lawful Emperor, and to submit to him. It must be observed that during this whole campaign, Munnir-ed-dö8lah had been residing in the court of the Abdali monarch, from whom he had obtained injunctions, to all the Indian princes, to obey Shah-aalem as their lawful monarch. Not content with that, the
Abdaly

Abdaly conqueror had at his departure strongly recommended submission to all those princes whom he had assembled in his presence; and it seems that his recommendation had produced a full effect: for as soon as he was gone, Nedjib-ed-dö8lah established Sultan Djuvan-baqht in the citadel of Shah-djehan-abad, as deputy to his father Shah-aalem: he coined money in the father's name, and ordered the Qhotbah, or loyal prayer of Friday ⁽⁹⁸⁾, to be pronounced for his prosperity. Shudjah-ed-dö8lah did the same on his return to A8dd, his capital; from whence he sent sums of that new coin, both in silver and gold, to Shah-aalem, and supplicated his coming, to put himself at the head of his faithful subjects. Supplices in the same style came at the same time from Ahmed-qhan-bangash, and from Nedjib-ed-dö8lah; as well as from his ambassador, Munnir-ed-dö8lah; all of whom congratulated him upon his accession to the throne of his ancestors. And as these many petitions were in the same style with those of Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's, and they came accompanied with sums of money in silver and gold, coined in his name; Such a general consent rejoiced the heart of the new monarch, who now saw how generally he was acknowledged; infomuch that there remained no excuse now, either to the English or to the Navvab, for delaying his departure. The English finding how universally he was expected, took care to make him sign such a treaty as they thought proper, after which they presented him with a sum of money and some other articles that seemed necessary, and wished him a happy journey. Shah-aalem, after returning his acknowledgements to the Almighty goodness for this flow of success, beat the general, and continued his march towards his capital. This was about the end of Shevval, or the beginning of Zilcaad, in the second year of his accession to the throne, which corresponds to the year 1784 of the Hedjrah. He quitted Azimabad, and marched towards Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's country. But as soon as he had crossed the little river of Keram-nassa, that prince himself made his appearance, and being admitted to the honour of kissing the columns

(98) The Qhotbah, which is pronounced every Friday, in the mosques and else where, amounts to an oath of allegiance. See the remark, 7th section, 1st vol.

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of the Imperial throne, he presented, in token of homage, such an offering in money, precious stuffs, and jewels, as seemed suitable to the occasion; after which he marched to his capital, in company with the Emperor.

This departure having rendered the Navvab easy with respect to the Emperor, he turned his views towards bringing Radja Ram-narain under his controul. With that view he wrote repeatedly to the council of Calcutta, and to Governor Vansittart, who had declared himself his protector; and he likewise engaged Macguire to write against Ram-narain, with whom the latter was himself much displeased: the Navvab took care, at the same time, to keep this new friend steady in his interest, by a variety of favours and presents which he knew how to place. It was in these conjunctures that General Coote arrived at Azimabad. He had been Major heretofore, and was the man who, by Colonel Clive's order, had pursued M8shur Laks as far as Bacfar. This officer came of late from Europe, whither he had repaired after that expedition of his; and from whence he came out again with the title of General, and the office of Commander in Chief of the English forces. Ram-narain, ever intent on his own affairs, soon found means to gain him over to his own interest; and he used every day either to fill his ears with senseless rumours, that took their rise amongst the mob, or he was at the trouble of fabricating them himself. One day he sent him word that Mir-cassem-qhan intended to surprise the English in their cantonments; and to countenance that intelligence, he took care to put his own troops under arms. That officer, struck with the report, sallied before day-break from his camp with a small number of men, and suddenly made his appearance in Mir-cassem-qhan's quarters, where he found the Navvab asleep, as well as most of his troops; nor did his camp by any means wear the appearance of any preparative, or of any design whatever: Ashamed of his precipitancy, and full of repentance for so inconsiderate an action, he departed immediately, leaving behind an English officer, who had orders, on the Navvab's rising, to present him the General's excuses, and to say, "that having come to see him, he had gone back on his finding him fast asleep." The Navvab had been awakened

awakened by this time, and receiving intelligence of this intrusion of the General's, he was exceedingly displeased at it; and he reprimanded the officer for so improper an action. The officer brought forward all the excuses he could muster, and then departed; but these excuses did not prevent Mir-cassém-qhan from making a handle of this behaviour of the General's, to complain at Calcutta; and he drew that intrusion in such colours, that the council disapproved the General's conduct, and sent him a reprimand. That officer finding now that his behaviour had become public, and that it covered him with shame, concluded that he had no other party left, than that of returning to England. But meanwhile this affair having brought to light some of Ram-naráin's suggestions and machinations, they gave rise to such a train of consequences as ended in his own ruin.

Amyatt objects to Mir-cassém, only because the latter is supported by Vansittart.

As I was now at Calcutta these three months; and I had daily intelligence of the contents of Mir-cassém-qhan, now Aali-djah's letters (99), I used to make various attempts to gain Mr. Amyatt's mind to the cause I had been entrusted with; but always to little or no purpose at all. One day, when I imagined I had gained some ground, he thought proper to open his mind, and to speak very frankly in these very words: " You know yourself very well, said he, that I never had any particular attachment to Ram-naráin, and no kind of inclination for his person: I am not without some objections to him; but as Mr. Vansittart has promoted Mir-cassém-qhan, and has declared himself his protector, it behoves me of course, in consequence of that settled jealousy that subsists between him and me, to side with Mir-djaaser-qhan, and with Ram-naráin: And now that we have on both sides wrote to England, and to the council of London, on the subject; have both depreciated and accused each other; and are actually vilifying and accusing each other still, every council-day; matters are come to such a pass, that nothing can settle them, but such a decision from Eu-

(99) *Aali-djab*, and *Vala-djab*, are titles of the same import, as well as *Imtiaz-el djab*: All these signify, the illustrious, sublime, or, if you will, the high-seated, or the man of high state, and dignity.

“ rope as is expected by both sides; until, then, such a decision is
 “ arrived, I cannot turn towards Mir-cassém-qhan; and even did
 “ I go so far, such a change of hands would redound to my own
 “ dishonour and accusation. Let your master wait therefore the
 “ dispatches from Europe: if the decision of London should prove
 “ favourable to Mr. Vansittart, the Navvab is too knowing a man
 “ to think of minding me; and if it should prove to favourise the
 “ opposite party, and to transfer the disposal of affairs into my
 “ own hands, then Mir-cassém-qhan will soon find where I shall
 “ be; and if he should seek me with sincerity, I shall have no
 “ objections to any connection with him.” This conversation hav-
 ing convinced me of Mr. Amyatt’s turn of mind, and of that of his
 party, I gave full information of it to my constituent; but this
 did not discourage him: he was supported by Governor Vansittart
 and his party, and always gained his point with the council; so
 that at last, he obtained their consent for his bringing Ram-naráin
 under his controul and dependence, and for obliging him to give
 an account of his long administration at Azimabad. As soon as I got
 information of this important intelligence, I took my leave of Mr.
 Amyatt, and of my other friends, and I repaired to Moorshooda-
 bad, where after a stay of a few days, become necessary for some
 particular business of my own, I set out, and arrived at Azimabad.
 It must be remembered, that Mir-cassém-qhan was not only an
 able accomptant and a keen discerner of the intricacies of public
 accounts, but that he had given himself able ministers who helped
 him assiduously. After receiving then from the council, the con-
 sent for which he had applied, he called Ram-naráin to the con-
 troul-office, and examined him about the following articles: “ The
 “ quantum of the revenues he had hitherto received during his
 “ long administration, and the sum total of the expenditures he
 “ had made: the monies charged in the books, as paid to the
 “ djaghiry holders of the Emperor’s court, and the Navvab’s;
 “ and the receipts and vouchers of those disbursements: the sums
 “ charged as paid to the troops, with a comparative statement of the
 “ reviews made, and of the number of horses marked on the
 “ thigh, and borne on the books.” Vouchers and regular accounts

Ram-naráin
obliged to
submit to the
Navvab's con-
troul.

of all these, he required of him in the auditing-hall, in the presence of a large number of Ram-naráin's own officers and heads of office, with whom he had formed a large circle round that Governor's person. But as the whole of Ram-naráin's administration and conduct was one continual series of fraud, double-dealing, and artifice, this requisition struck him with concern and astonishment; and he applied to his friends for their support and assistance; but finding them impotent, he repented of the unlimited confidence he had reposed in them, and especially in Major Carnac and Mr. Amyatt, but repented too late. Some of them, who were men of firmness and courage, exhorted him to stand up in his own defence; and some others, who were of a different temper, advised him to submit to his fate, and to become humble. As he had no personal courage or firmness of his own, and the time was come for his receiving his due for the usage which he had offered to so many Mussulman widows, and to so many other defenceless people, he found he had no other party left than that of submitting intirely to Mir-cassim-qhan's orders. But first of all he made some of his principal accountants abscond with their books. However this did not prevent the Navvab's people from soon finding their retreat. Sunder-sing was the first found out, and the first brought away, and put in confinement, under the care of Bereket-aaly, and some other trustees of the Navvab's court; and as this confinement brought to light an immensity of embezzlements in that man's management of the army accounts, and an infinity of frauds and infidelities in the accounts of the djaghiry holders, and in the receipts of the public income, severities of course were added to this confinement, and his effects, in money and jewels, were confiscated. But as the man had had the precaution to disperse his fortune in time; and his people, even at the moment of his lodging's being taken possession of, had probably found means to save, through the women's apartments, and from elsewhere, many articles of high value; no more could be found in his house than about seven lacs in cash, and nearly as much in other effects. But Mansaram-sah⁸, an eminent banker, in whose house he kept his accounts and effects, was involved in the confiscation, as well as Ganga-bishum, cash-keeper to Sunder-sing,

der-sing: both being accused of concealing his effects. Mighty sums of money were recovered from these two men, and carried to the treasury. Radja M8rly-dur, the head harcara, or head spy, who was Ram-naráin's associate, and had as much authority in the government as himself, was put to the torture, as well as Mahmed-aafac, the cutval, or inspector of the police: a magistrate, who was one of M8rly-dur's principal satellites, and who carried on his back a load of curses and imprecations from an infinity of defenceless people, whom he had oppressed or ruined. Both these guilty men were obliged to surrender those immense sums which they had been hoarding up for so many years past; and all that went to Mir-cassem-qhan's treasury. The enquiries overtook Mustepha-c8li-qhan himself, who was brother to Mirza-iredj-qhan, father-in-law to Seradj-ed-dö8la, (upon whom be God's mercy!) He was certainly a malicious ill-natured man, that deserved to be involved in the severities exercised on his friends: but he died in confinement, before he could be examined, and he departed towards those mansions of mercy, prepared by him to whom nothing is hidden or impossible. These severities involved Séyd-abdol-aali-qhan, my paternal uncle, who on the fame of Ram-naráin's power and influence, had come over from Banares in search of employment, and had very unfortunately chanced to land at Azimabad, whilst Ram-naráin himself was actually under confinement. This unfortunate man, having fallen, as well as others, under the lash of Mir-cassem-qhan's resentment, received an order to quit the city, and to return to Banares: in short, the conduct of every one of the prisoners, after being subjected to a variety of chicanery and accusations, underwent a thorough scrutiny; nor could any one be ransomed but by surrendering those sums of money which had been hoarding up these many years past. Mir-cassem-qhan, after having gone through so much inquisitorial business, and having confined Ram-naráin with his associates and dependants, marched through the city with all the pomp imaginable; after which, he took up his quarters in the castle. M8rly-dur was sent prisoner to Djehanghir-nugur-daca; but Ram-naráin, with all his relations, was kept confined near his palace; and at last they were carried to Moor-shoodabad.

Immense
sums amassed
by Mir-cas-
sem-qhan.

One of the associates and favourites of that unhappy Governor's was Raö-shitab-ráy, who became therefore a partaker of the Navvab's resentment. He was taken to task: imperious exactors were set over him; and pretences fought every where for his ruin. But as he was a man of fortitude and courage, he shut himself up in his house with a few friends, and resolved to risk his life in defence of his honour. This air of vigour had its effect; and for sometime he was not meddled with by the Navvab. Nevertheless, matters went hard with him still; for Mir-cassém-qhan obtained from the Emperor the government of the fortress of Rhotas, with the Imperial Divanship of Azimabad, and the management of those djaaghiry-lands that belonged to Semfám-ed-dö8lah, now deceased; (all which offices had been in Rai-shitab-ray's possession;) and it was an account of his management in these offices, that was required of him with so much rigor, and so much chicanery. Luckily for him, that his attachment to the English, and the services he had rendered to that nation in the battle against Qhaden-hassén-qhan, had made such an impression on their gratitude, that they resolved at any rate to have him out of the Navvab's hands: they interposed therefore so effectually, that it was agreed on both sides, that his affair should be examined and judged by the council of Calcutta. The Navvab, who reckoned on the Governor's support, consented; and Shitab-ráy, who trusted to the vigor of his friends, went down with Major Carnac and some others. As nothing could be proved against him, and he was greatly esteemed by the English, the Governor and Council contented themselves with ordering that he should quit the Navvab's dominions. Shitab-ráy wanted no better; and he returned up to Azimabad, in company with Mr. Ellis and Mr. Lushington, two persons who had been appointed chief, and second, of the factory in that city. Mr. Lushington, in particular, who had a high regard for Shitab-ráy, taking a whole battalion of Talingas with him, escorted him by the way of Chapra, and Saarun, until he saw him across the river *Sordj*, which also goes by the names of *Deva* and *Gagra*, and forms the boundary between the provinces of Azimabad, and that of A8d. Mr. Lushington, after having seen him safe in Shudja-ed-dö8lah's dominions, parted with him, and returned to Azimabad.

The

The Navvab, by such means as these, and such confiscations, as well as by the order and regularity he introduced in every branch of the administration, and especially in the finances, came to be possessed of an immense hoard of ready money. But there remained a relation of Ram-naráin's, and it was Mansaram, who was actually collecting the revenues of the country of Tir8t, on the other side of the Ganga. Mir-mehdi-qhan, who was a near relation of the Navvab's, having been appointed Fodjdar of that district, Mansaram, who was equally brave and thoughtless, put himself upon his defence, was killed in an engagement, and by his death put an end to the dispute. Mir-cassém-qhan, after having introduced order in his finances, and subordination in his dominions, turned his views towards providing for his defence. He was amassing and manufacturing as many guns and flint-muskets as he could, with every necessary for war⁽¹⁰⁰⁾: Gurghin-qhan, the Armenian, was the man proposed to that particular branch: he was the principal general of his troops, and the trusty confidant of his heart; nay, the Navvab seemed to have sold himself to him totally. But he had also several other generals besides, whether Hindostanies or foreigners, every one of whom he had appointed to some particular branch. The most illustrious and most considerable amongst the latter was, Mahmed-taky-qhan, the Tabrizian, of Coozza-calan⁽¹⁰¹⁾, whom he had appointed Fodjdar of Birbhom, with orders to raise men, but to discipline only such as might prove able-bodied and serviceable. The man attached himself so heartily to his task, that he attracted a general admiration: he raised a

Mir-cassém
provides
himself with
several able
Generals.

(100) The European reader may possibly hear with surprise, that those firelocks manufactured at Mongher, proved better than the best Tower-proofs, sent to India for the Company's use; and such was the opinion which the English officers gave then, when they made the comparison by order of the council of Calcutta. Their flints were all Radjemahl agates; and their metal more mellow. And even to-day 1786. Colonel Martin, a Frenchman, who has greatly distinguished himself these twenty-two years in the English service, has, at Lucnow, a manufactory, where he makes pistols and fuzils better, both as to lock and barrel, than the best arms that come from Europe. The comparison had been repeatedly made; and Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, carried to Europe one pair of those pistols.

(101) Tabriz is the second city of Persia; and Cozza-calan is a town in its territory.

body

body still more numerous and better composed than he had been directed; and he applied himself so assiduously in arming, and exercising them in mock-engagements and in daily manœuvres, that he approved himself superior to those of his rank: it being acknowledged that no one would have discharged that office with so much abilities as he did. This officer had the qualities of a commander in chief, and did richly deserve that high employment; much better at least, than such a cloth-seller by the yard, as was Gurghin-qhan. Had he commanded in the day of battle, as did Gurghin-qhan⁽¹⁰²⁾, he would have preserved his honour and character; nor had the engagement ended as it did: although he had but a small force, and his measures were thwarted by the jealousy of Séyd-mahmed-qhan, the deputy Governor of Mooshoodabad, and by the refractory behaviour of several commanders, such as Sheh-háibetollah, Aalem-qhan, and Djaaser-qhan; all of whom were enjoined to obey his commands in the first battle against the English, and all of whom disobeyed his orders. His conduct and name have been inscribed on the leaves of the historical page. As for Ghurgin-qhan, his elevation seemed to have taken place, on purpose to demolish and to overthrow Mir-cassem qhan's power and grandeur. But this observation escaped his master: or if it did not, he was purblind by his destiny, as we shall shew in the subsequent part of this history.

If Mir-cassem-qhan was assiduously busy in providing the necessities for war, he was no less attentive in whatever could contribute to introduce regularity in the state, and subordination and punctua-

(102) The author, who every where inveighs against that General, did not know, or did not mind, that he was as much a man of genius, as Mahmed-taky-qhan, but with more knowledge: It was he who trained and disciplined the Navvab's cavalry, infantry, and artillery, in the English manner: and if half trained, as were those troops, a simple detachment of them fought, and defeated the troops of Major Castairs, which were full as numerous as those that won the battle of Plassey, what would he not have done, had he had a delay of two years more, to train them thoroughly? It is probable that he would have ruined the English in time; for he was taking every measure which could render the Navvab independant. But so far was he from precipitating his master into a war with the English, that whenever he saw him impatient at the haughtiness and pride of these strangers, he used to say: "*bear and forbear; you are not yet fledged; reserve that anger, till the time when you shall have feathers to your wings.*"

lity amongst the Zemindars. The principal amongst them therefore were ordered to attend at court. This order gave umbrage to Cam-car-qhan, who feared to be called to an account for his attachment to the Emperor, as well as for the arrears due by his Zemindary to the treasury of the province; and he retired with his troops into the mountains of the Ramgur. But Buniad-fing, and Fateh-fing, who trusted to the merit of having forborne to join the Emperor, and of having always lived in the courts of the preceding Governors, readily obeyed the summonses, and were put under confinement. So mild a treatment could not be expected by Pahluvan-fing, and the other Zemindars of the Sercar, or province of Shah-abad, who all go by the name of Bodjp8riahts: those men, fearful of being taken to task for their attachment to Ram-narain, and called to an account for their robberies and violences of all kinds, did not obey the order, but put themselves upon their defence. The Navvab, who had determined with himself to demolish all the ancient men of consequence in these provinces, but, above all, to extirpate the Zemindars that should prove refractory; and who intended to ruin all their castles and strong holds, sent first of all his own nephew, Aali-qhan, to take possession of Cam-car-qhan's country: He afterwards associated to him Affed-ollah-qhan, son to Mir-huffein-qhan, a man little scrupulous in shedding blood; after which dispositions, he determined to depart himself for Saharferam and the districts of Shahabad.

It was just in these conjunctures I arrived at Azimabad from my journey to Calcutta, and I visited the Navvab in Doctor Fullarton's company, a man who was a great friend of mine, as well as in high favour with that prince. He received me with distinction, and spoke with the utmost kindness; but as I had tarried very much in my voyage, he seemed really to be somewhat displeased, and he expressed his discontent in some complaints. I brought several excuses forward, which he seemed to accept; but being never without some suspicion or other in his mind, I perceived that he was not really satisfied, and that there lurked in his heart some particle of discontent. It was about this time, likewise, that my father resolved on his side to pay a visit to the new Navvab: he had observed.

observed that his estate, which although mostly acquired by purchase, is deemed a djaghir, was seated in the Navvab's dominions, and, of course, at the Navvab's mercy; and as he was resolved to live henceforward upon that estate, and to avoid the troubles of the busy world, it became incumbent upon him to be upon some terms with one in whose dominions he was to spend his days. He therefore expressed his desire to Mirza ⁽¹⁰³⁾ Shems-eddin, an intimate friend of his, and a favorite of the Navvab's. Mir-cassim-qhan, who remembered how inferior to my father he had been, and yet was conscious of that superiority of rank and dignity, so undeniable in his visitor, to which he would be obliged by the rules of decency to pay an adequate regard, declined the interview under some pretence; and when at last he consented, it was on such conditions as strongly evinced the difference he conceived between a reigning Navvab, and a disgraced prime minister. My father, on the other side, on hearing of the high pretensions of Mir-cassim-qhan's, was disgusted, and he repented of his having come so far as Azimabad. Luckily that I was myself in that city: as soon as I heard of this misunderstanding, I went to my father, and prevailed upon him not to stand upon the etiquette, but to put up with the pride and pretensions of Mir-cassim-qhan's, as a necessity to which the times strongly pointed. The representation had its effect; and he submitted to them. But when the interview came to take place, it happened that the Navvab himself over-awed the aged appearance of his noble visitor, and by a sudden recollection of his former greatness, at once receded from his own pretensions, although they had been submitted to; and getting up from his mesned of state, he advanced some steps, embraced him as an equal, made him sit close to himself on that same mesned, and took care to express himself in such respectful terms, as might

(103) The word Mirza, which signifies high-born, always expresses, both in Persia and in India, a gentleman that can *read* and *write*, a qualification very scarce among the Mussulmen, altho' so common amongst Gentoos. This word signifies no more, when put before the name: but when after, it always signifies the royal prince such a one. Hence Mirza-shems-eddin signifies only Mr. Shems-eddin: But Shems-eddin-mirza, would signify the royal prince Shems-eddin.

pour a stream of gladness over the old nobleman's heart. The visit having lasted some time, my father got up, and was dismissed, with the utmost honour and deference: the Navvab granted him his request with the best grace, and ever after made it a point to shew him the utmost regard and respect.

Mir-cassem receives the author's father in the most respectful manner.

Whilst I was rejoicing at this pleasing prospect, I was suddenly called up by my ill fortune. I was one day sitting in Mir-ab-dö8lah's house, when a chopdar, or mace-bearer, came from the Navvab, commanding my attendance: I hastened thither, and was conducted to an inner apartment, where that prince was sitting alone. "*I want,*" said he, "*something from you.*" "What can it be," answered I, "that should be in my power to give to your highness?" "Whatever be in Bagdat, is always at the Qhaliff's command⁽¹⁰⁴⁾." *Let us have,* said the Navvab, *your djaghbiry estate at Monghyr, that I may confer it, together with that fortress, on Gurghin-qhan, who is to go thither, in order to put it in a state of repair. Your lands are close to the fossé; and it is ten to one, but that your agent will be daily laying complaints against his agent, as the latter will not fail to do against the former. Now, I wish to be rid of all that beforehand: I will give you, in exchange, a better estate than that.* I answered, "That he might do what he thought best for his affairs: that I wanted only a subsistence, which he might easily afford; and that, if it should be his pleasure to give, and my good fortune to receive, other lands in exchange, it would be necessary to write to Radja Radj-b8llub, who, since Ram-narain's confinement, was deputy Governor of Azimabad." The Navvab promised it, but yet put me off with some vague promises, and in a few days he departed for Saharferam and Bodjep8r; nor did the exchange take place: so that I became extremely embarrassed for a subsistence; and as I was deeply in debt, and utterly destitute of camp equipage, I could not make the campaign with him. Doctor Fullarton, and some other friends, supplicated him for what was due to me upon my pay:

(104) The Arabian Emperors, successors of Mohammed, had made for several hundred years together, their residence at Bagdad, and were called *Qhaliffs*, or successors.

but he only answered by a *very well*, and never thought of it any more. Fain I was to remain at Azimabad, whilst he departed for Saharferam.

He was at the head of an army as numerous as the multitude at the Day of Judgement⁽¹⁰⁵⁾; but as Pahluvan-sing, with the other zemindars of the country of Shaha-bad, did not dare to stand their ground, they crossed the Ganga and fled to Ghazipoor, where they built themselves habitations in the dominions of Shudjah-ed-dö-8lah, and in the territory of Radja Balvant-sing, Zemindar of Banarés. Their lands were taken possession of by the Navvab, who placed his own collectors in each zemindary, and supported them by strong bodies of troops; whilst he remained, himself, all the while, at his head quarters of Saharferam, as if to give full scope to the anxieties of his mind. His temper, naturally suspicious, rendered him anxious about diving into the secrets of families, and especially in those of great men; and on that account he spent great sums in procuring intelligence: taking care to give much authority to Radja S8ck-laal⁽¹⁰⁶⁾, his head spy, who by the means of the numbers he retained in his pay, furnished him with minute intelligence concerning every man in his service, high or low, and especially about whatever concerned the zemindars; not omitting even the inhabitants of the cities. But the greatest evils arose from the intelligence conveyed by Nann8-mull, the spy, who having already made his apprenticeship in Qhadum-hassen qhan's service, at P8ra-niah, as professed delator to the ruin of an infinity of persons, had now attached himself to Gurghin-qhan; and being a man of a malignant disposition, he continued the same trade with the Navvab. Unfortunately this man, who had enmities and feuds of his own, spread desolation in an infinity of families; for Ghurghin-qhan listened to Nann8, whilst the Navvab listened to Gurghin-

(105) That expression signifies only *numerous*; for at no time did the Navvab have more than sixteen thousand cavalry, and twenty-five thousand infantry; one half of which were accoutred and trained in the English manner; that is, as much so as Indians can be, when not under the eye and guidance of English officers.

(106) The word spy, implies nothing dishonourable in India; and the chief of these people is always a man of importance: nearly, a minister of the foreign department.

qhan.

qhan. What is more mortifying is, that the wretched man was exceedingly revengful; and when once he had conceived sentiments of hatred against any one, they would sink a deep root in his diabolical heart, never to be extirpated hereafter: nor was such a disposition much dissimilar to that of his master; and here is a proof of it: Kelb-ali-qhan, and Haidar-ali-qhan, sons to Ala-c8li-qhan, foddar of Bagalpore, were found fault with for having been in the engagement against the Radja of Gohrec-p8r, where Mir-ab8l-hassen-qhan, who was son to T8rab-aali-qhan, the Navvab's maternal uncle, had chanced to be slain. Another reason of resentment against them was, their having made a visit to General Coote, on his journey to Azimabad, on the score of their having already commenced an acquaintance with that officer, when he first passed by Bagalp8r, in his pursuit of M8sher Lafs. This interview had made a very heavy impression on the Navvab's mind; and he sent orders to Radja Radj-b8ll8b, his deputy Governor of Azimabad, to put them both under confinement. He had now inured himself to the sufferings of defenceless people, and was grown bold by the murder of Sitaram and Sheh-saad-ollah, and by the forbearance of the English; for those two unfortunate men, together with their father, remained in all the miseries of confinement, so long as his dominion lasted. What looks strange is, that the satellites, sent by Radja Radj-b8l8b, to fetch those ill-fated brothers, having met me by chance on the road, surrounded by my customary retinue, they mistook me for their prey, and desired me to follow them; and although I expostulated strongly, they answered nothing to the purpose; and I was fain to go whithersoever they thought proper to lead. They carried me to Radja Radj-b8ll8b. This Governor, on hearing my name and family, was confounded: he professed much concern, made an apology, and dismissed me. I returned thanks to God, and went home: but how shall I express that variety of painful sensations, to which I became a prey, in that single hour? May God Almighty never permit any one of his creatures to become an object of inquiry to tyrants, accustomed to frighten mankind; or if any unfortunate people should become such objects of

persecution, may his goodness please to send them a quick delivery from the intricacies of the net of suspicion! Amen, O! Almighty God.

Mir-cassem
obliged to
suspect every
one, inter-
rupts all so-
cial inter-
course.

So suspicious a government soon interrupted all social intercourse; and people, accustomed to a certain set of actions and acquaintances and visits, now found themselves under the necessity of abandoning them at once, and of living at home altogether. It was some months before this confinement, that the Navvab had taken to task Radja Sitaram himself; a minister who transacted a great deal of important business. This man, mistaking so far his master's temper, as to think him as neglectful and conniving as the former Viceroys, forgot himself entirely: and, in imitation of all the penmen, and of all the heads of office, who used to exact exorbitant fees, and to carve for themselves, he put suitors under heavy contributions, and made it a practice, in every business that passed through his hands, to exact money at his pleasure, and to transform equity into injustice, and injustice into justice. Another person of consequence fell under the Navvab's displeasure: it was Sheh-saadollah, a commander, who, under Ram-narain's administration, had often been sent amongst the restless zemindars of the districts of Shah-abad, where he had acquired much local knowledge of the country, was concerned in most of its branches of revenue, commanded actually in some districts, and kept up a deal of correspondence with the zemindars, now residing at Ghazipur. This man, making no difference between the past and present times, continued his correspondence with them; and to all appearance, made use of some expressions that gave offence to the Navvab, a prince who was minutely informed of every thing of consequence that happened in his service; for he had actually in his pay two or three head-spies, every one of whom had been, in times of yore, a man of importance in the household of some mighty minister or mighty sovereign of Hindostan, where he had the authority to inform and to advise. Every one of these was now at the head of several hundreds of spies, whose business was to pry into the secrets of every family, and into the actions of every man, whether in the

Navvab's

Navvab's service or not. These men, being accustomed to accusations, and trusting to the facility of a denial always in their power, and to a lie always at their command, were stopped by no scruples at all; and they made no distinction of either times or persons. But these men were accused in their turn. They were arrested, and put to a severe scrutiny; and being found guilty, they were punished as well as others: indeed, I never could find the particular guilt of any one of them; whenever I come to be informed of it, I shall mention it in the subsequent pages. But I hold it from the mouth of several persons worthy of credit, that not one of those five persons had committed any such crime as might have deserved death: they even added, that every one of them had fallen a victim to conjecture and suspicion. Sheh-saadollah, in particular, was found fault with for his attachment to Mir-djaafer-qhan, and for his holding correspondence with the fugitive zemindars. Sitaram, likewise, had written some letters to a zemindar, in one of which he gave him information of the day in which the Navvab would set out; and, it was concluded, that the advice was given with the intent to put him upon his guard; nay, the very corresponding with the fugitive zemindars was reputed a crime; nor was the guilt of the three head harcaras, or spies, of any other nature. They were then put to death upon bare suspicion: their guilt did not amount to more. Five executions of that importance, spread far and near such a dread of the Navvab's resentment and exactitude, and it took so much possession of all hearts, that there was no man in his court, however considerable, who durst speak a wrong word, or who, whether near or far, could sleep in his bed easy and in peace of mind. It must be observed, that in the treaty concluded between the Navvab and the English, it had been stipulated that he should have an absolute authority over all his servants, Indians or others, without being liable to any question on that subject. Nevertheless, as capital punishments are actions of such a mighty nature, letters came from the council, asking the reason of those persons being put to death, and requesting an answer. The Navvab, to prepare his answer, sent to Doctor Fullarton, and to two or three English friends of his, some letters

letters of Sheh-saad-ollah's, and of the others, which had been laid hold of by him, as a ground for their being put to death; and he requested their being translated into English. As the Doctor was as much attached to me, as I was to him, he put those letters into my hands, for my opinion. On casting my eyes upon one of them, I found that there were erasures, and corrections, although done with a deal of art, and on that account I concluded that, possibly, the writer's death had some other secret cause. I conjectured that letters might have been written after the death of those men, and sealed with their seals, containing whatever their enemies had been pleased to insert. Some of these erasures and⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ corrections I shewed to Doctor Fullarton; but I cannot say whether the letters themselves were forwarded to the council or not; nor in what manner the Navvab excused his putting those men to death; nor in what light those excuses were received.

Mir-cassim-qhan, being now rid of this affair, undertook to visit the fortrefs of Rhotas⁽¹⁰⁸⁾: he sent notice of his design to Nefar-aali-qhan, the Governor, whom he had placed himself, as well as to Saho-mul, whom he had appointed to be his deputy; and, as my father was then at Saharferam, upon a visit to the Navvab, the latter took the old nobleman with him in his survey of that famous fortrefs. He had also in his retinue Séyd-alli-qhan, my younger brother, whom he had taken in his service, on Mr. Macguire's recommendation, whilst I was in Calcutta; and he now gave service, likewise, to my youngest brother, Ghalib-aali-qhan, on my father's recommendation. Naky-aali-qhan, my third brother, who was younger than me by some years, but older than the

(107) They never sign in India; at least, this is the case with the Mahometans; and as the date and place of the writer are never marked but upon the outside of the cover, where also they set the seal, which is nothing but the man's name, stamped with printer's ink, one may judge from thence how difficult it would be to authenticate any such letter in an European tribunal. See the remark 183, Sec. iii.

(108) Rhotas is a fortrefs upon a rock, three leagues in circumference: it is lofty and craggy, and contains lakes, woods, pasture, meadow, arable, and woodland; but the air is there so bad, as it is in all those kind of fortresses, so common all over India, that even the garrisons of natives require to be changed every fourth month.

two others, had been several times desired by the Navvab to take service with him; but he had constantly declined it, contenting himself with enjoying the small share allotted him in the family estate. The Navvab, after having amused himself with viewing the fortrefs, returned to Saharferam, where he dismissed my father to his estate; and he put under confinement Saho-mul, the deputy Governor of Rhotas, as well as Naky, the Imperial Colonel, who was for a long time in garrison there. Mir-cassem-qhan, having in this manner arranged the affairs of the province of Shah-abad, appointed Mir-mehdi-qhan, a nephew of Affed-ollah-qhan's, to command in the districts of Saharferam and Cháin-p8r, comprising under his management, the several zemindaries in Serefs, and Cotombah, from whence their owner, Beshen-fing, had fled to Banarefs. But to insure the repose of the country, he ordered Sheh-mahmed-acbar-qhan, the Lucnovian, a commander of character, to attend the new Governor, recommending to him to keep a watchful eye on the machinations of the fugitive zemindars, and especially on Pahluvan-fing: a man that might endanger the tranquillity of the whole country. Somro, an European⁽¹⁰⁹⁾, was stationed at Bacfar, with three or four regiments of disciplined talingas, and some pieces of cannon; but Mir-roshen-aali-qhan, the paymaster, had his station at Bohodjp8r, with his whole brigade of horse and foot. After these dispositions, he took a circuitous view of the country of Mug, which contains the districts of Serefs, Cotombah, Arval, Ticary, Bahar, and Paluch, with some other parts; and then marched to Monghyr. But, before setting out for the latter town, he sent for Radja Radj-b8ll8b, deputy Governor of Azimabad, and put him under a safe confinement in his camp; after which, trusty persons were sent to confiscate his property at Djehanghir-nugur-daca. In his stead, Radja Nobet-ráy, was in-

(109) Somro, who, as the chief man of the country, had a right, as is the custom all over India, to a portion of the booties made by those famous banditti of the Bodjp8r country, invited them all to an entertainment before the fort of Bacfar; and as they all came whilst he was exercising a regiment of talingas, or sipahees, he at once made them load with ball, and falling at once with fixed bayonets upon those miscreants, he put them all to death, to the number of six hundred.

vested with the qhylat of Azimabad, and sent to take care of that province and city. As soon as he had dispatched the new Governor's instructions, he set out himself on the fifteenth of Zilhedj, in the year 1175 of the Hegira, and made his entry in the citadel with the utmost pomp and magnificence: after which he ordered the walls and fortifications to be put in the best repair, with some improvements. As to the buildings, he not only ordered the old ones to be put in a complete repair, but he directed additional ones to be erected, in which he took up his abode, living with such state and authority, and shewing such a firmness of command, as struck every one with awe and admiration. But all this, however, did not conduce to his domestic happiness: he found himself stinted in his enjoyments. As since his accession to power, he had procured a number of fine young women, he could not help being grievously vexed at finding a great alteration in his virile powers: these were in a little time so much impaired, as to become an object of surprise to himself; so that he sought every where a remedy to that heavy misfortune, as he called it. The most renowned physicians held consultations together, and prescribed a variety of remedies; but all to no purpose: when one day some unknown man put into his hand a receipt of such amazing efficacy, that it seemed to have recalled in him all the powers of the most fervent youth. The Navvab having found a singular benefit from the receipt, proposed it to some of his favourites, who likewise found their youthful vigour recalled and recruited: a circumstance of which I have heard some of them talk with wonder and transport. After this little anecdote, let us revert to our narrative.

Mir-cassim-qhan, having given the necessary orders for the citadel of Azimabad, repaired to Monghyr, which town he made the center of all business, and the capital of his dominions: there he applied himself closely to the affairs of government, for most of which he had a particular turn of mind; and as a regard to truth is so great a requisite in an historian, and impartiality is so valuable a quality in those that record the events of the age, and enumerate the actions and words of men of eminence, we, in compliance with the well known verse,

“ You

“ You have pretty much descanted on his bad qualities, tell us
 “ now of his good ones.”

I shall proceed now, to set down with the pen of truth, whatever else we know by ourselves, or have heard from others, on this very eminent character; and indeed, it must be acknowledged, that although the perpetual treasons, and endless duplicities, which he had been seeing throughout so many preceding administrations, had soured his temper; and the perpetual infidelities of the troops, as well as of the commanders and grandees of Bengal, had rendered him exceedingly suspicious, and ever prone to confiscation of properties, confinement of persons, and effusion of blood; nevertheless, it was acknowledged on all hands, that he had admirable qualifications that balanced his bad ones. In unravelling the intricacies of affairs of government, and especially the knotty mysteries of finance; in examining and determining private differences; in establishing regular payments for his troops, and for his household; in honouring and rewarding men of merit, and men of learning; in conducting his expenditure, exactly between the extremities of parsimony and prodigality; and in knowing intuitively where he must spend freely, and where with moderation: in all these qualifications, he was an incomparable man indeed, and the most extraordinary prince of his age. In imitation of the ancient sovereigns of this country, he used to sit in a public hall of audience, two days in the week, where he examined by himself the pretensions of suitors, and unravelled their respective subterfuges; and, although he did not pronounce sentence, but after having asked the opinions of the persons proposed to matters of justice and law, yet, it was always upon his own judgement. He ordered the plaintiff and the defendant to come close to him, listened to their allegations with attention, and sometimes confirmed the sentence of the judges: nor was any man daring enough in his court, to touch a bribe, or to speak in behalf of an unjust pretension, or to sink any man's right

Great abilities of Mir-
 cassim.

or due, or to throw any doubt upon it. The poor defenceless landholders, who in the administrations of a Djanki-ram, and a Ram-narain, had been dispossessed of their villages and hereditary estates, by the rapacious violence of short-sighted zemindars, found now that the day of redress was come for them. Those that had vouchers, were admitted to a probation: and those that had not, were admitted to an affidavit, from the most ancient inhabitants of the spot, corroborated by the attestations of the cazy and musty of that district. After their right had been ascertained, they received their dismissal with suitable orders to the respective zemindars and men in power; and mace-bearers were sent with them to see the oppressed reinstated in their estates, and the defenceless righted in their grievances. He was equally attentive to objects of a more public nature: the numerous ornaments, in gold and silver, that had once adorned Seradj-ed-döslah's Imam-bara⁽¹⁰⁹⁾, and had been heretofore melted into coin, to the amount of several lacs, were now taken notice of; and the whole sum, with a great deal more besides, was, by his order, repaid to the Séyds⁽¹¹⁰⁾, to the necessitous and the needy. In these charitable distributions, he always made use of the channel of his Highness Sheh-mahmed-aali-hazin, chiefly; and occasionally of Mir-mahmed-aali-fazyl, and Sheh-mahmed-hassen, and Zair-hassen-qhan; and of some other pious persons of that note: all men renowned for their knowledge and exemplary life. The

(109) The *Imam-bara*, or Pontiff's close, as those words import, is a square building two stories high, built by Serdaj-ed-döslah, for the purpose of celebrating the rites of the Muharrem in commemoration of the death of Hossain, grand-son to the Prophet, who was slain at Kerbelah; that building is then finely illuminated with coloured fires placed behind glasses, and behind frames of coloured talk. All Moorshoodabad is in an uproar in those ten days; nor is there keeping even women at home. But there are several Imam-baras; and numbers of houses are occasionally turned to that use. Hossain's death is there represented with theatrical action round a grand catafalco.

(110) The Shyah Muselmen hold that the fifth of their revenue is due to the Séyds, or descendants of the prophets; and this contribution is therefore called *Zhoms*. But all the other Musselmen, (and these constitute the five sixths of the whole) that is all the Sunnies, believe only that a tenth of one's revenue is due to the necessitous; and this charity is called *Zecaat*.

original of the poesies of his Highness Sheh-mahmed-aaly-hazin, had been purchased at a high price by the former administration, but not paid; and, on being informed of it, he ordered the payment to be made good from his own treasury, assigning to that illustrious man at the same time, a pension that administered to all his wants; for he reckoned it amongst the felicities of his administration, to have chanced to pay for that precious collection. His regard for the author was no less conspicuous: whenever that illustrious man came to see him, there was always a musnud spread for him close to his own; and he used to get up and to advance some steps, and to bow to him with the utmost respect and modesty. He listened with attention to whatever he had to say, and thought it an honour to approve himself obedient to his commands, being proud of granting his demands with the best grace imaginable. He paid likewise a high regard to the virtuous men mentioned above, putting his ambition in keeping them satisfied to the utmost of their wishes. As to the payment of his troops, he was so exact and so regular, that I do not recollect to have heard a single complaint on that head: the truth is, that his exactitude and keenness were so dreaded, that no one dared to impose a false muster upon him, or to withhold any one soldier's due.

As to myself, if I did not make a fortune under his administration, it must be attributed either to my bad conduct, or to my bad luck. After having already spent a long time in Azimabad, in great distress and difficulties, I was once apostrophized by Doctor Fullarton in these words: "My Lord Qhan, why do not you go to Monghyr, to try your fortune?" "Because," said I, "I am not satisfied with Mir-cassim-qhan's sincerity." "And should he please to injure you here," replied he, "who can protect you? Better for you then go at once to him: possibly, on seeing you, he shall give you some employment. As for us, Mr. Ellis has informed you, that we dare not meddle in any thing, or protect any one, especially such a one as you, who are reputed the Navvab's servant,

“vant, and whose case, on that account, admits not of your being
 “protected openly.” These few words struck me. Finding that
 what the Doctor said was founded on truth, I set out for Monghyr,
 and paid a visit to the Navvab. This prince received me, not only
 with kindness and distinction, but he spoke to me with as much fami-
 liarity as if I had been one of his intimates or favourites. At the
 second visit, he seemed not so much as to know any thing of me.
 I was so confounded at his coldness, and so nettled at this reception,
 that I pronounced for my protection the fine words⁽¹¹¹⁾; and for a
 month together, I recited that prayer, which begins with these
 words, and has been put in verse by Sheh-mahmed-aali-hazin (whom
 God may place amongst the highest of his elect!) My reading ended
 about the third of the month Zilhidge, the forbidden⁽¹¹²⁾. The in-
 tent was, that God Almighty should be pleased to protect me from
 the Navvab’s ill-will, and to procure me some benefit from his
 power. And a strange and admirable effect did the prayer produce!
 I was in the nightly assembly on the first day of Muharrem: the
 Navvab, of his own motion, called me, made me sit close to him-
 self, spoke a great deal to me, and continued keeping up the con-
 versation, until the assembly broke up late at night. The second
 day, being again in the assembly, as usual, I took care to choose my
 seat at a great distance from him, sensible, that his demonstrations of
 kindness were not to be trusted, and that his favour itself had no
 stability. But he soon found me out; and sending for me, he made
 me sit so near his person, that I touched his clothes; not satisfied
 with that, he added these words: “I desire you to sit down every
 “night close to me in this manner. And pray, why did you not
 “tell me of your circumstances and distress?” I answered, *that*

(111) The fine words are these: *There is no God, but God; and Mohammed is his missionary.*

(112) This month being that in which the pilgrimage was performed at Mecca, (many cen-
 turies before Mohammed), was called the forbidden *el-haram*, because it was unlawful in that
 month to travel, that is, to wage war.

his sublime Highness knew them very well. "How should I," replied he? "I have not the science infuse." *I shall inform your Highness,* answered I. He rejoined, "when?" *After the ten days of mourning shall be over.* "Pray," said he, "what wordly business is ever at a stand during these sacred days, that your own should be on that account suspended?" I replied, *that there was no speaking about one's private affairs in so much company; and that it was not customary to address people of his rank on business, in these days.* "Is that the etiquette?" said he. "Then come to-morrow, with your paper, at day-break." At day-break then I was ready with my paper in my hand: it was in general terms. On reading it, he presented me with a sum of five thousand rupees, in free gift; ordered that all the arrears of my salary should be paid to the last of the present month; commanded that, henceforward, I should be paid every month without fail; and desired me to see him every second day. He, at the same time, permitted my middle brother, Ghalib-aaly-qhan, to visit him once a week; and my youngest brother, Séyd-aaly-qhan, once in a fortnight; but as soon as the young man was gone, he directed the superintendant of his hall of audience, to deny him admittance, under some plausible pretence or other. The reason was, that he had seen him very familiar with the English; and that he suspected, that as he was quite young, and incapable to make any distinction of times, and place, he might be prevailed upon to serve them as their spy; whereas, he looked upon me to be a man of discretion and experience; a man capable of concealing his secrets, (should any of them come to my knowledge) and of rendering a service upon an emergency: else, in other respects, he did not doubt at all of my being another such a man as that brother of mine: insomuch, that although I had found such an opening in his mind, yet, to continue long to live upon good terms with him, was rendered extremely difficult, by my known connections with the English, and by the continual alarms which they occasioned.

occasioned in his mind. But, indeed, no man was secure in his service. Nuzur-ali-qhan, son to Gholam-hosseïn-qhan, and superintendant of the hall of audience to the late Aali-verdi-qhan, had been to this day (God knows by what good luck, and for what intent) continued in the same office, as daroga to Mir-cassem-qhan's divan-qhana: that is, as introducer-general. But now, that office was given to another; and it proved to be to one Sheh-abdollah, who had been lately in Djagat-seat's service, but had formerly served Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan himself, as writing master, whose business should be to correct the hand of Séyd-aali-qhan, my younger brother, to whom that prince intended to give his daughter in marriage. This man was promoted to that office at Gurghin-qhan's recommendation; and Nuzur-aali-qhan, not only lost his office, but was sent into confinement, to make him refund those sums of money which his father had amassed in his time under former princes. A few days before this dismissal, T8rab-aali-qhan, maternal uncle to the Navvab, had been dismissed from his office of deputy Governor of Moorsheedabad; and his post was given to Séyd-mahmed-qhan, a man born in Bagdad, and who was a relation to Mir-cassem-qhan, by his being a brother to his grand-father, Imtiaz-qhan. Ask-er-aali-qhan, son to the forgiven Séif-ollah-qhan, once viceroy of Tatta, was promoted to the command of the Radj-shahi, a rich district in the province of Bengal. As to T8rab-aali-qhan, he repaired to Monghyr, where he lived in his nephew's court.

It was whilst these changes were taking place at court, that the Navvab was planning an expedition against the Zemindar of Betia. The command of it was given to Bahadyr-aali-qhan, son to Mirza-davar-c8li-beg, who had been for a long time grand master of artillery to Aali-verdy-qhan, and now enjoyed a small part of that office under Mir-cassem-qhan. He had with him several commanders with their corps, together with some pieces of cannon in the English fashion, and some regiments of Talingas, disciplined by Gurghin-qhan.

qhan. His orders were to take the fortress of that name, and to chastise the Zemindar of that country, who had proved unruly. It was at this time also, that several titles of honour were sent by the Emperor to Mir-cassem-qhan, on his solicitation: however, although he pretended not only to an equality with Shudjah-ed-dö-8lah, but even to a superiority over this last, who was a powerful prince, so as to bear the title of Vezir of the Emperor of India, and the firname of Affef-djah⁽¹¹³⁾; yet, he could obtain from the throne, no more than the titles of *Eshref*, and *Aaly*, which signify most noble and most high, with the grade of seven thousand horse. All these dignities and titles were received in the beginning of the year 1176; and from henceforward, the title of Navvab Aali-djah becoming the stile of the court, Mir-cassem-qhan ceased to be designed by any other appellation.

A little after this inauguration, the world saw with surprise, one of those strange events, for which there is no accounting, but by supposing a destiny that brings them to pass infallibly. Shéh-abdollah, the very man lately promoted to the office of superintendent of the hall of audience, having got into the Navvab's private closet, informed him that Mahmed-aaly, with Bereket-aaly, and Ferhad-aaly, his nephews, "who were principal commanders in the army, " and owed their promotion to his Highness, had entered into a secret " agreement with Gurghin-qhan, which had been confirmed by the " most tremendous oaths on both sides: that as his Highness very " well knew how high was that general's influence over the civil, " as well as the military, department, he, his devoted servant, had " thought it incumbent upon his zeal to give that information, to " put it in his power to provide for it properly." The Navvab, amazed at such a piece of information, and unwilling to give it an implicit belief, waited till the evening, the time when Gurghin-qhan

(113) He who sits in the stead of *Affef*, Vezir to Suléiman, or Salomon.

used to come and to make his bow; and he then imparted the information to him in a low tone of voice, putting several questions at the same time. Gurghin-qhan, who could not deny what he had done, took at once the part of acknowledging the charge, and moreover, of boasting of it. "I have done all that," added he, in a higher tone of voice, "and we have bound ourselves to each other by the most solemn oaths: But for what? For your own preservation, and that of your power; and whoever has poisoned that transaction in your mind, is an enemy to you; and a secret traitor, who is endeavouring to undermine the power, to which God has raised you." As the informer had been a length of time in Djogat-feat's service, that is, of a man whose family was strongly suspected of disaffection, it was easily conjectured that he had been only made a tool of; and that the intent of the information secretly conveyed, under the mask of zeal, was no other than to render Gurghin-qhan, and the principal commanders suspected, so as to bring them under some disgrace that might occasion a disaffection throughout the troops, and render the army fit for being worked upon by emissaries. At any rate, however, Gurghin-qhan's favour and influence had not taken so slight a root, as to be affected by the information and the malevolence of such a man as Sheh-abdollah. This disturbance seemed to introduce another; which occasioned the disgrace of a young man of Pendjab, who was reputed the best archer, and the stoutest man throughout the whole army: his name was *Rahim-ollah-qhan-péni*. It is supposed that he had got acquainted with one of the principal women in Bengal, who put it in his power to purchase a fine horse, for no less a sum than three thousand rupees. Not that he was really in love with her; for, in fact, he was passionately fond of Shukur-ollah-qhan, alias Aga-baba, son posthume of Ser-efraz-qhan; a young man now under confinement at Djeanghir-nugur, and who, I know not for what reason, was extremely suspected by Mir-cassem-qhan, to whom he now and then

then sent petitions, requesting a release from his confinement. The man's servant used, together with these petitions, to bring letters to the Navvab's principal ministers. Rahim-ollah-qhan, meeting the above servant in his way, carried him home, and gave him a lodging. The Navvab, hearing of these matters, ordered the archer to be brought to the presence; but as this archer lodged with Abdol-reff8l-qhan, a famous officer, brother to the illustrious Dost-mah-med-qhan, this summons disturbed the whole family; and Abdol-qhani-qhan, the eldest son of that officer, exhorted his father, as well as his three brothers, to undertake Rahim-qhan's protection. He was himself a young man in high repute for prowess and sentiments of honour; but the family, intimidated by the Navvab's power, refused to take any concern in the affair; so that the other undertook to protect his friend alone. His father and brothers threw themselves at his feet, and represented that, "such
 " a step would be the cause of the ruin of every one of them, as
 " well as of their whole family." The young man persisted: they represented to him, that "the times of Aali-verdy-qhan were
 " no more; when, upon shewing tokens of repentance, hopes of
 " pardon were often at hand, and intercessors always found admit-
 " tance: but that now times were greatly altered; and that his ob-
 " stinacy would ruin his father and brothers, with all the women and
 " all the children of the family." The young man yielded to these last representations; so, that the men sent from the Navvab, carried Rahim-ollah-qhan away, and confined him in a room in the outer apartments; but, the rumor of this confinement being spread abroad, the young Abdol-qhani took poison and perished. Whilst the Navvab was intent on this affair, his attention was diverted to another object; and this was Chintamon-dafs. He was originally a writer of Bodjp8r, his native country, and a man whom Mir-cassem-qhan had promoted to the superintendence of the finances of that district, on account of the ingenuity and talents he had discovered in him. It

was found, by intercepted letters under his hand, that he was in correspondence with the refractory zemindars, refuged at Ghazipoor. The man was seized, and brought to the presence. It happened to be whilst I was myself making my bow to the Navvab, who was sitting in the hall of public audience, surrounded by crowds of people, to whom he was distributing justice. After sitting, as usual, half an hour, I got up, made another bow, and went away; but I was hardly out of the gate, when a mace-bearer ran after me, and brought me back to the Navvab, who requested me to be seated again. As the Navvab was busy in hearing suits, and pronouncing upon differents, I was not much pleased with my sitting. The audience being over, the several officers that had attended in their stations, were going to retire, when they were ordered to be seated again; the mace-bearers and the yeshäols⁽¹¹⁴⁾, who were mostly Moguls and strangers, being all standing in their places. The Navvab then ordered the prisoners to be brought in. The first that appeared was Rahim-ollah-qhan: the Navvab, with a severe look and a firm tone of voice, asked him how, after all the cautions he had given him, and all the injunctions he had intimated to him, he came to be still guilty of the same fault? “If you have no farther commerce with that woman,” added he, “whence comes it that you can afford to purchase a horse of three thousand rupees, you that have no more than a hundred and fifty rupees per month?” The other, confounded by the suddenness of the question, gave a variety of reasons, not worth hearing. The Navvab, more incensed at his prevarications and denials, continued: “Why did you take in your lodgings, and keep there for some time, the servant of Shukur-ollah-qhan, whom you know to be my enemy, and in confinement?” The other, still more confounded, gave some absurd answers, and descended to supplications and prayers. The Navvab

(114) The chop-dars, or staff-bearers, although originally a military guard, are now only civil officers, whose badge is a long, thick, staff, plaited with silver. The yeshäols, are nearly the same, but in general, armed; but the Niffigh-chies are always so.

listened,

listened, but said not a word. A moment after, he ordered his nose to be cut off, and himself to be put upon an afs, and carried in that condition all over the town; after which, he was to be banished beyond the Keremnaffa. Chintamun-dafs came next: his sentence was, to be made fast to an elephant's foot, and carried round, until death should ensue. The man objected that *the letters were forged*. "And yet," answered the Navvab, "they are in your hand-writing, and under your seal; and people that have no enmity to you, and are unconcerned, and know very well your hand, have affirmed the same, after a thorough examination." The man brought many excuses, but they were rejected; and he underwent his sentence according to it's tenor. These two sentences being executed, he ordered the three brothers, Bereket-aaly, and Mahmed-aaly, and Ferhad-aaly, to be brought, and he spoke to them with a great deal of vehemence and displeasure: "You had not a rag on your backs," said he, "when you first came into my service; and now, by my bounty, you are riding upon elephants, are called mighty commanders, and have a thousand horse under your orders. And, as to Gurgin-phan, is it not I that have made him what he is? Was he not a seller of cloth by the yard? With what intent then did you enter into a treaty with him, and did you seal it with the most solemn oaths?" Here the Navvab paused. The men, having beforehand received their lesson from Gurgin-qhan, answered, with a great deal of intrepidity, "That what his Highness, their master, said, was exactly the truth, and that it was a fact; but that they, his servants, had not uttered a lie; neither had they swerved from the path of attachment and zeal; and that if they had, and it could be proved, they had no objections to any punishment that might be inflicted upon them." The Navvab, having repeated his accusation three times, three times received the same answer, or to the same purport. Sheh-abdollah being present, was then ordered to draw near; and the Navvab said to him, "Sheh,

“ it is now your part to bring forward what proofs you have men-
 “ tioned to me, against them, that I may inflict upon them a con-
 “ dign punishment; but should you fail in bringing forth your
 “ proofs, you must expect to be punished yourself; for you know,
 “ that in such a case, it follows naturally, that you intended to sow
 “ dissensions amongst my commanders, and to disperse my army
 “ by my own hands.” The Sheh, who knew that this whole
 matter had been talked over between the Navvab and Ghurghin-
 qhan, the last night, and that the conference had ended in a renewal and
 confirmation of the ancient promises and stipulations that subsisted
 between those two personages, became sensible that it would be in
 vain now to call on his witnesses, although all of them present, as
 none of them, after such a coalition, would choose to give his
 evidence; spying, therefore, the hand of fate, which was taking an
 aim at his existence, and observing what turn the matter had taken,
 he submitted to his destiny, and without uttering a word, he bowed
 his head. Three times did the Navvab put the same question to
 him, and repeat the same observation; and three times did the man
 repeat his bow, without so much as moving the lips. It was now
 past noon, and the lictors, the apparitors, and the mace-bearers,
 and all the officers of the court of justice, were all attending, every
 one in his place; and I had nearly lost my senses, being unable to
 comprehend why I had been called back in so awful an assembly.
Alas! said I, within myself, *it is because I am also to be accused of*
treason. I was in deep meditation upon my own fate, when good-
 luck would it, that the Navvab got up, and marched towards the
 women’s apartment; on seeing which, I hastened forwards, and
 standing at the gate of the secret apartments, I made a profound
 bow. “ You must come along with me,” said the Navvab. It
 was then only I concluded that I had been sent for upon some other
 matter than treason. On getting, therefore, into the inner closet, I
 found that the subject was some bad renown which Mr. Macguire
 had

had acquired, by selling to the Navvab a quantity of salt: a transaction which had nothing blameable in itself; but which, however, made a strange noise in the world. The Navvab wanted to inquire how that ill-renown had gone forth: to that end, he gave me a swift boat of his own, with which I executed my commission in seven days, returning to Monghyr within the week. Sheh-abdollah, in my absence, was sent prisoner to P8raneah, where, on the beginning of the war with the English, he was put to death by Mir-cassim-qhan's order.

Whilst the court of Monghyr was taken up with such discussions as these, its attention was called up to a very extraordinary event. Mr. Vansittart, Governor of Calcutta, impelled, doubtless, by the omnipotence of tyrannical destiny, conceived the design of paying a visit to the Navvab, and of viewing Monghyr, as well as the factories of Azimabad and Chaprah. He quitted Calcutta, and after having seen in his way Cassimbazar, Moorsheedabad, and Bardvan, with some other places, he arrived at Monghyr. It was on a Thursday, of the first Djemadi, in the year 1176. The Navvab went as far as the orchard of Goodergatta, which is three cosses distant, to meet him; and having received him with the utmost honour and regard, he brought him to town, where he appointed for his reception and lodgings, the building which Ghurghin-qhan had raised on the hill of Sihta-cond*; there were besides, a magnificent set of lofty tents for his reception, ready pitched.

Gurgin-

* Sihta-cond, or Sita-coon, is the name of a hill, or rather of a chain of hillocks that overlook a lake of some miles in circuit, which last cannot be any thing else than the crater of a vulcano, extinguished ages ago, but which yet is smoking; nor is that hill, as well as the ragged hills that surround that crater, any thing but lava; nay, the whole country round the lake, to the extent of several miles, is covered with lava, and the whole of that extent is inclined to, and verges towards, that lake very visibly. Nor does it seem to be any thing else but a ground that has subsided in former ages, when the rim of the crater came to tumble down in the gulph. The face of the adjacent country strongly points out to that conjecture; and even now, there is an evident remain of a vulcano: a small pool of boiling water, close to two cold ones; and this water

Gurgin-qhan, attended by all the officers of the steward and butler's office, was ordered to provide an entertainment, and to furnish him with whatever might prove necessary for himself and his retinue. The Navvab, after these dispositions, took his leave, and repaired to his own lodgings within the castle. The next day Vansittart went to visit him. As soon as he appeared in the yard, the Navvab proceeded as far as the outer rails to receive him: from thence he brought him in the hall of audience, made him sit upon his own mesned, and complimented him with a variety of curious and costly presents, suitable to the occasion, and worthy of the acceptance of a man of that high rank and station. Two days after, the Navvab returned the visit, and invited him to an entertainment; and, on his taking leave, he was in his turn complimented with a variety of rich presents, of European and Chinese manufactures, which the Governor had brought for the occasion. At night, he went to the Navvab's palace, where he partook of an entertainment, looked a little at the dancers, and then returned to his quarters: so, that for three or four days together, both parties were intent on sending curious things to each other. The fourth day, in compliment, doubtless, to the Governor, the Navvab ordered his artillery, and musqueteers, to go through their exercise in the Governor's presence. As both the artillery and musqueteers had been trained and disciplined after the English manner, that exhibition was not without some grains of ostentation. Vansittart, therefore, took care to give him some advice upon it, which he likewise mixed with some grains of reprimand. "I have seen your troops," said he, with a

water boils only in the rainy season, when the subterraneous waters coming to rise to the level of a bed of pyrites and alum mixed with metals, excites a fermentation, which produces a conflagration, so as to emit flames and smoke. It appears, also, from tradition, that the citadel itself of Monghyr, must have been the mouth, or attenant to the mouth of a vulcano, at two miles from the other; and this is so far true, that part of the ground south of the fort, subsided in one night, about sixty years ago, full forty feet, and swallowed up a Gentoo temple, which Gentoos point out still with respect, as a spot to which old men go in pilgrimage, or bathe in the river that flows close to it.

smile,

smile, “and acknowledge that you have accoutred and disciplined
“them very well; but these are only good against Indians, and
“people of this climate. Beware of ever opposing them to Euro-
“peans, or of coming to a rupture with the English, upon a con-
“fidence reposed in your people; for rest assured that you shall find
“yourself disappointed, and that these men will never stand the
“brunt of European soldiers. Beware, therefore, of trusting your
“honour to such hands: they will disappoint you assuredly, and
“with the loss of your honour, you shall make away with the
“honour of every Hindian nation, and of every Hindostany prince:
“for if you come to be defeated, with these your choice troops,
“the people in Europe will from thence conceive the most con-
“temptible idea of the rest of the Hindians; and they will come
“to despise every thing that is in Hindostan. Reckon then that in
“your fate is involved the fate of all Hindostan. If you intend to
“fight us, take care to do it with money in your hands, and ar-
“guments in your mouths: this is the way to gain a superiority.
“Give over then those warlike notions of yours, and be faithful to
“the agreement which I have established between the two nations:
“never suffer any one to infringe it; and manage in such a manner
“as that the people of these regions may, in consequence of your
“adherence to the agreement between us and you, live in peace,
“enjoy their property in content, and bless your name for ever:
“for in case this agreement should come to be infringed, and mat-
“ters should proceed as far as a rupture, rest assured that the prof-
“perity of an infinity of persons will be involved in your ruin,
“and that death and desolation shall overspread these countries.”

Vanfittart, after having given this lesson to the Navvab, and amused himself during seven days within the environs of Mon-ghyr, took his leave, and proceeded towards Azimabad.

“Listen to a salutary advice, and do not cover yourself with pretences;

“Hear what a kind monitor says, and act accordingly.”

The

The Navvab observed to the Governor that, under the name of the English, numbers of merchants passed their goods free from duty ; and that by such a practice, whilst the English themselves reaped but a small benefit, his customs suffered a mighty loss : he added, that to put an end to such pernicious practices, it would be proper to submit all the English private trades to the country duties, leaving the Company's own trade as free as ever. Vansittart answered, that the English having at all times been accustomed to a freedom from duties, he could not make such a proposal to them : but that he had better wait until he himself, (Vansittart), should return to Calcutta, where he would endeavour to find an expedient for that affair ; and that as soon as the reglement which he had in his mind, and which he reserved for his return, should come to pass and be forwarded to Monghyr, he might then put it in execution. Without explaining himself further, the Governor proceeded to Azimabad. But, the Navvab confiding in that kind of promise, conceived the hopes of keeping up his pretensions for duties : insomuch, that after some little time had elapsed, he wrote to his officers every where, to give them notice of the agreement he expected, and to put them upon their guard, lest ; meanwhile, and until the reglement should come up, the English private traders might find means to evade the custom, and to escape duty free. But how could he expect that overbearing custom-officers, and short-sighted toll-men, would have so much sense and discretion, as to keep such a secret locked up in their breasts, and meanwhile, manage with so much art, as not to lay themselves open to accusations by their precipitancy and forwardness ? In fact, oppositions and stoppages having commenced in many places, the veil was torn away at once in two places ; at Azimabad, where Mr. Ellis, chief of the factory, was highly incensed against the Navvab, and zealously attached to Mr. Amyatt ; and at Djehanghir-nugur-dacc, where Mr. Batson held a similar office. Those two men equally incensed, and equally impatient of restraint,

restraint; and both unable to endure any more, sent a force, which seized the Navvab's officers, and brought them prisoners to the English factories, with intent to have them tried and punished by the council of Calcutta, and to throw the blame of their conduct directly upon the Navvab, and indirectly upon Vansittart.

Sometime before these disturbances, this prince had crossed the Ganga on Ghurghin's persuasion, with intention to proceed on an expedition against Nepal, which had been planned and proposed by that general; and he preceded the Navvab by some days. It was just at the time when Vansittart, after a short visit to Azimabad, was returning to Calcutta; but the Navvab was already returned from Betiah, when he heard of the bold step which the English had taken. However, before we proceed further on that subject, it is fit that we should give some account of the result of the Navvab's expedition against Nepal, as it is there that his good fortune commenced to decline. After that, we shall revert to his disputes with the English, and to all the consequences which they produced. As the country of Nepal was known to produce gold, as well as to be full of riches, Ghurghin-qhan, who had as much ambition as covetousness in his composition, wished to undertake an expedition thither. But he had another object in view; he wanted also to make a trial of the troops which he had disciplined, and of the artillery which he had trained. With this view, he had long before commenced connections with those crouds of Cashmirians, and Sanyassees, and Fakirs⁽¹¹⁵⁾, who yearly frequented those parts; he had, likewise, procured much information from some French priests that live at

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E e

Latfa

(115) The Fakirs of India are of all religions and persuasions; but the *Sanyassees* are all Gentoos, and moreover, naked, and almost always armed. Both go in droves of sometimes several thousands, and approve themselves very expert at plundering and at marauding, under pretence of begging. They over-run all Hindostan, nay, all India, as far as the island Ceilan, which is one of their pilgrimages to the South; as P8talo is another to the North, which is the residence of the great Lamma: they even go as far as China, and as far as Siberia, always ready to beg, trade, plunder, or steal by the way, as occasion serves. There is one sort amongst them

Latfa⁽¹¹⁶⁾, infomuch, that he became a proficient in the knowledge of the paffes over the mountains, and of the entrances into the country. He even attached to his fervice, fome of thofe men whom he found to be endowed with underftanding, and capable of ferving as guides in his expedition; for they had of themfelves tendered their fervices on that head, and had firft inspired him with the thoughts of conquering fo wealthy a country. Gurghin-qhan, whose ancestors had never been warriors, who was not of a warlike nation; and who knew nothing of military affairs; having conceived a very eafy idea of the poffibility of conquering that country, inspired his mafter with an inclination for that conquest. This was not the opinion of Aly-hibrahim-qhan, and of fome other friends of the Navvab's, who all objected to the expedition, and propofed that at leaft, if he was bent upon undertaking it, at any rate, he fhould take with him a body of Englifh: and they reasoned in this manner, “ that
 “ if by making them his companions, he came to conquer the
 “ country with the expected eafe, he had carried his point; and if
 “ the expedition fhould not fucceed, then he would not be liable to
 “ any taunt or reproach from them; nor would he afford them an
 “ opportunity of falling out with him fofoon: whereas if he fhould
 “ proceed alone on that expedition, and it fhould happen to mifcarry,
 “ the mifcarriage would not fail to fink his character with the Englifh,
 “ and to become a fubject of affliction to his fervants and well-wifh-
 “ ers.” This advice was certainly rational, and the only good one in thofe conjunctures; but it was not liftened to; and Gurghin-qhan's intereft and counfels prevailed. But, as the fortrefs of Betiah had been taken but fhelly, and the country, which is contiguous to Nepal,

them called *Nagas* and *Atits*, who go always armed, and abftain from women, but who are reputed addicted to much worfe practices; ftealing boys, and turning them into *Nagas*, when grown up. However, it cannot be denied that there are *Sanyaffes*, as well as Fakirs, that live in towns, as well as in the woods, where they undergo penances, that would beggar all defcription, and are paff belief.

(116) Latfa is one of the two capitals of *Tebet*, a country called *Bftant* in India, and *Potya* by the natives. *Pftala* is the other Capital.

had

had been but lately brought under controul, the Navvab availed himself of the pretence of establishing order in that region, to set out on the intended expedition: it was the twenty-fifth of the second djemady in the year 1176, of the Hedjra. He crossed the Ganga, and commenced his march; Gurghin-qhan preceeding him by one or two stages, at the head of the troops and artillery which he had himself trained; and this order of march lasted until the Navvab arrived at Betiah; from whence Ghurghin-qhan advanced four days journey farther, and commenced ascending the gaut, or difficult pass, which gave entrance into the country of Nepal. There he was opposed by the Nepalian army; and a sharp engagement took place, in which Ghurghin-qhan's troops, after repeated efforts, in which they lost a great number of men in wounded and slain, repulsed the enemy: with much courage and perseverance they gained the summit of the ascent, where they halted to take some rest for that night. But hardly the night was closed, when the Nepalians coming out of the woods and hills, attacked the Bengalies on all sides at once; and with stones, arrows, and musket-balls, they made so much havock amongst them, that they drove them back to the bottom of the pass, from whence the latter, after losing a great number of men, and leaving many stands of arms, were obliged to retreat without stopping, as far as Ghurghin-qhan's quarters. That general, on seeing the condition in which they were, lost all hopes of succeeding in his expedition; he was struck with amazement, and ashamed to shew his face: unable to bear the thoughts of announcing himself his miscarriage, he remained motionless, like one stupefied. Equally unwilling to retrograde and to shew his face again, and not daring to advance against an enemy grown bolder by his late success, he became weary of his very existence, and incapable to take any party for himself. Intelligence of this event having reached the Navvab from elsewhere, he became pensive and uncertain himself, and was at a loss which party to take. After much irresolution, he

Gurghin-qhan's expedition in Nepal, miscarries.

determined to recal Ghurghin-qhan, and an order was dispatched on those terms. The man, impeded by his innate want of sense, and thunderstruck by his recent disgrace, would not go back; and he remained where he was, in defiance of the order he had received. The Navvab informed of this, wanted to send some person of weight to bring him back; but to find such a man, and one to whom Ghurghin-qhan would chuse to defer, was not an easy matter, unless indeed, it might be Aali-hibrahim-qhan himself, whom the Navvab pitched upon, as a proper person for so delicate a commission; and that nobleman set out immediately, without even any baggage. On his way he found multitudes of wounded, who were on their march towards the Navvab's camp at Betiah. The Qhan desired them to stop, and to give him time to repair to their general, and to bring him away, as he had come for that very purpose; at the same time, he represented to them, that their appearing in camp in that condition, would redound to their own disgrace, whilst it would discourage their friends and companions, and also displease their lord and master. This remonstrance produced an effect; and as the Qhan spoke sense and reason, and he was a man of authority, his words carried a weight, which made an impression on the minds of runaways: and they consented to stop where they were. After this, the Qhan proceeded on his march, and being arrived in Ghurghin-qhan's camp, he worked so forcibly on the mind of that man, become a prey to all the pangs of sorrow and regret, that he brought him back to the Navvab. The prince, after saying a few words on the expedition, raised his camp, and marched towards Azimabad: there he learned that some of his officers, who in several places had exacted unaccustomed duties from the goods of the English traders, had been seized by the latter, and confined in their factories. One of these men was Mirza-mahmed, seized at Djhanghir-nugur, and sent to Calcutta; the other had been seized by Mr. Ellis, chief of the factory of Azimabad, and sent to Calcutta also. The Navvab, equally

equally surprised and shocked at this intelligence, conceived that the only expedient to save the honour of his government, and to render it respectable, would be to seize the English mercantile agents on his side, and to keep them in confinement. Orders were accordingly dispatched to surprise and seize a certain number of them, and to send them to the court. After dispatching these orders, he thought proper to displace Radja Nobet-ráy, the deputy Governor of Azimabad, as being unfit to contend with a man so incensed and so fiery as Mr. Ellis; and he appointed in his stead the valiant Mir-mehdi-qhan, who then commanded in the territory of Shahabad. The Navvab was then at Hadjip8r, from whence he ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown over the Ganga: as soon as it was ready, he crossed over with his army, a little above the English factory; and without seeing Mr. Ellis, who wanted to pay him a visit, he went and encamped in Djaaser-qhan's garden, where he invested the new Governor in his government, by bestowing a rich qhylaát upon him: at the same time, he ordered Radja Nobet-ráy to live at court, and then marched down towards Monghyr.

As for me, worn down by the fatigue of the campaign, I obtained leave to remain at Azimabad; but my two brothers, Ghalib-aaly-qhan, and Séyd-aaly-qhan, thought proper to accompany the Navvab; and I thought them gone for the remainder of the year, when, on the fourth day after their departure, I was surprised to see Ghalib-aaly-qhan returned. I asked the reason? He answered, that the Navvab had bid him, as well as his brother, remain at Azimabad, or repair to their father, which last would prove a better party, than that of fatiguing themselves with such repeated journies; and that he had assured them, that whether there, or at camp, he did not consider them as being less in his service and pay: Ghalib-aaly-qhan added, that for his own part, he had preferred to return to Azimabad; but that his younger brother, Séyd-aaly-qhan, not liking the intimation, had followed the Navvab. On hearing this intelligence

telligence from Ghalib-aaly-qhan's mouth, I concluded that the Navvab being now engaged in some disputes and broils with the English, had thought it expedient to keep at a distance from his person and camp, people whose connections with that nation he strongly mistrusted. This conclusion seemed so natural, that I resolved to know of the Navvab himself what was his pleasure on our account; and as I was too weak to go by land, I got into a boat, and in a few days arrived at Monghyr, where I asked of my brother, Séyd-aaly-qhan, how matters had happened? The man, mistaking the Navvab's intention, had really thought that by dismissing him at Azimabad, he wanted only to oblige the family, and to afford him some rest. But I thought very differently, and thought right; for in five or six days time, the Navvab entrusted Mirza-shems-eddin, with a commission to go to Shudjah-ed-dö3lah, and to the Emperor's court, in order to request their assistance, and to prepare their minds against any emergencies, which his disputes with the English might produce: and that officer, who was an intimate friend of mine, and who knew how far I might be capable of keeping a secret, desired me, at his departure, to order my youngest brother, Séyd-aaly-qhan, to avail himself of his, (Shems-eddin's) company to get out of camp, and to repair to his father. I asked the reason, why the Navvab was bent on keeping my two youngest brothers at a distance from himself? He answered, "That as he
 " reckoned upon my secrecy, he would tell me the truth; but un-
 " der condition, that I should be careful not to mention it to any
 " one; as such a discovery might do a great deal of harm to him-
 " self (Shems-eddin). You have concluded right," said he, " that the
 " Navvab greatly mistrusts Séyd-aaly-qhan; and that he takes him
 " to be a spy of the English; and as every day now gives rise to
 " some new subject of discontent and displeasure on both sides, he
 " thinks it very improper that your brother should remain in his
 " camp, hanging about his person; but as on the other hand,
 dismissing

“ dismissing him alone would have given an insight into his secret intention, he intimated his desire to both brothers, that Ghalib-aaly-qhan might retire at the same time with him.” *If that is the case,* answered I, *Why does the Navvab suffer me in his camp? At that rate he must deem me the head spy; and full as dangerous as the two others put together.* Mirza-shems-eddin answered, “ That the Navvab did not object to me, because knowing my connections with some of the English, he reserved me as an instrument that might some day or other prove of use: but that over and above that, he considered me as a kind of pledge for my father’s good behaviour, and as an hostage for that of my brother’s.” This intimation of Mir-shems-eddin’s confounded and amazed me: I was very near despairing of my life and honour; but thought it best to conceal my grief; so, that sending for Séyd-aaly-qhan, I exacted an oath of secrecy from him, and then I informed him of the state of things, exhorting him to be gone by all means, if he was desirous of living. I then recommended him to my friend, and saw him depart. As for me, being too ill to move, I remained at Monghyr, where the Navvab, to keep a veil upon his suspicions, used now and then to inquire after my health by a chopdar, and to send me every day a table covered with victuals. At last, having recovered my health, and bathed according to law, I pitched upon the feast of the sacrifice, and went to pay him my respects. He received me with kindness; and, as I observed that he was going towards the women’s sanctuary, I hastened to the gate of the secret apartment, and made him my bow. He paused, spoke to me with kindness, and putting his hand into his own *paan-dan*⁽¹¹⁶⁾, he gave me two byris of paan, adding

(116) The *Paan-dan*, which an Englishman would readily call the Betel-saucer, is an elegant Box of silver or gold, not unlike those chrystal ones in which the English serve their butter at table. It is placed on an elegant plate of the same metal, and contains a number of byris, ready made-up. The byri is composed of a few pieces of *Paan*, cut, (alias betel leaf) some very thin
slices.

adding these words: "Have I not done well to dismiss your two brothers, that they might take care of their aged sire? Let them take some rest, and enjoy themselves for a while." These words, the intent of which I could not mistake, made me applaud his attention, and I extolled that goodness of his which prompted him to so much regard: "And where is the master in these days," did I exclaim, "who, without discontinuing a large salary, would release his servants from that attendance to which he has so much right?" These words seemed to please him; and he added, "That, in fact, he had with me an acquaintance of old standing, but none indeed with them, or very little." This was an arrant lie of his; but fain I was to applaud again; for, in former times, when there was an equality between his family and our's, and even some superiority on our side, I had not the least acquaintance with him, and very little friendship indeed for his father-in-law, Mir-djaaser-qhan, or for Miren, his brother-in-law; whereas, Séyd-aaly-qhan himself, living in Bengal, and being a man of pleasure, was in connections with *these sort of people*, and of course, with that family also, among the rest. After having asked the reader's pardon for these little anecdotes about private affairs, let us revert to the disputes with the English.

The Navvab's officers, having found means to seize some of the mercantile agents of the English, sent them to their master, who kept them prisoners, as hostages for those officers of his, which the English had at first seized. All this happened in consequence of the

slices of *Soopary*, (alias betel nut) some *Chunâ*, (alias chunam) some *Catt*, (alias catchou) some grains of *Ilachees*, (alias cardamums,) and some *Djôstri*, (alias mace); the whole rolled together and formed into a pyramid, covered with a bit of *Kelâ*-leaf, (alias plantain) which is of a fine tender green, and as smooth and shining as the best fattin. This pyramid, which is made fast by a *Long*, (alias clove) as by a pin, is called a byri. A single byri given, is a token of regard; two, of favor; the whole *Paan-dan* proffered, implies respect; placed before you, it implies equality. In presenting, and receiving *Paan*, there are twenty niceties, which the English either despise or ignore, but which are rigorously expected from a native.

Navvab's

Navvab's precipitancy, who, by sending orders to his officers to exact duties from the goods of the English, before Vansittart had had time to arrive at Calcutta, and to settle that matter on an equitable footing, put it out of that Governor's power, on his arrival there, to withstand the members of the council, who, hitherto dispersed all over Bengal, had now assembled in that city, and formed a majority that shut up the gates of friendship, walled up the door of return, and, by dint of numbers, obliged Vansittart to command the Navvab to hold all English goods whatever free from duties, and to dismiss the English agents, his prisoners, immediately. The Navvab conceived, that to submit to orders which he knew to come from those counsellors that were his enemies, was disgraceful; and, on the other hand, he found it difficult to stand his ground upon the articles of custom and duty: he, therefore, betook himself to the expedient of suppressing all customs and duties whatever, whether for native merchants or for others; and he answered the imperious letter, sent him by the council, by writing personally to Vansittart, "That it was notorious that merchants of all sorts made it a practice "to pass their own goods under the name of English agents; and "that as a release of duties to the latter would, in fact, amount to "a general exemption also to most of the former, save only a few "wretches too obscure to afford the expence of purchasing protection, and too poor to afford duties that would be worth perception; he had, therefore, taken the party to suppress all customs and duties whatever, and to render the exemption general. "Since so long as the principal merchants could find means to pass "duty free, under an English mask, it would be hard to torment "a few poor people who would submit to duties, but whose contributions would never repay the charges of perception: that as "to the order of dismissing the English agents, prisoners in his "camp, it was an injunction vain and absurd; since the English "having first seized and confined his officers, these of course ought

“ to be released first, before the others could be dismissed at all.”
 This answer of the Navvab’s being perused in the council of Calcutta, the counsellors that were in confederacy against him, said,
 “ That this general exemption of the Navvab’s was calculated to
 “ throw a flut upon them, by putting them on a footing with the
 “ other merchants: that, if Mir-cassem’s intention was to remain on
 “ terms of friendship with the English, he must put things upon
 “ the ancient footing: to wit, exact duties from the other mer-
 “ chants, and let English property pass duty free: that as they
 “ knew that Mr. Vansittart, infatuated by his blind attachment to
 “ Mir-cassem, wanted to render his opposers ridiculous and despi-
 “ cable, so they were resolved to send one of their own body in
 “ embassy to the Navvab, to explain their intention; for, if he
 “ grants the envoy’s demands,” said they, “ we shall have carried
 “ our point; and if he does not, then friendship shall cease be-
 “ tween us.” The Governor, overcome by a majority that seemed
 to know no moderation, was, against his own opinion, obliged to
 put his name to such a letter as they thought proper to dictate,
 and compelled to consent to the resolution of deputing one from
 amongst themselves. In consequence of that resolve, Mr. Amyatt,
 and Mr. Hay, under the escort of one company of Talingas, com-
 manded by Captain Djonson, departed on their embassy to Mon-
 ghyr. At their departure, Vansittart wrote a short letter to Mir-
 cassim-qhan, which he gave to the latter’s agent at Calcutta; and
 he sent him, at the same time, a long message to this purport:
 “ That he exhorted him, by all means, to be firm and punctual
 “ in the execution of the treaty, which had at first intervened be-
 “ tween himself, on the part of the Company, and the Navvab:
 “ a treaty that had been confirmed by oaths on both sides, and by
 “ a thorough examination: a treaty, upon the tenor of which, the
 “ Navvab ought to regulate his conduct without the least deviation:
 “ that the counsellors, who had been hitherto dispersed all over
 “ Bengal,

“ Bengal, having all assembled in Calcutta, the party opposed to
 “ the Navvab, formed a majority, to which he, the Governor,
 “ was of course obliged to submit, especially after the manage-
 “ ment of the affairs of government had slipped out of his (the Gover-
 “ nor’s) hands, through the Navvab’s precipitancy, which had put
 “ every matter out of his power: that Mr. Amyatt, supported by
 “ the majority in council, was now setting out on an embassy to
 “ Monghyr, and might possibly make him some proposals which
 “ would not be of the Navvab’s liking; but that probably they
 “ might prove such as would not bring any material detriment to
 “ his government: the more so, as in five or six months hence, the
 “ members opposed to him being all to be dismissed the service by an
 “ order from home, he ought, for the present, to submit to whatever
 “ conditions they might propose actually, and dismiss their envoy
 “ with honour and regard, so as to give him full satisfaction; this
 “ being the only method to prevent the dispute from going farther,
 “ or breeding more serious consequences: as otherwise, the helm
 “ being now out of his hands, he (the Governor) was certain that
 “ he would not have it in his power to oblige him in the manner he
 “ (the Navvab) might wish.” The Navvab, on the arrival of this
 letter and message, referred the whole negotiation and the manage-
 ment of the English, to Gurgheen-qhan, who was both his general
 and minister, and the man whom he most trusted. He considered
 that he was of the same religion* with the English; acquainted
 with their customs and manners; and informed of their several
 characters, in consequence of his corresponding with his brother,
 Codja-bedros, and his other friends at Calcutta: the Navvab, there-
 fore, sent for him, informed him of the contents of the letter, and

* It is observable that before the year 1767, or thereabouts, the natives of India considered all
 the Europeans as speaking the same language and professing the same religion; and the Armen-
 ians, who wore a dress somewhat different, and were more mixed with the natives, spoke highly
 of themselves, as holding the same rank amongst them as Séyds amongst Musselmén, and Brah-
 mans amongst the Gentoos; they were reputed, of course, a kind of Priests amongst the Europea- s

of the purport of the message, and asked him his opinion about the propriety of submitting to the council's orders, or of rejecting the same. Gurghin-qhan, who was both extremely imprudent, and extremely proud, and who detested in his heart every man of birth or of understanding, advised the Navvab to reject the proposal, together with Vansittart's advice. "Your Highness and the English," said he, "are now upon a par and upon a level; if you submit to-day, you shall daily lose of your character, and of that awe and respect with which they are now impressed; and, at last, you shall become contemptible in their eyes: but if you listen only to the dictates of honour and courage, and stand firmly on your ground, your character shall daily acquire new respect in their minds; and their own power shall daily lose of its strength and consequence." The Navvab, who had the highest opinion of his knowledge and attachment, and was accustomed always to defer implicitly to his opinion, adopted his advice without reserve, and resolved to act accordingly. That prince, sensible of the opposition formed against him at Calcutta, and anxious to take every precaution necessary in a dispute of so much consequence, had harboured this long while heavy suspicions against the two Djagat-seats; nor did he think it consonant, to the rules of prudence, to leave two such men in Moorshoodabad, at such a critical conjuncture. He remembered that they had been deeply concerned, both by their money and influence, in transferring the supreme power from Seradj-ed-dö8lah to Mir-djaafer-qhan, and lately from Mir-djaafer-qhan to himself; and, being a great connoisseur in men's tempers, as well as an inquirer into their characters, he dreaded the consequences of two such men remaining at Moorshoodabad, and so near Calcutta, at a time when his disputes with the English ran higher and higher, and his difficulties with them were encreasing daily upon his hands. He therefore thought it incumbent upon him to have both these brothers in his power, at least; and, as he knew that so far from moving a foot

The Navvab is determined to a resistance by Gurghin-qhan's advice.

foot on his sending them letters or orders, they would from that very moment apprehend for their safety, and contrive to escape to Calcutta, where they would prove of infinite service to his opposers, by their wealth, intrigues, and influence;—he therefore wrote to Mahmed-taky-qhan, the Coozza-calanian, who commanded in Bir-bohom, a man of an acknowledged bravery, and a sincere fidelity, requiring him to repair in all speed to Moorshoodabad, where he was to surround the house of the Djagat-seats, in such a manner, as that not a man might come out, and then to wait until Marcar, the Armenian, might arrive and bring him a letter; on the perusal of which, he was to deliver the two Seats in his hands, taking a receipt in form for the delivery of their persons. After writing the above order, he dispatched Marcar, an Armenian General, of Gurghin-qhan's recommendation; and putting three or four regiments of Talingas under his command, he ordered him to repair by water to Moorshoodabad, where he was to receive from Mahmed-taky-qhan the two Djagat-seats, and to bring them in all speed to Monghyr, but without departing from a proper regard and attention to their persons and rank. Mahmed-taky-qhan, on receipt of the order, repaired in all speed to Moorshoodabad, where he closely surrounded the house of the two Djagat-seats, sending them word at the same time, “That
 “he had no injury to offer either to their persons, fortune, honour,
 “or family; his orders were only to send them to Monghyr, where
 “the Navvab wanted to see them reside near his person; and that
 “he requested them to make themselves thoroughly easy on his
 “own particular subject, as he had no harm to offer.” The two brothers, finding themselves reduced to the single party of submission, prepared for their voyage. In three days more, Marcar, the Armenian, arrived with his Talingas, and the two brothers being delivered up to him, were carried to Monghyr. The Navvab received them with distinction, spoke to them with kindness, deplored the necessity of his affairs, soothed their minds, excused the rigor of his proceedings,

The Djagat-seats, the two most potent private men of India, seized and carried to Monghyr.

proceedings, and requested their living at Monghyr, where he hoped they would build lodgings for themselves, set up a banking-house, as they had at Moorshoodabad, attend at his court, as they did formerly, and, as formerly, transact business in the affairs of government and finance. He, at the same time, set them at full liberty; but people were secretly set upon them, with orders not to suffer them to go out to any great distance. The poor brothers were fain to order a banking-house to be raised for their lodgings, and found themselves obliged to accommodate themselves to the perfidy exercised on them; and, as these two men have cut at all times such a figure in Bengal, the reader shall not find fault with his seeing here some account of them. The two brothers which bore the names of Mah-tab-ráy, and Radja Ser8p-chund, were both grandsons to Djagat-feat-fateh-chund, by two brothers, sons to this Fateh-chund, who died both in the time of Shudjah-qhan, Viceroy of Bengal; so that his fortune, which was literally immense, and past all belief, passed to those his grand-sons, who, in Aly-verdy-qhan's time, lived in Bengal with so much credit and authority, as is hardly credible at such a distance of time. Their riches were so great, that no such bankers were ever seen in Hindostan or Decan; nor was there any banker or merchant, that could stand a comparison with them, all over India. It is even certain, that all the bankers of their time in Bengal, were either their factors, or some of their family. Their wealth may be guessed by this only fact: In the first invasion of the Marhattas, and when Moorshoodabad was not yet surrounded by walls, Mir-habib, with a party of their best horse, having found means to fall upon that city, before Aaly-verdy-qhan could come up, carried from Djagat-feat's house two corors of rupees, in Arcot coin only⁽¹¹⁷⁾; and this prodigious sum did not affect the two brothers, more than if it had been two trusses of straw. They

(117) Two millions and a half sterling. Arcot coin, signifies those rupees struck at Madras, or at Pondichery.

continued to give afterwards to government, as they had done before, bills of exchange, called *dur sunnīs**, of one coror at a time, by which words is meant, a draft, which the acceptor is to pay at sight, without any sort of excuse. In short, their wealth was such, that there is no mentioning it, without seeming to exaggerate, and to deal in extravagant fables. Thousands of their agents and factors have acquired such fortunes in their service, as have enabled them to purchase large tracts of land, and other astonishing possessions; and now that those two heads of the family are both dead these many years, and their sons, in consequence of the superiority acquired by the English in all the branches of trade over Bengal and Hindostan, fall vastly short of the wealth of their fathers; nevertheless, there is not one man of that family, and not one dependant of that house but who lives in the utmost splendor and prosperity.

Intelligence coming at this time that Mr. Amyatt was drawing near, the Navvab, who had before hand sent for Mir-abdollah-sefevi from Azim-abad, a valuable gentleman, whose merit has many times been mentioned in these memoirs, now thought proper to join me, the poor man, to him in the same commission; and he desired us, as we were both upon familiar terms with Mr. Amyatt, to go forwards, in order to receive him, and to endeavour to discover what was his real purpose, and what might be his real intentions in coming so far. He at the same time appointed a Gentoo, to attend us as Persian secretary; and he ordered twenty spies to be at our command both as spies and as messengers. These twenty men were parted in two divisions, and commanded by two head men as officers,

* *Dur sunnī*, in old Hindostany, signifies *sight*; but in the modern language, a bow of the head. A *dur sunnī* bill then, is a bill at sight, with which the banker has no other party but that of signifying his submission, by bowing the head. Even so late as the year 1780, there were twelve hundred women in the seraglios of the two remaining brothers, and about four thousand persons of all sorts in their palaces. But since the revolutions in Bengal, as well as all over India, their property has been made away with every where.

who

who had orders to disguise themselves like menial servants, and to introduce themselves the one into Mir-abdollah's service, the other into mine, with injunctions never to be absent from any of the meetings or conferences which might be held with the English; and to take care to observe not only the expressions and words, but even the gestures of the hands as well as the signs of the heads between us; transmitting every day a faithful account of what they should hear, or see. One of these twenty messengers, on receiving a letter was to carry it to the next post, and then to return to his office. Every one of us having received our lesson in this manner, we quitted Monghyr, and arrived at Ganga-periad, where we had the good-luck to meet Mr. Amyatt; but on embracing him took care to whisper that we had spies over us. Mr. Amyatt and the others being thereby put upon their guard, spoke and acted with precaution; for, being every night at the same landing place, we used to pass the greatest part of our time with the English: and whatever we had said or heard, was fully set down both by us and by the head spies, and severally dispatched to the Navvab every evening. One day, to avoid all suspicions, I opened my commission to Mr. Amyatt with an audible voice, and I spoke to him as I had been instructed to do by the Navvab. "What can
 " possible be," said I, " the reason of your coming? and what is your
 " intent? Being both of us well-wishers to his highness, as well as to the
 " English, we are desirous of being informed of your intentions,
 " that we may contrive expedients for the benefit of both parties." Mr. Amyatt, with a loud voice answered, " It is customary with
 " Indians, when they come to us, to tell us none but such things
 " as may keep us in good humour; and when they return to the
 " Navvab, they never fail to speak to him, so as to humour him on
 " his wishes: and hence, our real intentions on both sides, remain
 " concealed from each other party; and our views do not come to
 " light. It is to avoid those inconveniences, that we have quitted
 " our homes, to come so far in embassy, with intention to see
 the

“ the Navvab face to face, and to tell him what we have to say,
 “ as well as to hear what he has to answer; and, this being the case,
 “ it is needless that we should have any business with any other
 “ person.” This declaration of Mr. Amyatt’s, putting an end to
 all political topics, we took care in our conversation with the Eng-
 lish to drop many expressions of reproach, and to dispute with them
 in such a manner, as was pointed out by the times: it being the only
 expedient we could devise, to preserve ourselves from the Navvab’s
 suspicions, and to avoid feeling the effects of his resentment. On
 the day when this last conversation took place, the contents of
 which were severally forwarded to court both by us and by the
 head spies, we arrived at Baghalpoor, and there received a letter from
 the Navvab, which recalled both Mir-abdollah and me; adding,
 that as Mr. Amyatt did not choose to enter into any particulars with
 us, it was needless we should stay with him any more; but, that
 we must manage so, as to be at court before the Englishman’s ar-
 rival. Mir-abdollah, having informed Mr. Amyatt of this recal,
 we took our leave of him, and returned to Monghyr, where we
 waited on the Navvab immediately, after having been met in the
 way by several messengers that came to hasten our march. Being
 in his presence, he commenced putting questions to us. As my
 poor friend, Mir-abdollah, (on whom be peace!) had not a ready
 delivery, and could not express himself properly, his answers dis-
 pleased the Navvab, and he was twice reproached, and afterwards
 dismissed. He went home, and I followed him, with intent to
 take some rest; when a messenger came from Aaly-hibrahim-qhan,
 informing me that his Highness wanted me immediately, and that I
 must go with the qhan to court: fain I was to put on a full dress
 again, and to repair to the Navvab’s. This prince was in his
 private apartments, sitting in the outer room of his bath, and in
 close conference with Gurghin-qhan: I took my seat in a corner,
 and Aaly-hibrahim-qhan in another. The Navvab repeated to

Gurghin-qhan what he had heard from my mouth: he then turned towards me, and ordering me to draw nearer, he bid me tell Gurghin-qhan all my observations. Upon this command, I drew near, and sitting over against that General, I recommenced my tale. The General, after hearing a few words, seemed ruffled; and, to shew that my report deserved but little credit, he turned towards the Navvab, and said, *My Lord Navvab, were a man to rip open an Englishman's body with a knife, he would not for that come at his secret.* He then turned again to me, and asked me some questions, which I answered. At the third or fourth answer, he seemed impatient, and said, "My Lord Qhan, I want nothing of all that. Pray do, answer three or four questions which I am going to put to you. What is Mr. Amyatt's intention? And does he come to intrigue against the Navvab, or not? Is he come to pry into the state of the army and fortrefs, or not? Has he any friendship or good will for us, or does he come with hostile intentions?" On hearing these words, I was extremely surpris'd, and looking at him full in the face, I answered, "My Lord, your questions really confound me; and I am amazed at what you mean: It is but a moment since you said yourself, that were one to rip open an Englishman's body, he would not for that come at his secret; and you want me now to reveal to you Mr. Amyatt's innermost thoughts! As to his coming with sinister intentions, it would be really surprising that he should harbour any such designs; the man comes into your house, and alone; and it is he that ought to be afraid of sinister designs, and not you, who are at home, and ought not to conceive any fears from him. As to what you have hinted of his coming hither to pry into the state of the army and fortrefs, I am of opinion, that not only Mr. Amyatt shall, but that any other man whatever that comes hither, will, of course, acquire some knowledge of both your fortrefs and your army; and that the quantum of such a know-

ledge

“ ledge of his, will depend on his share of penetration and know-
 “ ledge. With respect to your other two questions, about his com-
 “ ing with friendly or inimical intentions, the matter of fact is,
 “ that he comes to you with some demands and requests of his
 “ own; if you grant him his demands, there is no doubt but
 “ that he shall be pleased with you, and will become your friend;
 “ and if you refuse them, it is no less certain that the refusal will
 “ produce discontents, and at last enmities. All these observations
 “ do not deserve questions: they are self-evident.” The Navvab
 having assented to what I said, Gurghin-qhan, who had never
 been a friend to me, became now more estranged than ever. But
 the Navvab dismissed me; and as I was going home in the utmost
 amazement, I could not but admire that fulness of power in the
 divine dispensations of Providence, which had fuscited such and
 the like people, to stand over our heads as generals of armies, and
 as ministers of state, with unlimited powers of binding and loosing.
 The next morning after this conference, the Navvab sent his own
 nephew, Aab8-aaly-qhan, and his minister, Radja Nobet-ráy, to
 meet and receive Mr. Amyatt; and on the third day, the latter
 arrived at Monghyr, where he alighted at a set of tents that had been
 pitched up for his quarters. The Navvab went to see him, at
 which time the visit became one continual scene of dissimulation and
 reciprocal cringing. The next day Mr. Amyatt returned the visit:
 he had with him Mr. Hay, and Captain Johnston, together with
 some other gentlemen, amongst whom was a Mr. Gulston, a young
 man lately come into India, who in so short a time had learned the
 Persian very well, and at our first interview, had conceived as much
 good will for me as I had for him*. The Navvab, on descrying Mr.

G g 2

Amyatt,

* He was Mr. Amyatt's speaker and linguist; but, having at the very first interview expressed himself with roughness, and been all the while looking at the Navvab with that

imperiousness

Amyatt, got up, as is the etiquette, advanced a few steps from his mesned, and brought him to sit upon some chairs placed there on purpose, upon one of which he took his own seat. After a little conversation, the usual ceremonial of Paan, Atur, and Rose-water, was brought up; and then several trays covered with stuffs were produced, together with one plate containing jewels and gems; all which were presented to him. On his taking leave, the Navvab got up, and re-conducted him, as well as all the English as far as the end of the carpeting, where he invited them to an entertainment. At night they all came, and after having been amused with dances and a bonfire, they were complimented with an entertainment, which lasted beyond midnight. Since that day, the English visited the Navvab several times, and at each time several complaints, and many reproaches were taking place on both sides: and at each visit matters seemed verging towards a rupture: for it was remarked, that at every meeting, the Navvab, whether by chance or otherwise, never failed to commit some action, or to be guilty of some gesture, which never failed to give offence, and to be laid hold of as a fit subject of complaint. At last, the discontents ran so high, that at one time Mr. Amyatt, who had advanced as far as the door of the Navvab's apartment, returned back much displeased; nor would he have been brought again, had not some of the Navvab's favourites run after him, and intreated his being pacified. Mr. Amyatt and the others complained of the Navvab's guards at the gate, and of some other of his servants: the Navvab professed his ignorance, and made many apologies; but the

Amyatt sent
on embassy to
Mir-cassem;
spoils every
thing by the
haughtiness of
his temper,
and the im-
periousness
of his con-
versation.

imperiousness which was then the general stile, that prince refused to speak to him any more. Amyatt's temper, air, looks, and tone of voice, as well as his stile of speech, may be conjectured from that single anecdote. It is observable, that the few English who, in those days understood the Persian and Hindostany, (and Vansittart was master of the former) spoke it so strangely, and in such a tone of voice, that Mir-cassem, unable to understand Vansittart, was obliged to make use of a linguist.

English

English could not be brought to believe, that servants would dare to commit such actions without their master's consent; and they were still more displeased at the apology. However, as the Navvab was offering many excuses, they determined that the only method with him was, to put his words to the trial. With that view, Mr. Gulston and Captain Johnston, got on horseback at day-break, as is the English custom, and went out to take an airing and to see the country; but as soon as they offered to go somewhat far, several foot-guards, stationed at that part, forbade their proceeding that way; and some troopers, that suddenly appeared, opposed their passage. The English, accustomed to talk high, and to carry every thing with a high hand, forced their passage forwards. The guards incensed, lighted up their matches, and put themselves in a posture of defence; and the English, after having attempted in vain to turn them, returned to town, and went directly to the Navvab's, where they exhaled themselves in excessive complaints, and made use of several high expressions. The Navvab flatly denied his having any hand in the matter, and excused his people: he also apologised for himself, and pretended his ignorance. But this did not persuade any one of the English; nor was this dust wiped off from their hearts; and this event having alienated their minds, their discontent ran higher and higher, and at last it undermined the wall of good will and sincerity. The Navvab was every day holding councils on these matters with his favourites; for instance, with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and with Mirza-shems-eddin. Those men of sense, always proposed some expedient to renew the conferences, in order both to sooth Mr. Amyatt's mind, and to pacify the Navvab. On my own part, as I laboured under the imputation of being in connection with the English, I did not dare to offer a word in their behalf; but being also intimate with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and with Mirza-shems-eddin, I used to impart to them such expedients and notions of mine, as I thought might conduce
to

to a good understanding, or keep at a distance the thoughts of hostility; and these were soon imparted to the Navvab, who always assented, but not for any length of time: for as soon as it was four in the afternoon, at which time Gurghin-qhan used to come and to engross him as late as nine o'clock at night, all was undone again; so that he would efface himself every trace of those lines, which his well-wishers had been at so much pains to trace on the glass of his mind; and in the morning, not the least vestige of them could be discerned: instead of that, the General used to engrave thereon his own infructuous persuasions; and that too, in such deep characters, that no hand and no tool could efface them afterwards. This management took place so constantly, that once Aaly-hibrahim-qhan losing all patience, wrote a note to the Navvab in these very words: *Since the advices and counsels offered by your well-wishers, and which your mind approves, never fail in the evening to be obliterated by Gurghin-qhan's suggestions, it is needless that either your Highness, or your friends and well-wishers, should fatigue themselves any more upon an unfructuous subject: for in the end, we all find that nothing is done, but what has been advised by Gurghin-qhan. It is then proper that this affair should be wholly committed to his care, without giving farther trouble to your own mind, as well as to every one of us on so disagreeable a subject. Let us all do as he shall bid; (and this after all would be nothing novel) it is but what happens every day: In one word, (for we must end) we are unanimously of opinion, that if your princely mind be for peace, Mr. Amyatt's heart ought not to be estranged by actions and words that derogate from the high character which our master bears: and, if you be for a rupture, and for pursuing a plan of military operations on Gurghin-qhan's notions and schemes, still, to disoblige a man come on an embassy, is contrary to the rules of a princely behaviour, and beneath the high dignity of a sovereign. So far from abating any thing from the regard and attention which it is*
customary

customary to pay the people of that nation, we are of opinion that some additional token of respect ought to be shewn them now, were it because they are come under the safeguard of an embassy. We do not mean to say that the preparations intended for further hostilities ought to be discontinued: on the contrary, they ought to go on. We contend only, that such actions as these men complain of, are not of a nature either to add any thing to the terror of your name and power, or to detract any thing from their own dignity, or from the opinion they entertain of themselves. All these can produce no other fruit, than that of enlarging the foundation of enmity, and giving new wings to envy and jealousy.

Gurghin-qhan having some how got advice of this note of Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's, took offence at it, and for two or three days together he abstained from coming to Court. It was just at this time that a boat from Calcutta came to touch at Monghyr. She proved to be laden with a quantity of goods, under which were found five hundred fire-locks, destined for the factory of Azimabad. These Gurghin-qhan wanted to stop, whilst Mr. Amyatt insisted upon the boat's being dismissed without being stopped or even searched; and to that forbearance the Court would not listen. Aaly-hibrahim-qhan objected to the boat's being stopped or visited at all: he contended, "that if peace was in contemplation, there was no colour for stopping the boat; and if hostilities were in view, then he saw no great harm in adding five hundred more musquets to the two thousand already in the English factory: for if we can fight against two thousand, said he, I dare say we can as well fight against two thousand five hundred." To this the Navvab having said that he wondered why nobody would say so much to Gurghin-qhan himself, Aaly-hibrahim-qhan answered that if his Highness's pleasure was, that so much should be said to Gurghin-qhan, it would prove a small affair. The Navvab, a little affected by these words, desired Radja-nobet-ray and Aaly-hibrahim-qhan

to

to go and bring Gurghin-qhan to Court as he intended to consult him on this subject. The two Lords accepted the commission and departed. Gurghin-qhan on hearing their errand, seemed to be in a passion, and said, "My office is that of grand-master of the artillery; and I am but a soldier; nor have I any business with consultations and politicks: let his Highness consult with his friends and favourites. Whenever there is war, and I am sent to stand in some post, I hope, I shall not fail to do my duty; but as for politicks, I know nothing of them." The Radja observing the violence of the man's temper, said not a word, but turned his eyes towards Aaly-hibrahim-qhan. The Qhan having chided Gurghin-qhan a little upon his ill humour, said these very words: "The Navvab-aali-djáh asks advice from his grand-master of artillery; and it appears that he never transacts business without consulting him: why then does not the grand-master of the artillery give such advice as he thinks best for his own honour, and for his master's service?" These words having some what pacified Gurghin-qhan, he turned himself towards Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and raised both his hands, which he set open against each other: he explained his thought by this comparison or allegory: "*The Navvab and the English*, said he, *stand now in this manner: that is, they are upon a par and an equality, and on the same level; but if he does not stand firm, and chuses to lower his tone a little, (and here he sunk his right a little) the other hand will remain where it is; and of course higher: if on the contrary his hand remains where it is, the English hand must fall lower, and the Navvab will remain with a superiority on his side. As to the rest, let his Highness do as he pleases: he is the master.*" The envoys returned to the Navvab with this answer, and they reported the whole transaction minutely; but this opinion of the General's having put an end to all thoughts about pacifications, nothing was thought of now but a rupture, and open hostilities; so that Mr. Amyatt finding it useless to
make

make any further stay, resolved to return, and he took his leave. The Navvab at first wanted to keep every one of the English, as hostages; at last, after a deal of parley, he consented to dismiss them all, under condition that Mr. Hay should be detained at Monghyr, until Mirza-mahmed-aaly and some other of the Navvab's officers confined at Calcutta, should be released, and upon their way to Monghyr: at which time he would release Mr. Hay: the latter having consented (and this consent of his became in the sequel the cause of his death) Mr. Amyatt and the others obtained leave, and went down the river in their boats.

END OF THE TENTH SECTION.

SECTION III. OF THE SECOND VOLUME,

BEING THE

ELEVENTH OF THE SËIR MUTAQHERIN.

SUMMARY TO SECTION XI.

THE English commence hostilities, by surprising and plundering Azimabad.—This city, lost and recovered for Mir-casssem, in one and the same day.—Mir-casssem forced into a war, resolves to push it with vigor.—A fracas in the council at Calcutta between Hastings and Batson.—Battle of Cat8a, lost through the misintelligence that reigns amongst Mir-casssem's generals.—Mir-casssem deposed by the English, who bring back Mir-djaaser-qhan.—Mir-casssem's army defeated at Gheriab.—Dissentions in Mir-casssem's councils.—The strong post at 8d8a, forced by the English.—Gurghin-qhan, his principal general, murdered.—All the English prisoners put to death by Mir-casssem's orders.—Mir-casssem totally ruined, thinks of retiring in the Vezir's dominions.—Strongly dissuaded by Mirza-nedjes-qhan, one of his commanders.—Mir-casssem, surrounded by traitors, is promised an asylum by perfides.—Revolution at P8raniab in favour of the English.—Infamous hypocrisy of Mir-suléiman, steward and favourite of Mir-casssem's.—Successful expedition in the Bundelcund by that fugitive.—The Vezir attacks the English with an army utterly ungovernable.—The English, in distress, retreat under the cannon of Azimabad.—Battle.—The Vezir's troops vigorously repulsed by Major Carnac.—The Emperor's negociation with the English, miscarries.—Dissentions between Mir-casssem and the Vezir.—Mir-casssem, in despair, turns fakir.—He is arrested and stripped.—Singular discourse between Aaly-hibrahim-qhan and the Vezir.

Vezir.—Odious character of old Mir-djafer, as well as of Nandecomar, his minister.—Mir-djafer dies somewhat a Gentoo.—Major Monro, General.—A regiment of Sipahs mutinies, and is punished.—Singular behaviour of one of them, condemned to death.—Battle of Bacfar, in which Shudja-ed-dö8la is undone.—Singular escape of Mir-cassem's, then a prisoner of state.—Shudja-ed-dö8la wishes for a peace.—Proposals of the English.—His pride greatly humbled, and his ideas greatly altered.—Rejects the proposals.—The English push on the war.—Besiege the fortress of Chunar-gur.—Are repulsed.—Raise the siege to march up to the enemy.—The citadel of Ilahabad surrenders to the English, who conquer the whole of the Vezir's dominions.—The latter, joined by the Marhatta, Mlaaberrao, advances towards the English, and is worsted after a few skirmishes.—Singular speech of Ahmed-qhan-bangash, to Shudja-ed-dö8la, highly honourable to the English.—The garrison of Chennar surrenders to the English.—The Vezir almost alone, and without any safe-conduct, goes to Major Carnac's camp, where he is received with respect.—The Major wins his heart.—The Vezir concludes a peace with the English.—He applies to all his relations and dependants for some money, and is refused by all, and even by his own mother.—But is generously assisted by his consort, whom he henceforward makes depositary of all his savings.

MR. AMYATT, finding that none of his proposals to the Navvab had been accepted*, and that no care had been taken to give him satisfaction in any thing, descended towards Calcutta,

H h 2

extremely

* It is very surprising, and quite unaccountable, that the author all this while should have only hinted, and that too very confusedly, that the real subject of discontent and war between

extremely discontented and mortified at the success of his embassy; but he had the attention to inform Mr. Ellis, that as no agreement had taken place between the English and the Navvab, the consequence

between the English and Mir-cassem. To the very day of the surprise of Patna, or, at least, as late as that period, the Company's trade, the only one deemed mentioned in the *Ferman*, or Imperial charter, had been held sacred by Mir-cassem; but the English, who, before the battle of Palassy had never had a boat-load of private trade, now covered all the rivers, and all the waters of Bengal, with their fleets, trading duty free, upon such articles as afforded a certain subsistence to a multitude of natives, and a large revenue to the government custom-houses; such as tobacco, salt, beetle-nut, grain, &c. &c. an exemption, which by annulling the trade of the natives, gave a mortal stab to the finances of government: Nor were the moderate English themselves, averse from acknowledging the Navvab's supremacy on that private trade of their's, so lately set up; and such were Vansittart and Hastings, who contended that, at the time of the Imperial charter, and for ages after, not one boat of private English trade having had an existence in the country, that article of course was out of all question; and, that the least that the council could do, in justice to their owners, and to the Navvab, was to avoid, by all means, involving the nation in a war for such private concerns; it being safer and better to accept that licence for private trade, as a favour from government, or rather from the present complexion of the times, and to pay duty accordingly. Such an extension of the obvious sense of the *Ferman*, anciently given in favour of the English, was certainly a great condescension, as it put those foreigners upon a footing with the natives themselves. The fact is however, that in reality, and with the condition, in appearance, submitted to by Vansittart, but in reality annexed thereto by that governor, the English had a complete advantage over the natives: for, whilst these were liable to that infinity of small duties and stoppages over the waters of Bengal, (duties, which independently of the stoppages, amounted altogether to full 25 per cent.) the English themselves were only to pay 10 per cent. for once and all; and that duty once paid, their boats were exempted from all further stoppages and searches: an exemption which cannot be rated at less than ten per cent. more; so, that whilst the Company's public trade remained free, boundless, and sacred, the private trade of their servants, which to that day had never existed, was admitted as lawful under the single duty of ten per cent. which ten per cent. would, in time, become only nominal.

Nothing can give a better insight into the temper of the English of those times, and of Mir-cassem-qhan's subtle and extensive genius in particular, than the following fact, which I find but slightly mentioned in all the papers of those times, or that are relative to that period: The Navvab, to get rid of the persecutions of the English on their private trade, at once took to the bold and comprehensive expedient of publishing all over Bengal, a general abolition of all custom-houses, tolls, and fees; and of granting a general indiscriminate exemption to all traders whatsoever. Could any thing be fairer with regard to the English? *You want only to pay a small duty at Hoogly, Dacca, Patna, &c. &c. I grant your demand, and add a great deal more: pay none at all: I have suppressed all duties whatever all over*

quence would be a rupture with hostilities: *Be therefore*, said he, *upon your guard in matters of war; and do not fail to seize such an opportunity as may offer.* As Mr. Ellis himself had his heart full against

over Bengal; nor does there exist now a single object for our quarrelling together. Here the Navvab suspected that the general exemption would infallibly favour only his own subjects, who living and subsisting so much on a lower scale than the English, would infallibly undersell them in all the markets, and of course, expel them from every where. But this was at once guessed by the English of those times; who, in full council had the front to contend, that in order to comply fully with the sense and spirit of their Ferman or charter, *the Navvab ought to free all English trade, (to wit, their private trade, as an exemption for the Company's trade was admitted on all hands) to free it, I say, from all duty and all shackles whatever, whilst he should be bound to continue them on his own subjects.* An extravagant and tyrannically absurd proposition this! That a sovereign prince should have no right to grant to his own subjects, an exemption claimed, and at last obtained, by foreigners. Vansittart and Hastings contended, that it was unworthy the dignity of the English Government, to make such a proposal, and shocking to go to war for it. Batson and Johnstone, with Amyatt and his party, seriously contended that the *Navvab had not such a right*; and it was because Vansittart and Hastings declared they could not think of setting down such a proposal, that the latter was saluted with the atrocious sarcasm: *That such a reluctance, and such an objection, would suit better a wakeel or agent of the Navvab's, than a member of this board.* As if by law and charter, as well as convenience, every member of such a board had been under an absolute obligation of being extravagantly absurd, and tyrannically overbearing; of arrogating every thing to themselves, and denying every thing to others, that is, of trampling under foot the most obvious and most acknowledged rights of mankind.

This was the state of things for which Vansittart and Hastings contended; this was the cause of that shocking fracas which happened in that assembly, otherwise so august; and this was the reason of that animosity of all the council against them. This condescension of their's gave rise to that calumny, so universally talked of in those times, as if they had sold themselves to Mir-cassem for twenty-two lacs of rupees; a sum, which after all, is but one fourth of those princely fortunes which we have seen so often since that time. But the fact is, that those men who contended for so reasonable a submission, (and they traded themselves largely) and had constantly refused to involve the nation in a war for such trifling concerns, now were branded with such an atrocious imputation; and yet those two men went to Europe in indifferent circumstances: Hastings was poor, literally so; and Vansittart was far from being rich. Nine or ten lacs could not be deemed a fortune for a man, who had brought a lac into Bengal, and had, for four years together, enjoyed a salary of two lacs and a half.

All these matters were known to a few at the time; but they came fully to light when Vansittart landed in England, and when assaulted by an infinity of calumnies, he made the Direc-

against the Navvab, and he reckoned it for certain, that on Mr. Amyatt's making his report to the counsellors of their party, now the majority of Calcutta, the council would not fail to declare war against that prince, and to make every effort to drive him out of his dominions; he on his side prepared himself underhand for the event; and being certain of the day on which Mr. Amyatt had departed from Monghyr, he, by calculating in how many days more he might be out of the reach of the Navvab's forces, rightly concluded that he must be now arrived in Calcutta; and he resolved on such a conclusion, to attack Mir-mehdi-qhan, and to surprize the city of Azimabad, where that officer commanded. A short note was therefore written to Major Carstairs, who was at the head of all the English troops in the environs, to desire his managing in such a manner, as that his people should all be assembled at the English factory in the evening, in order to assault the gates of

tors understand, and with them the whole nation, that what Amyatt's party in all their public and private letters, constantly called the *English trade*, was nothing else than the *private trade* of their own party, set up these four or five years past.

It must be added, that nothing was more common then, than to see English agents of all colours and denominations, (and they swarmed then in every part of Bengal) take up the farm of a town, mart, village, or district, hoist up the English flag on it of their own private authority, pay to the Navvab such a rent as they chose to part with, keep the rest to themselves, and act meanwhile as the most relentless rapacious tyrants: setting at defiance the Navvab's authority every where, and in every instance. Nor are all these allegations a vain declamation: as soon as the English themselves became masters of the country, and took possession of it in their own names, the evils so much complained of by the Navvab as unsufferable, having come home to themselves, they first of all abolished all exemption of duties, as granted once to their own servants; that is, they abolished, as sovereigns, the very exemption for which they had gone to war, as merchants; and even this law having proved far from adequate to the evil, the Company's servants, or their dependants, having it in their power to evade its operations in a thousand obvious ways, the hatchet at last was brought forth, and put to the root of the tree. Their servants were strictly forbidden from trading directly or indirectly, in the inland country, in any article whatever; and strict injunctions were given to the governors in India, for preventing their being concerned as farmers or lessees of any duty, town, village, or district, whatever: nor have those two laws, severe as they are, produced a complete effect, although they have gone far that way.

the

the city at day-break: he, at the same time, prepared a number of ladders of bamboo⁽¹¹⁸⁾, and of wood; and he wrote to Doctor Fullarton, who lived in the middle of the city, to desire his attendance. The Doctor, who knew nothing of the scheme, obeyed the order; but, on being arrived at the factory, he soon saw what was going forward. Of all these preparatives, the Governor, Mir-mehdy-qhan, was completely ignorant: he lived in the citadel, which is at the other extremity of the city, and was actually fast asleep at the moment of the attack; and, as to the garrison and the troops destined to watch the walls of the city, every one of them, in compliance with that inveterate custom of neglect and supineness that has now taken place in these countries, and to which people never fail to conform themselves, was either unarmed and fast asleep upon the walls, or living unconcernedly in his own home; in-somuch, that there was hardly a man to oppose some defence, whether officer or soldier. The English, setting out of their factory at the rising of the morning star, applied their ladders to that tower which was close to Mir-abdollah's house, and to the English factory, and got silently and courageously upon the wall. It was on a Friday morning, the 12th of the month Zilhidj, in the year of the Hegira 1176. the few soldiers of the garrison, who, on account of the neighbourhood of the English factory, appeared to be still there, having taken to their arms, wounded some English and Talingas, and then fled: so, that the English were left

The English commence hostilities by surprising and plundering the city of Azimabad.

A. D.
1763.

(118) The bamboo, called *bhans* by the natives, seems to be admirably fitted by nature for a ladder, there being nothing of its lightness so strong and so tough, as that reed. A bamboo of 100 feet in length, upon five or six inches in diameter, at the bottom; or of 130 feet in length, upon seven or eight in diameter, at the bottom, (and we have seen and measured such bamboos) may be easily carried by one weak man. This blessing, which has been denied to our whole continent, has been plentifully bestowed on all the countries from the Indus to China, and to the ocean. This singular production, by its root and knots, resembles a reed; and by its leaf, loftiness, and branching out, resembles a tree: it is the transition between the reed kind and the tree kind.

masters

masters of the ramparts; and they descended in two bodies within the city, directing their march towards the citadel. One body advanced firing, along the main street and the several markets; and the other marched along the catra and the street of the Divan's quarter, firing all the way occasionally. Mir-mehdi-qhan, and the other officers, awakened from their sleep and supineness by the report of the cannon and musquetry, assembled what troops they could in that moment of surprise and trepidation; and, half asleep, they advanced to oppose the enemy, whom they met at the head of the street Corhatta; and there, as soon as the English had fired a volley amongst them, with a few grape-shot, which wounded Mahmed-amin-qhan, with many others, the rest lost courage and fled, leaving Mir-mehdy-qhan, and Sheh-bereket-aaly, and Mir-mahmed-amin-qhan, with the shame of so sudden a defeat. The latter, in despair of such a disgrace, fled towards the Eastern gate, and wanted to go to Monghyr. Sheh-berket-aaly, confounded at this sudden revolution, made the best of his way towards the Rani's wicket, and fled along the water side, without knowing whither he was going. But, Mahmed-amin, although wounded, repaired to the Chehel-ist8n, (a building of stone, raised by the late Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan) shut up the gate, and, with the few followers he could muster on so sudden an emergency, he prepared to defend himself. At the same time the Gentoo Colonel, Laal-sing, having assembled his people, shut up the gate of the citadel, and commenced firing, resolved to stand his ground. The same resolution was also taken in the Chehel-ist8n, from whence balls now commenced raining on all sides.

Azimabad
lost for Mis-
cassim, and
recovered in
one and the
same day.

We have said, that the English left in possession of the walls, had spread themselves all over the city and its ramparts, from the Western, up to the Eastern gate; nor was any appearance of resistance to be seen any where, but at the citadel and at the Chehel-ist8n: all the rest being taken possession of by the English, and as

far

far as twelve o'clock, their Talingas, together with their harcaras and looch-chas⁽¹¹⁹⁾, who had dispersed themselves every where, leisurely plundered the houses of the citizens, without leaving in some of them so much as a bit of straw: a treatment the more strange, as it had never been experienced from any English army. Mir-mehdi-qhan, the Governor, was all this while on his way to Monghyr, and he had already reached Fatwa⁽¹²⁰⁾, when he was met there by a body of troops that had been sent from Monghyr to support him, and to re-inforce his garrison. The commanders of those troops, without minding the condition in which they saw Mehdi-qhan, attended only to what they heard of the resistance at the citadel, and at the Chehel-s88n, and forthwith they resolved to recover the city out of the hands of the English. Instantly they set out, marched expeditiously, and taking their route by the water-side, they in a couple of hours arrived at the foot of the tower called the Séyds, where they suddenly made their appearance. It was at the eastern gate, which they prepared to assault directly. The English, without being dismayed, opened the gate, placed two pieces of cannon upon the bridge that crossed the fossé, and ranging themselves in a line, they prepared to receive the enemy. It must be observed, that Mir-nasser, who commanded the rocket-men, having out-marched General Marcar, the Armenian, was already arrived at Fatwa, with his two colleagues, Djaafer-qhan, and Aalem-qhan, from whence he had brought back the Governor of the city. These officers having put themselves at the head of their men, attacked the English with a discharge of rockets and musquetry, and instantly broke

(119) Such is the name given to a rabble, without house or home, and even without any precise calling: they follow armies, and subsist by rapine and plunder, whenever they can; and whenever they dare not, by begging, cutting grass for the cavalry, or bringing fuel-wood.

(120) Fatwa is a town at four cosses from Azimabad to Patna, with a bridge over the Poon-poon, a muddy deep river, that falls below it in the Ganga.

their line. The English retreated; but, being disheartened by their loss, they thrust an iron needle into the touch-hole of each of the two guns, and dispersed for their lives. The Governor, animated by this success, exhorted the three commanders that were with him, to make use of the occasion, and to pursue hotly: and this pursuit had a full effect. On hearing of this disaster of the English, even the other troops, that were yet stationed on the towers and ramparts, were confounded, lost their wonted firmness, and fled on all sides: victory declared for Mir-cassem-qhan's people, and the ramparts and towers were cleared and recovered in one and the same day.

The dispersed English, quitted the city, and assembled again at their factory, which they put in a state of defence; whilst the enemy lodging themselves on the tower opposite to it, and on the berme which reigns about the Birbanna small gate, commenced pouring a hot fire. The English, finding themselves too much exposed to it, resolved, with Mr. Ellis at their head, to quit the place, and, in the night time, they resolved to retreat to Banky-poor⁽¹²¹⁾, their old encampment: but this was put out of their power. Marcar, the Armenian, arriving at this time with six regiments of disciplined Talingas, and eight field pieces, joined the Governor and the others, and determined to pursue the English at day-break. But Mr. Ellis, who had now lost all courage, not choosing to stand his ground even there, resolved to fly farther, as far as Chapra, by water, and from thence to cross the Serdj8, which is the boundary of the

(121) The author betrays here and there much neglect about facts, which he had it in his power to investigate fully; or else, he seems strangely prejudiced against the Armenians in general. It was Marcar who proposed attacking the English, without giving them time to breathe. This Armenian had served in Holland, and in more than one occasion has approved himself possessed of a very eminent qualification in a general: taking his party suddenly, in sudden emergencies. He is now in Calcutta, subsisting upon the benevolence of his countrymen. He is a well-looking, square-set, man; very strong.

two soobahs, or provinces, intending to take shelter in Shudjah-ed-dö8la's dominions: but even that could not be effected. One Ram-nedy, Fodjdar of the district of Arun, an ungrateful Bengaly, who owed much to the English, had the confidence to attack the fugitives, whilst Sumro, with some regiments of Talingas, crossed over from Bacfar to support him. This fight having totally daunted Mr. Ellis and his followers, the English, who were now quite dispirited, or rather had been overtaken by their fate, thought proper to surrender prisoners, although they had still three battalions of Talingas, and might have done many things. Intelligence of this success having reached the Navvab, it raised his pride to a height, and gave much additional strength to Gurghin-qhan's influence and credit. It was noon-day when he had received intelligence of the English having seized the city of Azimabad, and expelled Mehdy-qhan; and such an intelligence had nearly killed him; when lo! about twelve hours after, in the middle of the night, another letter came, that mentioned how the Governor, having been met by the re-inforcement intended for his garrison, had put himself at the head of those troops, and had recovered the city with a great slaughter of the English: this sudden intelligence revived the Navvab's spirits. The Navvab's soul, which was just going to quit his body; recovered its seat, and gave him a new life. It was now past mid-night: instantly he ordered the military music to strike up, and its sound awakened the whole town of Monghyr. As soon as it was day-break, every one of those in his service made haste to offer their congratulations; and the gates of the public hall being set open, he received the nuzzurs and compliments of his whole court. It happened, that as Mir-abdollah was still at Monghyr, from whence the Navvab had not given him leave to return to Azimabad, lest his friendship with the English might prompt him to introduce them into that city through his house, which was close to the walls; I took him with me, and we went together to pay our respects, and to offer our nuzzurs to the Navvab. This

prince, fixing his eyes upon Mir-abbollah, spoke these very words; *Pray, did you not say, that the English could eat men alive at one mouthful, and that no one could stand in their presence?* Turning then towards me, he added: *Your friend, the Doctor, can use his friends very ill: in a very strange manner, indeed: he has introduced troops secretly through his house; and it is he that has given rise to those disturbances, which you have doubtless heard of.* “And who am I, my Lord Navvab,” answered I quickly, “to be so great a friend of theirs? The Doctor was an acquaintance of your Highness, and your friend; and it becomes us, your servants, to be friends of their master’s friends, as well as enemies to his enemies. If the Doctor be your friend, his friend I am from that moment; and if he be your enemy, I become his mortal enemy likewise, from that moment.” The Navvab made no reply; but, at the end of the public audience, he wrote circular letters throughout his dominions, by which he informed his officers of this event, and gave them notice of the rupture between him and the English, as well as of the proofs they had furnished of their hatred and enmity to him: commanding them, at the same time to put those perfides to the sword where ever they should find them. It is uncertain whether he may have comprised in this order, Mr. Amyatt himself, with all those of his retinue; or whether those that killed that ill-fated man, availed themselves of the general order, arrived at Moorhoodabad⁽¹²²⁾. This much is certain, that he was surrounded by Mahmed-taky-qhan’s people, and by those of

(122) What to think of this narrative of our author’s, but that he was then far from the scene of action, or possibly wrote this narrative some years later? The Navvab’s order being to send Amyatt with his retinue to Monghyr, Mahmed-taky-qhan betook himself to the following expedient, to execute the commission with ease, and without tumult: Being then encamped on the Bagraty, between Moorhoodabad and Cassimbazar, as soon as the boats were desried, he sent his friend and steward, Aga-alli-toork, to invite Amyatt to an entertainment. Amyatt excused himself, and continued pushing in the middle of the stream.

of Sheh-savar-beg, who hacked him to pieces, with all the other English on board, although he made entreaties for his being sent alive to their master. But, those impudent wretches proved deaf to his prayers, and cutting his head off, they sent it to the Navvab. This event happened on a Thursday, the 18th of Zilhidj, in the Year 1176, of the Hegira: the very day when, according to a general report, the English factory at Cassimbazar had been plundered by the Navvab's people.

Mir-cassem-qhan, convinced now that all was over with the English, and that there was no other party to take with them but that of war, sent a large detachment under three commanders to Moorshoodabad, with orders to oppose the English, jointly with Mahmed-taky-qhan, who had instructions to effect a junction with them; and, after having received whatever he should want from Séyd-Mahmed-qhan, the deputy Governor of that city, to advance to Palassy, and Catwa, in order to be at hand to oppose the English, whenever they should come out of Calcutta. This detachment was commanded by Djaaser-qhan, Aalem-qhan, and Mir-haibetollah. On this order, Mahmed-taky-qhan, quitted Birbohom, at the head of the troops he had trained, and he encamped at Catwa.

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So unexpected a catastrophe, and so sudden a change, could not fail of exciting a great ferment at Calcutta: Governor Vansittart, disappointed and confounded beyond measure, wrote a threatening

stream. Another message was sent by a person of still greater consequence, who represented, that the entertainment being ready, the General would think himself grieved by the disappointment. Amyatt, having again excused himself, the envoy returned; and, on his landing, the boat-men were hailed from shore, and ordered to bring to. This order was answered by two musket-balls, and then by a volley, which being answered from shore, the boats were immediately boarded, and such a scene of slaughter ensued, as is hardly to be described: as Amyatt, by his eternal instigations, as well as by his very haughty temper, was reputed the author of the rupture. All these particulars I know from the report then general; from Aga-ally, who has been my friend and neighbour, for full sixteen years; from the secretary and servants of the General's; and lastly, from three women, from amongst the five sets of dance-girls, that had been assembled on the occasion.

letter

letter to Séyd-mahmed-qhan, to inquire how the murder of that unfortunate man had come to be perpetrated almost under his eyes. The letter, amongst other matters, contained these verses of the poet's:

“ Amidst all the dissensions of mighty kings and proud fove-
 “ reigns,
 “ We never heard that any injury has been offered to an
 “ embassador.”

The purport of the letter was this: “ That if the murder had
 “ been perpetrated by his own management, or that of his depen-
 “ dants, the punishing of it would, of course, be entered on his
 “ and their account: but, that if it had been done by orders from
 “ their master, then let us see,” said the writer, “ what the Su-
 “ preme Disposer of events shall bring to pass between the English
 “ and the Navvab.” As soon as the letter was dispatched, the
 counsellors of Calcutta, all incensed to the highest degree, assembled
 in the council chamber; and after several dialogues of the most in-
 flammatory kind, they accused Vansittart, as being Mir-cassim-qhan's
 patron and protector: but, as the latter happened to be out of
 order that day, and absent, Mr. Hushtin, a member, with whom
 he had but one heart and one tongue, was desired to make an apo-
 logy in his name, to the council assembled, and to speak in his
 stead. But, on his taking his seat, and making the apology, the
 other counsellors, already alienated, at once attributed this absence
 to the Governor's consciousness, and to his sense of shame: they
 loaded him with the bitterest reproaches; and, as they had come
 with full intention to declare war, and seemed exceedingly passionate
 and out of temper, they forgot themselves so far, as to drop some
 improper expressions, highly injurious to the Governor and Mr.
 Hushtin. The latter, otherwise a very quiet man, would not put up
 with such expressions; and high words of mutual reproach passed be-
 tween

tween him and Mr. Batson⁽¹²⁴⁾. Vansittart no sooner heard of this dispute, than he hastened to the council in the very undress, and in that weak state of body, in which he happened to be; and, taking his seat, he asked them what they wished to be done, and what was their pleasure? The answer he received was unanimous. Those men, who all along had been so closely linked with his opposers; who were no less incensed against their own governor, than against the Navvab; and, whose wounds had been lately besprinkled with salt, by Amyatt's murder, and Ellis's captivity; those men exclaimed out with one voice; and all, without minding either time or person, clamoured aloud, that their only wish was to revenge Mr. Amyatt's death on Mir-cassim's person, and to punish that vindictive man for

(124) If we remember rightly, the author has committed here an anachronism of some months. As soon as news came to Calcutta, that the Navvab, to rid himself of the exorbitant demands of the English, who insisted on an unlimited freedom of trading every where, and in every article, duty free; (not excepting grain, salt, tobacco, and beetle-nut, wares which they had never dared to meddle with); that the Navvab, I say, had come to the resolution of quashing the whole difference at once, by publishing a total freedom of duty for all boats whatever, of what nation or denomination soever: the council of Calcutta, now composed almost totally of Amyatt's party, assembled, and vigorously objected to that unlimited freedom, granted to all nations, as being of a nature to wrong the English trade, (this being the cant word) and it meant the Company's trade, which, by the bye, was totally unconcerned in the difference and its consequences. They insisted that such an unlimited exemption was contrary to the interests of the nation, as well as to the spirit of their *ferman*, unless he continued to exact rigorous duties on his own subjects, and on all foreigners, leaving, at the same time, an unlimited freedom to every thing that should carry an English flag. This pretension, struck with amazement both Vansittart, and Warren Hastings, which latter was then youngest member of the council: he observed, that there was *no colour of reason for requesting of a sovereign prince, that he should refrain from doing good to his own subjects*. This observation was taken up by Stanlake Batson, who, instead of refuting it, answered that, "Such a reflection became much better the agent of the Navvab's, than a member of this board." Hastings replied, "That none but *rascals could hold such a language*. The reply produced a blow: but they were soon parted. In the evening Hastings sent a challenge to Batson: the parties met: they fought, and both missed their antagonist. The seconds interposed, by engaging Batson to make a concession; and this affair was put an end to, by two common friends. Others denied that a duel had taken place; but all agreed that a challenge was sent by Hastings, and that concessions were made by Batson.

his

his cruelty. In a scene of so much violence and animosity, Vansittart had the presence of mind to preserve his temper. He produced a note, in which he observed, "That Mr. Ellis, with a multitude of Englishmen, officers, civilians, and soldiers, being in Mir-cassem's power, no doubt could be entertained, but all these unfortunate men would be made away-with, the moment the Navvab should know for certain that an army had come out of Calcutta for his ruin. *Is it not then proper and prudent,*" added the Governor, *to endeavour to live upon some terms with that merciless, sanguinary man, until the prisoners can be recovered out of his hands; after which, it would be time to proceed on projects of war and revenge?"* This reasonable speech made no effect; and, as the counsellors greatly suspected their Governor, and thought themselves so certain of his being Mir-cassem's protector, that they ascribed to artifice and to design the temporising party he had just now proposed, they rose up in the utmost violence of passion, and taking the paper on which Vansittart had written his proposal, they added at the bottom of it, *That were all the prisoners to a man killed by Mir-cassem, they would not for a moment recede from their proposed revenge, or ever come to terms of accommodation with him.* After saying so much, they all put their names to it. The Governor having perused the paper, which proved in the sequel the main voucher that cleared his character, folded it down, and put it in his pocket: he added, that now that their party was taken, it was incumbent upon them all to go immediately to Mir-djafer-qhan's lodgings, in order to proclaim that prince, as enthroned in Mir-cassem's stead; after which, it would be expedient to send him up to Moorshoodabad with the English army. This said, he got up, and taking all the members with him, he went to Mir-djafer-qhan's, and offered him the sovereignty of Bengal, and the services of the English forces. The Navvab, after some conversation
on

on the subject⁽¹²⁵⁾, consented to resume the sovereignty, but it was under several conditions; and these with several respective stipulations were set to writing, and confirmed by oaths on both sides. A few days after, the English army having made all its preparatives, came out of Calcutta, and marched against Mir-cassim-qhan*, whose fortune, from that moment, seemed to verge to its decline, notwithstanding the considerable advantage he had gained over Mr. Ellis.

This unfortunate man was now sent to Monghyr, with all his followers, and all the artillery, arms and effects that had been taken, either in the factory, or in camp, or at Backy-p8r; and the Navvab made him over to Ferhad-aali's care, but took the soldiers and other people under his own management, after having confined them in a place adjoining his own palace. As to the other English seized all over the country, and whom he had ordered to be put to the sword every where, the order was not literally executed: for numbers of them were spared and their fate remained in suspense, untill the Navvab's people finding that the English army was acquiring a superiority, dismissed every one of them under hand; but some of the Navvab's officers, who lived far towards the east, and at a distance from the English army, executed the order rigorously; and like men blinded by fate, they put their

(125) It is a fact well known that a few hours after the visit, several people of the better sort both English and natives affirmed that on the Governor's going away he wished the old Navvab joy, for, or as the Persian has it, *he gave him the good wind of the sovereignty of Bengal*. *Much obliged to you*, answered the old man, *and in return I give you the good wind of several hundreds of English made prisoners, or massacred*.

* This army, which did not amount to a thousand healthy English, was commanded by Major Adams, and under him, by Major Carnac; and as personal anecdotes will give a thorough insight on the temper of those times, those two commanders, who had that day dined at the house of a considerable merchant (Mr. Beaumont) having got up immediately after the dessert, shook hands with the company, and then amongst themselves, protesting that if ever they came back, it would be after having fully revenged the English cause. After this animating scene, they set out together for the army.

unfortunate prisoners to death. As to those confined at Monghyr, they were all under the care of Sheh-ferhad-aaly and Gurghin-qhan, and watched with the greatest attention. One day Doctor Fullarton, who was one of them, sent me word, requesting my interest with the Navvab, as he suffered hardships in confinement. The man had certainly a right to avail himself of my credit, such as it was, not only as being my particular friend, but also as having conferred favors upon me in his time, and rendered me important services; it even became a piece of policy in me to speak in his behalf, as I doubted not but the Navvab was by the time informed that the Doctor's man had been with me; and it was certain that unless I prevented his suspicions, by informing him of the motive of the message, he would make a mighty affair of it. I therefore went to court, and supplicated that prince on the Doctor's behalf, explaining my own case at the same time; *I have no objection, said the Navvab, to your interference: it is for a friend: there is no harm in your taking notice of his distress at such a time as this.* The Navvab spoke this indeed, but it was from the lip outwards: for he thereby reflected obliquely on my connections with the English. I answered, "My Lord Navvab, the Doctor is still more a friend of your Highness than he is of mine: and you were studious to oblige him. It is for that reason I have supplicated you in his behalf; please your Highness to inform me what favour you choose to confer upon him, that I may act accordingly. If he be your culprit, I have nothing to say to him: do with him as you shall think best." At these last words he smiled, and calling for Sheh-ferhad-aaly, he looked at him full in the face; and then taking a serious air, "the Doctor," said he, "has sent a message to Gh8lam-huss8in-qhan; and, as that nobleman is my friend, he has of his own motion given me notice of it. For aught I know, he may have sent a hundred such messages to a hundred more persons; and you, that have him under your charge, know nothing of

the

“ the matter, nor do you mind what is before and what is behind*.
 “ Be more upon your guard, and take care that your prisoners
 “ suffer no hardship, either in their victuals, cloathing, or any thing
 “ necessary: take care, also, that no messages of their’s, or of his
 “ go through the army, for fear they may in time produce some
 “ mighty mischief.” Finding that the conversation took such a serious turn, I did not add a word; and the poor English continued to be strictly guarded and watched, to the time when the Navvab went to Azimabad.

Meanwhile, the two armies from Calcutta, and from Moorshoodabad, were approaching each other. Mahmed-taky-qhan, who was really a man of talents, and worthy of command, could not be much pleased with seeing himself under the orders of Séyd-mahmed-qhan, deputy Governor of Moorshoodabad, a man incapable, and of little understanding. But indeed, how could he submit to such a man? The one was of a liberal generous temper, whilst the deputy Governor was of a mean, sordid disposition. Hence the Governor was constantly blowing with his breath, the fire of enmity between that general and his colleagues; whilst himself lay roasting on the blazing fire of envy and jealousy: for he was unable to bear the General’s high character and great reputation. The latter was under the necessity of asking many necessities, such as artillery, tackle and carriages, which the other constantly refused; although, by his position in the city, and his being at the head of the treasury, he had a command over all those necessities: He furnished them with slowness and reluctance, like one that wished no good to the success of his campaign, and would be glad to see him defeated. Nor had he common sense enough to feel all the consequences of such a conduct; and how ruinous it would prove to his master’s affairs, and at last to his own. Matters went on at that rate, until the troops, destined to re-inforce Mahmed-taki-qhan, arriving from Monghyr, took their route through Moorshoodabad,

* This strange expression is literally translated.

where, there is no doubt, but the envious deputy Governor engaged the commanders to assert their own independence of that general, and by all means to procure his shame and defeat: this much is certain, that those commanders who had orders to join the General, and to remain under his command, seemed to stand upon punctilioes. Instead of encamping with him, and acting in concert, as he requested them to do, they had the folly to go on the other side of the Bagraty, and to encamp there by themselves; but with the strong detachment they had brought. The next day, intelligence was brought that two English battalions of Talingas had set out of a certain town where that nation had a factory; on which intelligence, the new arrived commanders, who intended to attack them, sent word to Mahmed-taky-qhan, requesting to be assisted with some of his musqueteers. It must be observed, that this General's musqueteers had acquired a character all over the country; he had raised their pay to ten rupees per month, divided them as they do in Iran, by tens, hundreds, and thousands, with a commander at each of those divisions; had increased the salary of those officers from fifteen to twenty, sixty, and a hundred rupees per month; had constantly exercised them himself, by making them fire at a mark under his own eyes; and had kept them himself in daily motion, and under constant training. To prevent their repining in long marches, he used to assist them with oxen, camels, and sumpter-horses, for their baggage; so that they were loaded only with their Djezáirs, or muskets of large bore, and with their ammunition. These troops of his being so armed and accoutred, were constantly kept in readiness, and prepared for immediate service: being all young, stout men, of his own choosing and picking. The request then was founded on reason; but, although Mahmed-taky-qhan had no cause to be satisfied with those commanders, that now applied for his assistance, yet, out of regard to his own character, and to his master's service, he sent them a body of five hundred such men,
under

under the command of Feramorz, a slave of his own breeding, who was their principal officer. Sheh-háibet-ollah then, and the other commanders, having received this re-inforcement, marched against the two battalions of the enemy; and, chiefly by the valour and perseverance of the brave Feramorz's, he pushed the English Talingas back, after a sharp engagement, as far as the town and factory from whence they had set out. The environs of it were immediately secured, so as to prevent the enemy's retreat⁽¹²⁶⁾. At night the besieged battalions were re-inforced by some others that flocked from Bardvan, and from other parts; and, the next morning the whole came out in great order, so as to form a fine fight. The engagement then commenced anew: then only did Sheh-háibet-ollah and Alem-qhan become sensible of the consequences of the caution which Mahmed-taky-qhan had given them, when he recommended their joining together, and fighting together. Terrified with the endless firing of the English, they seemed, after some fighting and some movements, to have lost their senses; for, now after a short conflict, most of the Djeziarchies were slain or wounded; and the two commanders, unable to stand the hot fire of the enemy's, retreated, and then fled towards Mahmed-taky-qhan. The latter ordered the dead to be taken up from the field of battle, but refused to admit the run-aways in his camp, or even to give them passage through it, for fear of their disordering his own encampment, and communicating their own terror and dismay to his troops. The English, after this victory, advanced two or three coffes towards their own army; and, two or three days after, that is, the

(126) This detachment was of a battalion of sipahis, and of one field piece, commanded by a Lieutenant Glenn, one of the bravest men ever produced by that country of his, so fertile in intrepid men, and in courageous animals. He was vigorously attacked, and did defend himself as vigorously. He was carrying a supply of a lac of rupees to Major Adams, who commanded the English army. Three times he lost his cannon and lac, and three times did he recover them; and at last he carried them to the English camp, after one of the best disputed actions throughout that war.

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fifth of Muharrem, in the year 1177 of the Hegira, Mahmed-taky qhan came out with a resolution to oppose the enemy's march. Putting the foot of courage in the stirrup of steadiness, he mounted a horse whose motions were as fleet as the moments of his unfortunate rider's existence; and, without applying for assistance to those three commanders, whose duty it was to fight under his orders, he advanced to the field of battle, followed only by his own trained bands; the refractory commanders continuing motionless in their encampment behind him. As his men were filing off, he spoke to them, reminded them of the character they bore all over the country, exhorted them to support the same, and promised them victory, if they would stand by him. All this was uttered with such an air of familiarity, that he seemed to be rather their companion than their general; and, they were so animated with this kindness, and that air of fellowship, that in marching with the utmost alacrity, they were endeavouring to get the start of one another, and swore that they would sacrifice their lives for his honour. The General having formed his troops, and recommended to his officers to march in order, advanced to the enemy. The latter being soon in sight, the engagement commenced; and, as the firing of the cannon and musquetry on both sides grew warm, and both sides kept advancing, those who being overtaken by their fates, were shot at like so many marks, drank up, without hesitation, each in his post, the bitter cup presented them by death. Nevertheless, encouraged by their general, they kept advancing; and an appearance of victory being seen over Mahmed-taky-qhan's troops, some disorder and fluctuation, not unlike a defeat, were observed in the English ranks: the moment was becoming critical; when a ball of cannon wounded Mahmed-taky-qhan in the foot, and killed his horse, which fell sprawling on the ground. The General, without betraying any anguish, mounted another, and continued to advance, and to exhort his men; and he was now very near the ranks of the English, who, on their side advanced;

Bloody battle of Cutwa.

vanced ; but it was with this advantage over him, that in compliance with their rules of discipline, they advanced firing. At this moment a musket-ball entering at his shoulder, came out on the opposite side. That brave man, without betraying any emotion, asssembled the hem of his garment, and throwing it over his shoulder, to conceal his wound from his men, he still advanced. The English were on the point of retreating ; but they had placed an ambuscade at the bottom of a little river, which was full on his passage ; and the General being arrived there, was looking out for a passage to come to hand-blows with them, when the ambuscade-men rising at once, made a sudden discharge full in his face, overthrew numbers of his followers, and lodging a bullet in his forehead⁽¹²⁷⁾, that incomparable hero, who was the main prop of Mir-cassim-qhan's fortune, hastened into eternity in the middle of his slaughtered soldiers. The rest, intimidated by their loss of their intrepid commander, retreated in the utmost confusion, leaving the English in possession of victory, with a full reason for embracing each other. All this while Sheh--háibet-ollah and his colleagues, kept themselves at a great distance, as mere spectators of a shew ; but not daring now to stand their ground, they fled on all sides. The victorious English, after raising the wounded, and making them over to their surgeons, spent two or three days in taking some rest, and in setting to right their artillery and necessaries ; and then they advanced towards Moorshoodabad.

On hearing this defeat, Séyd-mahmed-qhan, the Governor of that city, seemed to have lost his senses. Without shewing his face to the enemy, or making the least opposition ; without even as-

(127) On the first wound he received through his shoulder, he cried out in anguish, *ya Aali, O ! Aali* Aga-aaly, his steward and town's man, as well as our friend and neighbour, advised him to retreat and go back. *Go back*, answered he, *and after that, shew again this black beard to Mir-cassim-qhan ?* *Never*, added he, stroaking it at the same time, *never*. On receiving the second ball through his head, he screamed out *ya Aali*, again, and fell down these words in his mouth, *had the others obeyed-----*

sembling his people and securing, by a timely retreat, those numerous effects of his master's, which he had in his custody; without exhibiting a spark of courage or a grain of firmness; he deserted his post and fled towards Monghyr in the utmost perturbation of mind. After that retreat, the city remaining without a ruler, Mirza-iredj-qhan, who lived this long while utterly neglected by Mir-cassem-qhan, availed himself of the opportunity to repair to the English army, where he congratulated Mir-djaaser-qhan on his accession to the throne; and being invested by him with the command over the city, he returned thither, and proclaimed his new master's accession, by beat of drum: after which, he applied himself to the business of quieting the minds of the people, and of gaining the hearts of the principal citizens. Shortly after, Mir-djaaser-qhan himself arrived: it was on the twelfth of Muharrem, in the year 1177 of the Hegira. He made his entry into the city at the head of the English army, at which time there happened some commotions, and some disorders: the mob having found means to commit insolencies, and even to make some booty. After a stay of seven days, in which time he constantly resided in Aali-verdi-qhan's palace, which had become the seat of government ever since that prince's demise, he on the seventh day quitted it with the English army, and marched against the enemy.

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The English depose
Mir-cassem,
and reinstate
Mir-djaaser.

The death of such a commander as Mahmed-taky-qhan could not but greatly affect his master, who however behaved with firmness on the occasion. He sent orders to Shek-haibet-ollah, to make a stand in the plains of Sò8ty, and he dispatched thither a number of forces capable to face with effect a victorious enemy: this detachment was composed of six or seven thousand horse, under the command of Affed-ollah-qhan, Fodjdar of Narhoot-semáy, to which he added seven or eight regiments of Talingas, commanded by Marcar the Armenian, and by Somro the European; who had besides sixteen pieces of cannon, well mounted and well served: to these he joined

joined a body of rocket-men, under the command of Mir-naffur; after having cautioned them all against dissensions and jealousies: his orders being to attack the enemy in the plain of Sòsty, and to fight in concert. An order was also dispatched to Shir-aali-qhan, Fodjdar of P8raniah, to assemble his forces and to cross the Ganga, in order to join the army at Sòsty. This Shir-aali-qhan, from being one of the meanest of Faqhr-eddin-husséin-qhan's dependants, had been raised by Mir-cassem-qhan to high dignities; so that he came to command in the same place where had commanded Sáyd-ahmed-qhan, and his own master, Faqhr-eddin-husséin-qhan. Shir-aali-qhan, on receiving the order, crossed the Ganga, and soon joined Affed-ollah-qhan; and these two generals, by hastening their march, arrived at Sòsty time enough to face the English. The two armies, as soon as they came in sight of each other, (and this happened on the 21st of Muharrem) proceeded directly to an engagement. Marcar the Armenian, and Somro the European, ranged their troops in lines upon the highway. Affed-ollah-qhan took his post on their right, with seven or eight thousand horse, and ten or twelve thousand foot: and at the left, Shir-aali-qhan took his station, with two or three thousand of his men. On the opposite side, the English, who did not amount to more than three thousand men, ranged themselves in great order; and the engagement commenced immediately: but as the distance was such, that only the cannon on both sides could do any execution, the English kept advancing foot after foot with a measured pace; so that Affed-ollah-qhan, who pretended to much bravery and personal prowess, advanced likewise with his troops to about half a mile. At this very time the English were gaining a superiority over Marcar's and Somro's troops; so that on his being arrived so near, he proposed to come to hand-blows with the English; and all his officers being of the same opinion, Mir-beder-eddin-qhan, one of them, who commanded only a body of eighty horse, displayed his standard, and parted company with the main: *I now part with you,*

said he, *at the head of my little troop, but it is only to shew the way; and, rest assured, that the moment I hear you raise your war-cry*⁽¹²⁸⁾, *and see you put your horse to a gallop, I will overtake, and then pass you: only remember, that between putting your cavalry on a gallop, and falling pell-mell amongst the enemy, there must be no pause at all; and then, when we shall come to hand-blows, we shall behave as becomes brave men, and shall submit to whatever is to be our lot.* After saying so much, he parted with the main, and stood upon the watch; when, on hearing the cry of *Allah Ecber* every where, and seeing that large body of horse in motion, he exhorted his men to follow him; and spurring his horse towards the enemy, he advanced on a full gallop. Meanwhile, Mir-nasser with the rocket-men had marched up to the English, whom he engaged so warmly, that the English Talingas opposed to Mir-bedr-eddin-qhan, to the number of about one battalion, fell into disorder, and retreated as far as the river side, where numbers threw themselves and perished, the water being somewhere above their armpits, and somewhere up to their necks. But, in this charge Mir-bedr-eddin had lost most of his men; and he had no more now than thirteen of them remaining, when a ball of a cannon threw his horse headlong on the ground, whilst another overthrew his brother. This was the time for Affed-ollah-qhan to appear; but, those that had followed that General having seen numbers of their companions killed, and numbers wounded, had now lost courage on beholding so much carnage, and so many horses sprawling on the ground; and would not move any more, but paused at some distance from Mir-bedr-eddin. The latter, who had found his course stopped by a wall and a ditch, called out with all his might, and made many signs

Battle of
So8ty much
disputed.

(128) The war-cry with most Mohametans is *Allah Ecber*, Great God! In India it is *Din Din, Mobammed*, (Mohammed's Religion) which the French have not failed to translate by the words *tue, tue, pour Mabomet*.

to Affed-ollah-qhan, to turn the Talingas with some infantry, and to cut their retreat; but he spoke to deaf men. Affed-ollah-qhan, intimidated by his loss, did not move at all; and the English officers, availing themselves of that pause, soon formed again, disengaged their artillery, and presented again a regular front to the enemy. On the other hand, Mir-nasser, who with his rocket-men had so closely engaged the English as to make them lose ground, finding that no one would come to his assistance, was thinking of a retreat; but even that being now unattainable, his men continued engaging the enemy, like people that held each other by the throat. The English hard pressed, received from Major Adams orders to fix to the muzzles of their muskets certain iron spikes, like those of a spear; and this being done, the English, by applying their muskets to their breasts, presented a wall of spikes, which no enemy could pretend to pass, in order to come to hand-blows with them. This particular I had from several creditable persons of both nations, that were in the engagement, and present at the particular spot; and I have since heard it from Colonel Goddard, who was either a captain or lieutenant at that engagement; and, who affirmed likewise, that at Sòsty the English had been fairly done for, had the enemy kept them in play a few days more in that sultry plain*. Mir-nasser, unable to push upon that row of pikes so as to approach nearer, was making, but in vain, signs with the hand and voice all the while,

* Several officers that had been in that engagement, affirmed a few days after the battle, that the English had really been defeated at Sòsty, but for the turn which the engagement took in the end. But, at Moorhoodabad, and at Calcutta, the universal report was, that two hundred Europeans, of all nations, who served the enemy's artillery, could not behold the distress of the English, without being affected, and that they passed all to their side. It was even said, that they were hailed by the English officers, and asked whether they were not Europeans as well as themselves?

As to the singular manner in which the author talks of fixed bayonets, it becomes probable, (and this surmise is corroborated by numbers of similar passages) that the author having wrote his narrative at that very time, did not touch it in the sequel (19 years after) when he had acquired undoubtedly a full acquaintance with that kind of arms.

without being able to descry any one moving to his assistance. A last he despaired of victory; and, at this very moment, the English officers that had Marcar and Somro in front, seeing that those two commanders were retreating, and leaving the field on that side clear of the enemy, detached three or four companies of Talingas to the assistance of that part of their army which was in distress; and those were no sooner re-inforced so unexpectedly, than they fell with fresh courage on the small unsupported number of those that had hitherto pressed so hard upon them. On the appearance of this re-inforcement, Mir-bedr-eddin quitted the engagement, and retreated leisurely; but Mir-nasser, who had the imprudence to stay with his little troop, had soon reason to repent his temerity: he was soon fired at by the fresh detachment, and left his life in the field of braves. By this time Marcar the Armenian, and Somro the European, had already quitted the field of battle, to their eternal shame and infamy, and were retreating along the highway: they were soon followed by Affed-ollah-qhan, who soon lost himself in that field of dishonour and disgrace. Some others that yet stood their ground, finding themselves abandoned by their main, quitted the field of battle by troops; and the zephir of success and victory blowing gently on the flagging standards of the English, unfurled their folds, and put them in the full possession of victory. The victors had the generosity to take up the wounded, and to make them over to those that could take care of them:—and here I cannot help mentioning a singular fact which I have heard several times from Colonel Goddard, an officer who was only lieutenant or captain in that battle, and cuts now so great a figure at the head of the English forces in Decan: He used to say, that amongst the wounded spread in the field, and then taken up by the English, he had seen a man of Mir-cassem's troops, who had received such a stroke of a sabre, as had cleft his skull in two pieces, so that the brains were set open. The man was half dead; nor were any hopes entertained

entertained of his remaining alive many hours more: nevertheless, as he was still breathing, the Doctor bound his head with his turband, and sent him to a place of shelter with the other wounded. Three days after, as Goddard was taking a survey of the wounded, about whom the Doctor was actually busy, he was astonished to see that the man whom he had seen before, was now sitting upon his hams, holding an *hocca*⁽¹²⁹⁾ of clay with both his hands, and smoking with a deal of composure: he seemed quite recovered of his wound, but, what is singular, had lost his sight entirely. Such was that miracle of Providence, and such that token of Divine dispensations! The enemy, dispersed and disheartened, made haste to the little stream of *8d8a-nala*, where *Mir-cassem* had fortified a strong post against such emergencies as these: and here they stopped; and, after recovering from their fright, they joined those that were on duty in that post, and prepared for a vigorous defence.

The news of this ill success filled *Mir-cassem's* breast with anxiety, and dismay, and doubts. He had already, on *Mahmed-taky-qhan's* death, taken measures for sending his family, seraglio, and treasures, to the fortress of *Rhotas*; he now dismissed a vast number of women, which he kept for show only, and in conformity to the custom of the Indian Princes; and these being not for his use, and serving only to encumber his motions, were all set at liberty, with full permission to dispose of themselves; but

(129) A *Hocca*, called *Hoocaw*, by the English, is a bottle of clay or metal, full of water, through which the smoke of the tobacco is sipped up, after having lost in the passage much of its bitterness, and moreover acquired a pleasing coolness. The chimney is inserted at the top of the vessel, but it is by the means of a pipe, made of tin wire, covered with cloth, which pipe descends vertically within the bottle, whilst a branch of it bending outwards, and springing from it, is carried to the mouth. This machine, which is quite common, presents an apparatus equally simple and ingenious, and a contrivance equally cleanly, commodious, and elegant. There are *hoccas* worth thousands of rupees. The branch springing up, is sometimes ten feet in length, and carefully wetted with rose-water: nor is the tobacco in the chimney without a preparation of rose-water, aromatics, odoriferous drugs, and sugar.

his

his own confort, who was Mir-djaaser-qhan's daughter, together with his favourite ladies, and his treasures and effects, were sent by land and by water to that fortress, under the care of Mir-fuléiman-qhan his steward, of Radja Nobet-ráy his favourite, and of some other trusty persons. It was in this state of emigration that some alteration was perceived in the minds and behaviour of his undutiful servants, and ungrateful dependants: although such was the dread entertained still of their master's exactitude and severity, that none had yet dared to betray any impudence in their actions, or trouble the accustomed order, or transgress the usual defences. Intelligence coming at this time of the defeat at Sò8ty, his situation became more difficult than ever; and he resolved to avail himself of the stand that would be made at 8d8a-nala, to retreat from the castle of Monghyr, and to march towards Azimabad. The 8d8a is a little deep river that comes from the hills of Radj-mahal on the South, and empties itself in the Ganga in a small plain covered with thorns and brambles. It's banks are steep, lofty, and so beset as to afford no passage any where but with extreme difficulty, if at all; and it was upon that little river that Mir-cassém had ordered a bridge of brick and stone-work to be raised some months before. He had seen and admired the natural strength of that part, and had ordered a deep ditch to be dug beyond the little river, and a strong rampart or intrenchment to be raised behind it, so as that ditch and rampart might extend from the foot of the hills down to the Ganga, leaving between them and the little river, a sufficient plain for encamping troops. The ditch was deep, had a wooden bridge over it, and joined a lake and morass which coming from the foot of the hills, encompassed a great part of the intrenchment, and greatly contributed to it's defence in front: so that the only passage betwixt Monghyr and Radja-mahal lay over that ditch and through that intrenchment, which was fortified with a number of towers, that gave it the appearance of a castle: Nor was it possible to go to the right, unless indeed by mounting or descend-

ing

ing the Ganga in boats; and this was impracticable, when there were troops to oppose such an attempt; nor indeed to the left, unless by wading through an impassable morass, or by climbing over the hills. It was in consequence of such considerations that Mir-cassem had before-hand ordered that spot to be carefully fortified, considering it as fully capable to stop an enemy. He now put a strong body of troops in those intrenchments; and to encourage them the more, he informed them that he would march to their support: he then fixed a favourable day for his setting out; and quitting the castle of Monghyr, he sent his spare tents forwards, encamped in the neighbourhood, and gave orders for assembling troops; but as he was conversant in astrology, he had taken care to find out the favourable moment for commencing his march. After these precautions he set out on the twenty-fourth of Muharrem, in the year 1177, of the Messenger's flight: it was in the night-time, which he always deemed favourable to his affairs. But by this time a sanguinary disposition had made it's appearance in his character, which had received additional strength from Gurghin-qhan's insinuations, and also from a review of the state of his own affairs. And as his mind had been soured by the alteration which he now observed amongst the grandees of his court, and the conjuncture required that he should dispose of his prisoner of state, who were in great numbers, he resolved to put all those unfortunate men to death: especially as he had already conceived a variety of suspicions on their account, and they had filled his mind with tormenting anxieties: they were too numerous to be kept under command, and too dangerous to be dismissed. A list of their names I never saw, but I know several of them: of that number were Ram-naráin, heretofore Deputy-governor of Azim-abad, as well as Radja-radj-bull8b, who had himself enjoyed that office, after having been a long time before Divan and Prime-minister to Nevazish-mohammed-qhan, and in the sequel to Miren, son to Mir-djaaser-qhan. This unfortunate man had all his sons with him. Some other of those prisoners were the

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the Ráy-ráyan-umid-ráy, with his son; the zemindars of Ticary, Radja-fateh-fing and Radja-b8niad-fing; and also Sheh-abdollah, the same who had been heretofore confined at P8raniah: there were numbers of other persons of distinction and characters: all which were dispatched to the regions of non-existence. I have heard it said that Ram-naráin had been drowned in the Ganga with a bag of sand fastened to his neck; and probably the others also were dismissed out of this world in the like manner⁽¹³⁰⁾. All this while the unfortunate English prisoners continued to be guarded with the utmost care; and although Gurghin-qhan was in haste to get rid of them also, his advice for that single time was not listened to by Mir-cassém, who conceived that some advantage might accrue to his affairs from keeping them alive. It was at this setting out from Monghyr that his troops, in consequence of that infamous disposition so natural to Hindians (who never fail to become insolent and unruly upon any change of affairs,) commenced shewing themselves disobedient and refractory. With this temper of their's he thought proper to put up, as his affairs required much dissimulation, and much forbearance; and in this disposition of mind he arrived at Champa-nugur, where he tarried a few days, to review the troops destined for the defence of the post of 8d8a-nala, which he now strengthened in such a manner that he expected it would bar the passage of the English exactly like a wall.

It must be observed, that some time before this, on sending Mahmed-taky-qhan, to fight the enemy, he had expressed a desire

(130) The Djagat-seat-mahtab-ráy was drowned there, from a tower of the castle. His favourite servant *Chunni*, desired, supplicated, intreated, to be made fast with his good master, or thrown before him, and could not obtain that favour: so that he threw himself at last after his master had, in vain, descended to the lowest supplications to obtain his forbearing. These particulars I know, not only from a general report at that time, but also from a relation of Chunni's, one Bab8ram, a man of some note, who then lived in Djagat-seat's palace, and has been ten years in my service.

to have such a renowned warrior as Camcar-qhan in his service, having always been studious to procure men of military talents: and he had recommended that affair to Aly-hibrahim-qhan. The latter found means to bring the Radja to camp, where, on his arrival, he was taken into favour, and assigned a salary suitable to his rank; but, as Mir-cassem thought proper to carry him to Champa-nugur, where he tarried a few days, this opportunity put Gurghin-qhan upon proposing to join the new general to those that defended 8d8a-nulla, Camcar-qhan answered, “ That there were more troops already at
 “ that post than there was need: more indeed than the intrench-
 “ ments would hold; so that most of them were useless; and, he
 “ added, that by going thither himself, he would become only one
 “ of the latter class; better then that some commander in chief
 “ should be sent thither to bring that multitude under some order,
 “ and to make it fight in concert.” This conversation having been protracted to some length, Camcar-qhan could not help asking the Armenian General, *What he could possibly know of war? and whether he had ever seen a war or a battle? You had better hear what I tell you,* added he; *It is advantageous to your master, and will prove so in the sequel.* Such a stile was more than the other had been accustomed to. He complained to his master that Camcar-qhan would not go to the intrenchments of 8d8a-nula, and that it appeared that Ali-hibrahim-qhan had dissuaded him from it. This insinuation made it's full effect; and Mir-cassem, in conversation with the latter, could not help dropping many expressions that alluded to the latter's share in that revolution. The purport of it was, “ That it seemed that Camcar-qhan was not pleased to go to a
 “ warfare not of his own, possibly because he intended upon a reverse
 “ of fortune to fall upon his rear (the Navvab's) and to plunder his
 “ baggage, the moment he should find an opportunity for it: Gur-
 “ ghin-qhan says so, at least,” added Mir-cassem; “ possibly to close
 “ with our proposal, he wants first of all your advice.” To this

speech Aly-hibrahim-qhan answered, "That it was easy to bring
 " the matter to a trial. Let me be confined," said he, " as an
 " hostage for Camcar-qhan's behaviour ; and let him be sent on any
 " service which your Highness may devise ; and I will stand the
 " consequences of his defection." These few words were pronounced with warmth ; so that Mir-cassem thought it proper to make him some apology ; and this concession engaged that nobleman to relate exactly what had passed between the Armenian and Camcar-qhan : on hearing which, Mir-cassem himself acknowledged, that the intrenchments at 8d8a-nulla required a commander in chief ; but the difficulty was where to find such a man ? Aly-hibrahim-qhan answered, that at present, the only fit man he could think of would be Gurghin-qhan himself, although it was probable he would decline his going upon that service. Mir-cassem answered that he had no objections ; and, on the qhan's saying that it was an easy matter to put the whole to the trial, Mir-cassem proposed that command to Gurghin-qhan. That general answered, " That
 " what his Highness had represented with regard to 8d8a-nulla, was
 " an article of which himself was thoroughly informed ; but, that
 " in such times of confusion and tumult and perfidy as these, he
 " could not part with his Highness, to whose foot he had made
 " fast his own feet and destiny ; so, that it would be highly improper in him to leave his Highness alone." In this manner Gurghin-qhan did not go ; and Aly-hibrahim-qhan, to clear his own character, engaged Camcar-qhan to make an expedition into Bir-bohom, with intent to put that country under contribution, and to raise on the backs of the English such a flame as would put a stop to their progress, by impeding their motions. The project was good ; but destiny was not on that side : for, before Camcar-qhan could arrive there, the fate of 8d8a-nulla was already decided and over ; and the man, impeded and stopped every where by inundations and by the rains, which are excessive all over Bengal, could
 make

make no incursions, and was obliged to come back. After the defeat at 8d8a-nulla, he made the best of his way over the hills, and returned to his own country, without being able to rejoin Mir-cassém.

Whilst the latter lay encamped on the little river of Champagnugur, he was joined by Mirza-nedjef-qhan, a warrior of consequence. This commander, who is now generalissimo of the Emperor of Hindostans, and the Lord of Lords of his court, was one of the sons of the Sadr-el-8d8r of Iran*, and a near relation of Mirza-muhfen's, who was himself brother to Ab8l-mans8n-qhan, father to Shudjah-ed-d8lah. This warrior, tired and shocked with that train of endless perfidies which disgraced that Prince's conduct, had quitted his dominions to seek his fortune elsewhere; and he was now arrived in camp with a small number of troopers, in quest of service. Mir-cassém, who thought his arrival advantageous to his affairs, received him in his service, and, on his own request, sent him to join the defenders of 8d8a-nulla. There was a large number of troops in those intrenchments; and the artillery was equally numerous: the latter, with the Talingas, was commanded by Marcar the Armenian, by Somro the European, and by Arat8n another Armenian. The other troops were commanded by Affed-ollah-qhan, who had with him Mahmed-naky-qhan and several other commanders, such as Aalem-qhan, and Djaafer-qhan, and Sheh-hàibet-ollah, and Mir-himmet-aaly the pay-master; all of whom were at the head of their respective corps: but all of whom trusted so much to the natural strength of that post, and to the impracticability of the enemy's forcing this passage, that they became negligent in their duty: for most of the officers that had any money, made it a practice on the beginning of the night to gorge themselves with wine, and to pass the remainder of it in looking at the performances of dance-women, or in taking them to

* Grand Almoner, an office of great trust, and high emolument.

their beds. But Mirza-nedjef-qhan thought only how to signalize himself : having joined to his troops some picked men from those commanded by Mir-mehdy-qhan, brother to Affed-ollah-qhan, and some more from amongst those in the immediate corps of Mir-cassem's, he resolved to raise his character by some action of eclat. On reviewing often the intrenchment in that part which touched to the foot of the hills, he had picked an important intelligence from many of the highlanders, namely, that at that particular part there was a ford through the lake and morafs, which led safely to the English encampment. Mirza-nedjef-qhan, upon this intelligence, came out at about three o'clock in the morning, and falling upon that part of the English camp, (and there Mir-djaafer-qhan had his quarters) he occasioned so much tumult and consternation in it, that the old Navvab fled to his boats, and was going to drop down the river, when the English sent a body of Talingas to his assistance. On sight of these Nedjef-qhan, who had made an ample booty, returned within the intrenchment again; but as he made a practice of such forties, the English confounded at their repetition, commenced examining from whence these men could possibly come out. Fortune came to their assistance in that inquiry: the path by which Nedjef-qhan used to make his forties, had been taken notice of by an English soldier, who, having fled from his own nation, had been long ago in Mir-cassem's service. This man, who according to the rules of service amongst the English, would have been put to death, had he fallen in their hands, had set out in the darkness of the night, and had gone through the ford, setting several marks on his passage; and, being come out upon dry ground, he approached within hearing of the English centries, and cried out in the English language, " That he was such a one; and that if they would " procure his pardon, he would find means to carry his brethren " over the intrenchment." Fortune sided with this man: there happened to be upon duty at that part some English officers, who recollected

recollected his voice; and these assured him, with a solemn oath, that his life would be safe, and that he might come over in full safety. Upon these assurances, he marched up to them, informed them of what he had observed, and on a certain night he promised to return, and to shew them the ford. This interval was employed by the English in providing ladders, and every requisite for an assault, and escalade. At the appointed time, which was about ten o'clock at night, the man made his appearance, and took with him a battalion of grandils⁽¹³¹⁾, being a body of picked men, in which Colonel Goddard served then as lieutenant. The latter had orders on his getting upon the intrenchment, to raise as high as he could a *masbal*, or burning taper⁽¹³²⁾, as a signal of his being there. The battalion of grandils putting their arms and ammunition upon their heads, went into the lake under the guidance of the foldier; and, after having waded about a mile, with the water sometimes at their middle, and sometimes at their arm-pits, they arrived about midnight, at the foot of the intrenchment or wall, where they found every body fast asleep. This sight had it's full effect upon those courageous English. Applying their ladders in silence, they got upon the rampart in an instant: where a fifer, who happened to awake, having pretended to give the alarm with his instrument, he was instantly dispatched with bayonets: this being an arm not unlike the iron of a pike, which the English carry at their muskets, and of which they make great use. The whole number being now got up, they formed their ranks, and raised up the burning taper, that had been agreed upon for a signal. At the sight of this, the English, who waited only for it, assembled in great numbers, and gave an alarm at the gate and bridge over the fossé. A furious fire of

(131) Grenadiers.

(132) The tapers or flambeaux in India are made up with rags, occasionally besprinkled with oil.

cannon,

cannon, mortars, and musquetry, immediately poured upon that part; whilst the battalion that had got within on the opposite side, commenced firing upon those they met on their march. On the first discharge numbers were slain, and numbers were wounded; amongst which last was Mahmed-naky-qhan, Mir-himmet-aaly, the Gazip8rian paymaster, being of the former number; and the terror and dismay became so great every where, that whoever chanced to get awake, thought of nothing but of making his escape, and flying with all his might. The runaways, in their flight towards the gate and stone bridge, overturned those that were encamped there: some were tumbled into the river, and escaped on the other side; but numbers were carried away and drowned. Meanwhile, those of the English who were yet without the intrenchment, having taken notice of the consternation and astonishment that had seized the besieged, got quietly over the wall, and placing a pahara of their's (which consists of six or seven men) on the small bridge that served for a passage over the river, they seemed to have shut up a whole army within a net. Those, who like Somro and Marcar, and some others, had already passed the bridge, escaped with their lives; but the others, who amounted to a multitude innumerable, did not fare so well: and whoever came towards the bridge, was stopped short by the centry posted there, (which word in their language signifies a watchman) and commanded to lay down his arms and accoutrements, and to part with his horse; after which, he was suffered to pass naked and disgraced. This, however, was not the fate of Nedjef-qhan: with a few troopers that stuck to him, he found means to escape over the hills; and Affed-ollah-qhan, after flying two full coffes on foot, at last got a horse, and continued his flight. Those that had escaped in the beginning of the alarm, continued their route with their arms and baggage; but, those that had passed after the bridge had been secured, were naked and destitute of every thing, so as to cut the most piteous figure, on their appearing in

Mir-

The strong
post at 8d8a
is surprised
and forced by
the English.

August.

Mir-cassem's camp. This surprise and assault happened on the night of the 26th of Sefer, in the year 1177 of the Prophet's flight; and, at about seven o'clock in the morning, the whole of the numerous troops in that intrenchment was totally defeated and dispersed; nor could any thing be descried but runaways in the greatest distress*.

August.

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After so signal a success, the English took some repose for a couple of days. On the second or third day after this disaster, the intelligence having been carried to Mir-cassem, the man seemed broke in two by the middle: he betrayed every mark of grief and affliction, and passed the whole day in the utmost anguish of mind, and in the highest despondency. At night, he sent for Gurghin-qhan, and spent much time in consultation with him: Gurghin-qhan advised him to continue the war: but Mir-cassem, at about four o'clock the next morning, got upon his elephant, and without speaking a word to any one, he returned to Monghyr. His troops, on hearing of his departure, followed him corps after corps. Being arrived in the above town, he stopped two or three days, both to get out of the fortress the few effects he had left there, and to review his army: by which last operation he expected to discover how his troops were affected towards his person, and how they stood in their sentiments of obedience and attachment. The review seemed to

* Mir-cassem lost full fifteen thousand men in that surprise and flight; and what must give a high opinion of the talents occasionally brought forth by the officers of India (those men sometimes so slightly thought of in Europe) is the variety of ingenious contrivances, employed for a month together by Major Adams: he had never served in Europe; and yet, finding the post at Sd8a-nula too strong to be attacked openly, he, by the mere strength of his genius, bethought himself to the expedient of saving his men, by opening trenches in form, and pushing regular advances; and this man, who had heard or read of fascines, but had never seen any, now contrived to advance by sap. Such are the officers of India! and such the exertions which continual necessity gives birth to. This was also the first time the Bengalees saw an enemy advance close to the foot of a fortification, without being seen so much as once.

revive his spirits; and, this being observed by his nearest friends, Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, who had already supplicated him for the release of his English prisoners, now thought this a favourable moment for renewing his intreaties; and he observed how much renown he would acquire by releasing the principal amongst them at least. The nobleman being repulsed, asked that at the least, he might vouchsafe to release the women, which were amongst them, as they might be sent by boats to Major Adams, and after all proved but an incumbrance. The request did not please the Navvab; and he answered, that he ought to say all that to Gurghin-qhan. The latter therefore was applied to, but, he answered by asking in a peevish tone of voice, *Where one might now find boats enough for such a multitude?* and he paid no further regard to so proper and so honourable a proposal. Mir-cassem, the day before his departure, appointed one Areb-aaly-qhan to command in the castle of Monghyr, with two battalions of Talingas: this was an Arabian from the vilest populace of Bagdad, equally coward and quarrelsome, but however, who had the merit of being a dependant of Gurghin-qhan's. After this he marched towards Azimabad, carrying with him Mr. Hay, Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Lushington, with the other English prisoners. The difficulties and numerous hardships which he was obliged to encounter, on his journey over a country submerged or full of mire, are not to be described, no more than the many misfortunes he met with on his way, especially at the river Rehva. A bridge of boats had been run over it: but still, the horses and other animals being obliged to swim for their passage, were carried away in numbers. Some people preceded the army; and I was of the number, as well as Y8f8f-aaly-qhan, with Mir-shetary, and Mirza-bakyr, and Mirza-abdollah, the two sons of Aga-Mirza: we all joined together, passed the bridge at Reva, and reposed ourselves for one day. The second night, the date of which I cannot remember, a mighty revolution happened suddenly, and an important event

event took place unexpectedly. Gurghin-qhan was killed; and that ill-fated man, in retribution for his malicious temper of mind, was hastily sent over the stream that divides this world from the other⁽²³³⁾. This strange event happened in the following manner: Gurghin-qhan, who was upon ill terms with all the world, but who studied the English in every thing, wanted to carry a high hand over the soldiery; and, in a time of confusion and misfortune, he strove to keep them under that strictness of discipline, which he had seen practised amongst those of that nation: he was not aware that this power of the English over their soldiers, was a gift of Providence; and that that nation had found the art of turning the particular customs of their country into a second nature in their troops.

“Great will ever be the distance between the pattern and the copy.”

How could the poor Armenian, after having sold cloth by the yard throughout his whole life, pretend, that with an authority of only two days standing, he would be able to pass such rules of strict obedience and discipline over a nation, not his own, and which was not yet accustomed to so much regularity and strictness?

“The crow, wholly intent on learning the linnet’s note,

“Forgot to look at it’s own black coat first of all.”

The Navvab having taken post on the banks of the Rahva, where he tarried two or three days, Gurghin-qhan, who conformably to his custom, always came the last of all, and always encamped by himself, was actually in his tent when two or three Mogul troopers from amongst those he had disciplined and trained himself, came and asked something about their pay. The General

(133) According to the Mahometans, this world is divided from the other by an immense chasm, over which runs an immense arch, as thin and as sharp as the edge of a sabre blade. The sinners who shall not have repented, and shall not have altered their sinful lives, will walk trembling over it, and at last will tumble down in the abyss below, which is attenant to the gates of Hell. But the just shall walk over steadily, and shall reach the opposite shore, which is close to the entrance of Paradise. This arch, so dreaded by all Mussulmans, is called the bridge of *Serat*.

answered in an angry peevish manner; but the two men, availing themselves of the unprosperous state of affairs, and of the revolution that had taken place, had the daringness to speak with violence: Gurghin-qhan, without attending to the difference of times, screamed out, *What? is there no one there to take these men into confinement?* He had hardly uttered these few words, when those men finding themselves alone with him, drew their sabres, and in three or four strokes, stretched him on the ground; and, their horses being just at the door, they got upon them in an instant, and fled through the fields. The servants having immediately raised an outcry, which brought General Marcar, another Armenian; the latter, on descrying the troopers beyond the reach of a musket-ball, fired at them with two or three pieces of cannon that were at hand, loaded with grape; and, the report of the cannon being heard by Mir-cassem's army, which was at a small distance, every one concluded that the English were arrived, and already engaged Gurghin-qhan. Instantly Mir-cassem had the same thought; instantly he got upon his elephant, and took to the fields. At the same time, a general scream, and now and then some confused cries, coming from Gurghin-qhan's quarters, struck such a terror into Mir-cassem's camp, and especially amongst the sutlers and other marketmen, that the whole of them, without making the least inquiry, fled on all sides, most of them towards the bridge on the Rehva. The multitude, which was encamped with me on the other side of the river, surprised to see crowds of runaways endlessly pouring upon them, caught their fears and trepidation; and, night coming on, nothing was heard but cries and screams. But, as every one was involved in the general confusion, and saw the mob running to and fro, like so many mad men, whilst the great ones were advancing in haste with burning tapers; such a sight thunderstruck Y818f-aaly-qhan, one of our company, who, being as well as Mirza-bakyr, full as much frightened as any other, resolved at any rate to inquire

inquire into the cause; and then sent people to take some information from the runaways. But, every one of these giving a different answer, served only to perplex. This diversity augmented our consternation, as there was no getting certain information about the tumult; and some people conceived⁽¹³⁴⁾, causes, which they did not dare to mention, for fear of Mir-cassem's resentment. All these discordant

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(134) The causes, which no one dared to mention, are a conspiracy, said to be brewing by Gurghin-qhan, incited under hand by the English. His brother, Aga-Bedros, alias Coeja-petrus, then residing at Calcutta, and an acquaintance of Governor Vansittart's, as well as of Mr. Warren Hastings, had, on their joint request, wrote pressing to his brother, to engage him by all the motives which religion and a regard for his own safety could suggest, to lay hold of the person of Mir-cassem-qhan, or, at least, to come himself to the English camp with his own troops and friends. But, this negociation having been some how smelt out by Mir-cassem's head-spy, he came at one o'clock in the morning, ordered him to be waked, and laying hold of him by the arm, *What are you doing in your bed, said he, whilst your General, Gurghin-qhan, is actually selling you to the Frengbies? He is of intelligence with those without, and possibly with those within, with your prisoners.* Such was then the general report at that time; and, I remember, that the very purport of the letter was handed about by the Armenians of Calcutta. As to the Moguls murmuring for their pay, as pretends our author, their plea must have been a fictitious one; for, the author himself says, that the army had been mustered and paid a week before. It is also certain, that there never was the least murmuring amongst the troops, as they were regularly paid as late as the passage over the Ceremnassa. This much is certain, that it was this rumour of a conspiracy that put Mir-cassem on one hand upon dispatching his General, and, on the other, upon ridding himself of his prisoners of all sorts: and some such things appear, not only in that prince's speech to Ferhat-aaly, but also in our author's narrative, who positively says, that the English prisoners had found means to provide a quantity of money, with a sufficiency of ammunition and arms. As to that Gurghin-qhan, upon whom our author, out of natural antipathy, or for some other cause, is endlessly pouring a deal of abuse, it appears evidently, that he was a man of superior talents, and a soaring genius. What are we to think of a seller of cloth by the yard, who conceives and executes the scheme of disciplining troops in the European manner, of making better cannon, and better muskets than the English themselves, of casting, mounting, and training an artillery, nearly equal to their's; of introducing order, subordination, and discipline, amongst people totally strangers to them? Had Mir-cassem qhan possessed three more such geniuses as Mah-med-taky-qhan, and Gurghin-qhan, and Nedjes-qhan, it is highly probable, that the author of these remarks would have never worn an embroidered malmal worth fifty rupees on his back, nor stuck a poinard of jewel-work in his sash. Gurghin-qhan was a man born at Ispahan, the capital of Persia, and had a very remarkable physiognomy: he was
above

discordant reports, however, agreed in one point; and this was, in producing some piece of extravagant news, which being spread in a twinkling amongst the runaways, increased their fears, and added to the confusion. Meanwhile, the throng became innumerable at the bridge, and the passage being now dangerous, seemed to retrace an idea of the bridge of *Seratt*, at the day of judgement: for the crowds were now pouring in such numbers on both sides, that the passage became impracticable for people on foot. Elephants and carts cut their way through the multitudes; and, as their treading over the boards of the flooring, forced the boats to strike against each other, the noise bore a likeness to a report of distant firing of cannon: news even came that the English had gained the victory: and, as it was thought that the little river only divided the combatants, people prepared their cannon also on this side; and Y8f8f-aaly-qhan, resolved either to pack up his baggage, and get ready at all events, or to run away to some place of shelter. But, he was prevented by Mir-shetari and myself, who insisted on some information. At about midnight the uproar commenced subsiding; and I sent a trusty servant, with orders to stop on this side of the bridge; and as soon as he should discover any person of some consequence, to let him pass first, and then only to ask him what was the matter? The man did as he was bid; and, stopping at the bridge, he saw a

above the ordinary size, strong built, with a very fair complexion, large black eyes, full of fire, an aquiline nose, forming a ridge in the middle of its length, and eyebrows very arched, that joined together, so as to form a point going downwards towards the nose. He was then aged about thirty-six, and I have spoke twice to him. Nothing was wanting to that man to render him capable of shining, even in Europe, but education; he owed every thing to his own genius, and nothing to art or cultivation.

Here again, as in a number of singular instances, it appears evidently that the author had wrote his narrative upon the spot, or very little after, and never had thought of re-touching it; for surely English bayonets, and Gurghin-qhan's murder, as well as his brother's exhortations, became subsequently too public, and too common objects, to be spoken of in so obscure a manner as does our author.

close

close paleky making towards it with three or four horsemen attending; the man walked a while with them, and then asked whose lady was in the close paleky? One of the horsemen answered, *It is not a lady, it is Gurghin-qhan's corpse: we carry it to the fields for burial: It is the Navvab's order*⁽¹³⁵⁾. On this answer, the man returned with this intelligence, and made us all easy; so that we passed the remainder of the night quietly enough. On the morning, Mir-cassim himself passed the river, and encamped on the spot where we were. The next day, he advanced to the town of Bar, where he ordered Djagat-seat-mahtab-ráy, and Radja Ser8p-chund, his brother, to be hacked to pieces⁽¹³⁶⁾. After that, he marched on, and took up his quarters in Djaafer-qhan's garden, close to Azimabad; from whence he sent orders to put the citadel in repair, having appointed Mahmed-amin-qhan, with a fresh body of troops, for it's defence.

A few days after that, on hearing that the English had possessed themselves of the fortrefs of Monghyr by treason, his temper, foured by misfortunes and perfidies, broke all bounds: Incensed beyond measure at so unexpected a reverse, and mistrusting the future

(135) This answer, which had been translated scrupulously, may signify either that they were going to bury the man by the Navvab's order, or that he had been killed by the Navvab's order. The former is quite improbable, not only as it was too small an object for his attention, (and indeed this care belonged to the deceased's servants) but as he was actually flying himself in the utmost perturbation of mind, and flying without knowing whither; so that the question being, *Are you carrying a lady there?* The answer, of course, must have been *No, it is a dead man; and this man is Gurghin-qhan himself, who has been put to death by the Navvab's order.*

(136) The author's narrative on these two brothers may be true; but unquestionably it is against the universal report of those times; and, out of ten thousand boat-men that pass every year by a certain tower of the castle of Monghyr; there is not a man but will point it out as the spot where the two Djagat-seats were drowned: nor is there an old woman at Monghyr, but will repeat the speech of the heroical Chunny, to his master's executioners. It must be remembered, that the author, without ever re-touching his work in the sequel, wrote at a time, and in an army, where it was not safe to talk of such matters, and to make so many inquiries.

still more than the past, he gave orders to Somro, the European, to put to death all the prisoners of that nation⁽¹³⁷⁾; and that man, of a flint-like heart, without any regard to the ties which bound him to those unfortunates, who were of the same Christian religion with him, accepted the commission without horror, and without reluctance. That stony man repaired to the house, then called Hadji-ahmed's, where those ill-fated people were confined, (and which having become the burying-ground of the English since that day, has had it's name altered accordingly); and without the least hesitation, or the least remorse, he ordered all those unarmed men to be killed with musket-balls. It is reported, that in such a moment of distress and perturbation, those unfortunate men, without losing courage, marched up to their murderers, and, with empty bottles, and stones, and brickbats, fought them to the last man, until they were all killed. It appears, that two or three days be-

* Somro was a German, and a Lutheran; but the Indians, and indeed the Persians, reckon all the Europeans, whom they design by the general name of *Frenghees*, to have but one country, one religion, and one language. Lushington, although much wounded, ran at a man who had shot him, and, having wrenched the sabre out of his hands, he cut him down. The next morning, when they came to bury the bodies, they found Gullston breathing and in spirits, and they talked of saving him: but, the young man having given them much abusive language, and threatened them with a severe revenge, he was taken by the legs, and thrown with the others, promiscuously in the fosse.

The next year after that catastrophe, and it was in 1765, I remember to have seen, both at Banares, and at Moorshoodabad, three or four commanders, who had refused the commission with indignation. One of them, an elderly stout man, with a large pair of whiskers, speaking to a company where I was, expressed himself in these words: *I did not refuse to do it: no: I only desired the Nawwab to give them swords and bucklers, and that I would fight them then: but, as to killing prisoners disarmed, that I will never do.—Send your scavengers for that business.* This last part of the speech alludes to a particular custom in India, where scavengers, and none else, perform the business of executioners: and every body knows that these people are suffered only in the outskirts of villages and towns, and that they are held in so much horror, that no man without forfeiting his clan, that is, without incurring damnation in this world and the other, and without being renounced by his wife, children, relations, and kindred, can either eat with them, or eat of what they have touched, or indeed touch them; even being too near them is reputed uncleanness.

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fore this event, they had contrived, by the means of their servants, to procure abroad a number of muskets equal to their number, with ammunition sufficient for their purpose. But they did not come to hand: for, had they succeeded in this attempt, they were resolved to make their escape by main force; and if not, to kill so many men in their own defence, as should avenge their death, and do honour to their memory. Of all the prisoners, not a man remained alive, save Doctor Fullarton, who, by assisting professionally most of the grandees of the court, had endeared himself to them: he even had Mir-cassem himself for an acquaintance and friend. The next morning after the massacre, of which as yet I knew nothing, I went to court, and, after a stay of one hour, I got up to pay my bow and to be gone. *Stay*, said the Navvab, *your friend is coming*. As I knew nothing of what had happened, I could not help asking with surprise, who was that friend, and from whence he came? The Navvab answered, *Well, you may go, I shall send for you again*. On this answer I returned to my tents, which were in Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's compound, and I sat down full dressed, expecting to be sent for again. In a little time, a mace-bearer came to tell me that I was wanted: I went immediately, and was hardly seated in the Navvab's presence, when I descried Doctor Fullarton coming. He wore an Hindostany dress, and presented, in compliance with the custom of these countries, a few rupees, in nezer to the Navvab. The latter declined taking them, and graciously added these words: *There was no such custom between you and me hitherto*; and, having embraced him, he bid him go and *sit by his friend*. The Doctor came and seated himself close to me. A moment after, the Navvab looking at him steadfastly, uttered these words: *Fraud with friends! and treason with acquaintances! What did you mean by that? You have received under your roof within the town, a number of armed men, as sick; and have let them out again the night in which they have surprised*
the

the city walls. The Doctor, without the least dismay or fear, answered in a firm tone of voice, *My Lord Navvab, I do not fear death: you have killed all those countrymen of mine: do, kill me likewise: you may: you are the master: but never will I admit that I am guilty of treason. I have not done that: If it be proved against me, I am content even now that you order me to be put to death.* After saying these words, he chanced to spy Akyidet-mend-qhan, brother to the famous Emir-qhan, who was sitting over against him: a nobleman, whose house at Azimabad was parted from that of the Doctor's only by a wall; "That nobleman," said the Doctor again, "is my neighbour: ask him. Inquire from "whom you please." As really the accusation had no foundation, the nobleman in question vouched for the Doctor's innocence, and said, that the Doctor was not guilty. On this assertion, the Navvab paused again, and putting on an air of kindness, he bade him go to Calcutta, if he had a mind to it: or else, he might remain with him. The Doctor had the prudence to decline going to Calcutta. The Navvab intended to avail himself of his mediation to renew with Governor Vansittart, and to come to some accommodation; But, on observing his reluctance, he turned to me, and said, *The man must be given to understand——but you shall do that when you are by yourselves.* The word *by yourselves* gave me some concern, lest I might fall under the imputation of having advised something contrary to his will. But yet, obliged to comply with his commands, I took the Doctor behind a curtain, and spoke to him as I had been directed. The man shook his head, and said, "That after Mr. Amyatt's murder, it was impossible to think of "peace: and, over and above that, all his countrymen had been "put to death last night." This conversation I reported to the Navvab, who calling the Doctor up, desired Aaly-hibrahim-qhan and myself, to sit close to him, as associates in the consultation. The Doctor answered again, "All that is utterly impossible; first, be-

" cause

“ cause the army which actually is on the road, will not suffer me
 “ to pass; but, on the supposition that I shall find no obstacle,
 “ still my going would answer no purpose at all: the murder of
 “ Mr. Amyatt, a man quite innocent, is so infamous an action, as
 “ will for ever render ineffectual every proposal for an accommoda-
 “ tion.” At these words, the Navvab himself, who had now
 totally despaired of success, remained silent: a moment after, he
 said, *Since you cannot go, you may remain where you please.* The
 Doctor replied, that wherever his Highness should bid him remain,
 there he would find himself very well: at last the Navvab made
 him over to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and bid him take care of his friend,
 and provide lodgings for him in the city, with the precaution,
 however, of putting some trusty persons at the door, to prevent his
 having any intercourse abroad; and, he added, that he must take a
 security from the Doctor. The latter, on being informed of the
 Navvab’s order, produced Mirza-himmet-aaly for security; and this
 nobleman acknowledged himself as such by a writing under his
 hand and seal. A lodging being provided for the Doctor, proper
 persons were appointed at his gate; two days after Mirza-himmet-
 aaly, with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan’s consent, applied to the Navvab
 for their removal; and, the latter having consented, the Doctor re-
 mained at full liberty. But, this prince hearing now that the Eng-
 lish, after having taken the castle of Monghyr, were marching to-
 wards Azimabad, thought proper to quit his station at Djaaser-
 qhan’s garden, and, marching to the other side of the city, he en-
 camped at Poholvary.

Monghyr was taken in the following manner: The English laid
 siege to the castle; and, Areb-aaly-qhan the Governor, who was
 naturally a coward, and one who augured no good from his master’s
 affairs, sent them word, that if they would give him a sum of
 money, he would surrender the fortress. The English, who were
 anxious to pursue Mir-cassim, consented to what he asked; and, a

certain sum having been paid the man, he gained the garrison to his party, and surrendered the place. The English put a garrison into it, and marched to Azimabad: but, Mir-cassem not thinking it prudent to remain so near the enemy, advanced towards Bucrem, a town at eleven cosses from Azimabad, and now reduced to ruins, where he encamped. From that camp he had the advantage of being master of the western gate of the city, which was covered by a wet ditch; and that of keeping open his communication with that fortress, to which he could occasionally send troops for its defence: for, he was sensible that the English could not turn the city, as the southern part of it was defended by a lake full of water. It was at this time likewise, that Ahmed-qhan-coréishy, who, since Ram-narain's confinement, had always been in disgrace, was sent for again, and taken into favour: his estate and lands were restored to him; and he even received some money to repay his charges. It was at this time also that Mir-abboo, son to Mir-cudretollah, and grand-son to Sheh-shukur-ollah, the Cadyrain, rose into favour: he had hitherto lived neglected and in disgrace, on account of his connections with Mir-djaaser-qhan; when, by one of the most strange revolutions that can be conceived, he was sent for, and raised so high, that he aspired at ten times more credit and authority, than had fallen to the lot of Gurghin-qhan himself. He thought himself equal to the task of propping and shoring up the tottering edifice of Mir-cassem's prosperity; and he applied himself intensely to the business of disciplining the army, and defending Azimabad; to which he used often to repair. The troops observing his rising favour, accustomed themselves to respect his person, and to avail themselves of his recommendation in their applications to their master. This new favourite one day having found a favourable moment, observed to the Navvab, that it was improper to leave the Doctor in the power of Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's people: Mir-cassem, who was now become more suspicious than ever, and stood
like

like a blank sheet of paper, ready to receive any impression that might be stamped thereon, said to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, that he must now make the Doctor over to others. The Qhan answered, "That his Highness, probably, did not recollect, that the day when the Doctor had found a security, he had himself ordered his guards to be dismissed: upon which order," added he, "I withdrew a few people of my own, whom I had appointed to watch over his person; and now, whatever your commands may be, wil not fail to obeyed." This conversation of the Navvab's having been imparted underhand by the Qhan to the Doctor, the latter, who saw his guards changed, suspected that something was in agitation against his person; and he thought it high time to contrive some expedient by which he might extricate himself: having found means to procure some people for himself, he would not admit Mir-abboo's guards within the house, under pretence, that without an order from the Navvab, he could not follow them. Mir-abboo having availed himself of these words to attack the Doctor's character, got some spies, or harcaras, and some considerable officers residing in town, to subscribe a paper, by which they attested that Aaly-hibrahim qhan, in defiance of the order of his Highness, had not made the Doctor over to Mir-abboo. Mir-cassem, who was fully sensible of the declension of his fortune, and knew how much reproachful words would seem to be out of season, contented himself with mentioning the Doctor's plea. The Qhan answered, that he had from the very first order recalled his own people, and left the Doctor to himself. "Let then whoever pretends to be my servant," added he, "be brought hither and examined; and let him be punished as a liar and impostor, by Mir-abboo's people." The Doctor, whilst those disputes were taking place at camp, was gone to the Dutch factory; where, having prevailed by dint of money on the master of an old condemned boat, to ferry him over to Hadjipoor, where there were some English troops, he got into that

crazy vessel with Mirza-himmet-ally, his security, and put off from shore. On sight of this, the guards appointed to prevent any boat from crossing over, or even from moving at all, made haste to embark in other boats, and they went in pursuit of her. But the Doctor was already in the middle of the river, where, being spied by the English on the other side of the water, who saw distinctly a crazy boat endeavouring to make her escape, they threw themselves into some boats at hand, and flew to his assistance: so that the guards being intimidated by this appearance, returned, and left the Doctor at liberty to land amongst his friends. The Navvab, hearing of this escape, ascribed the whole contrivance to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan: but the times were not favourable for such an inquiry.

By this time the English being arrived at Azimabad, marched along the streets and markets to a house close to Mirza-qhalil's quay, which now goes by the name of Maar8ff-gunj; and planting their cannon there, they commenced battering the citadel. But, as the wall in that part consisted only of some brick-work, hardly made up with mud, it soon gave way, and afforded a large breach. The English, with dint of cannon balls and bombs, drove the besieged from it, and, at day-break, they got into the citadel, and from thence into the city. On the first news of the breach being made, Mir-cassém had dispatched some thousand horse to attack the English, under the command of his own nephew, Mir abboo-aly-qhan, and of his paymaster, Mir-roshen-aaly-qhan: these officers having set out from camp in the evening, marched the whole night, and in the morning they arrived near the city, resolved to advance under cover by Mehdy-gundj and Begum-poorah, in order to come out at the Naqhas, or Horse-market, where they intended to commence their attack on the back of the besiegers. Being arrived near Shah-medjnoon's⁽¹³⁸⁾ hospice, they heard from the run-

(138) This name signifies *Saint Madman*, and is a specimen of the whimsical names, which men assume in India, when they turn fakirs. See the remark 26, section 8.

aways that the English had got into the citadel by the breach, and from thence into the city. These words struck them with dismay: at first they stood motionless, and doubtful whether they were to fall to, or to retreat; when at once, some English Talingas, who had advanced as far as the western gate, suddenly made their appearance on the outside of it. At sight of this, all that body of cavalry, without taking notice of the smallness of their number, or inquiring whether they were followed by more, disbanded at once, and fled with so much blindness and precipitation, that some threw themselves headlong into the lake, where they were drowned; and others, in endeavouring to cross over, stuck in the mire and clay, and miserably perished. Roshen-aaly-qhan himself was amongst the latter: in his flight, he fell headlong into a deep place, lost his horse and turband, and escaped with his slippers in his hand, in which wretched condition he arrived in camp. Mir-cassem finding that fortune had turned her back upon him totally, and was now siding with his enemies, conceived that he had no other part left, but that of a retreat: he therefore decamped, and marched to Muhib-aly-poor. There Mir-abdollah, overcome by the thoughts of parting with his house, consort, family, and property, quitted the army without leave, and, having cut his way with all the pains imaginable through crouds of peasants intent on plunder, he arrived in town with only his person: and, such silent retreats becoming now of fashion, Ahmed-qhan-coréshy soon was of the number. Such a desertion, after all, was of a piece with his character, as well as with that of many others. On Mir-cassem's forgiving his misdemeanours, and restoring him to favour, he had taken care to assume in his presence, and in that of his relations, a high-flown stile, and to talk much of the duties and fidelity incumbent on generous grateful minds. But, people who knew how much his heart was ulcerated against Mir-cassem these three years past, believed nothing of his protestations; and the event verified their suspicions; for,

Mir Cassem, being totally ruined, thinks of taking shelter in Shudjah-ed-dollah's dominions.

for this man, who had been ordered to assemble and to send provisions to the camp at Shimshir-nagor, instead of that, repaired to Dáod-nugur, where he busied himself in schemes of revenge. From Shimshir-nagor, Mir-cassém advanced to Sheh-poorá, which is a district inhabited by Rohillas under several zemindars; there he forded the river Sohón, and encamped on the other side, at a town called Nelitoo, which was full of traders. At that place he stopped a few days, in order to give time to his consort, his seraglio, and his treasures to join him from Rhotas, under the command of Mir-fuléiman-qhan, his steward: a man on whom he reposed the utmost confidence, and who had the absolute management of his favourite women, as well as of his jewels and treasure.

It was at this encampment that Mirzá-nedjef-qhan, who had escaped from 8d8a, by the way over the mountains, came out of that hilly country, and joined Mir-cassém. On hearing of his intention to take shelter in Shudja-ed-dö8lah's country, and of a treaty being on foot with that prince, that officer, who was fully acquainted with his temper and politics, strongly objected to his taking such a resolution. "Never," said he, "never think of putting yourself
 " in that prince's power. Retire within the fortrefs of Rhotas with
 " your family and treasures; and leave the army and the manage-
 " ment of the war, to me. I shall pick up amongst your troops a
 " good body of choice infantry, with a greater proportion of cavalry,
 " in which last, I shall admit none but those that are well mounted,
 " and who have robustness and good will enough to follow me day
 " and night on horse back. With these, I shall be eternally hanging
 " on the rear of the English, and shall cut them so much work,
 " that they shall not find time to range themselves in battle array, or
 " to take their meals; after having done so much, let happen what
 " it will, and let fortune favour which party soever she may be
 " pleased." The Navvab, objected to the air and water of Rhotas, and shewed a disinclination from shutting himself up in that mountain;
 for

for as to the rest, the advice was good; but it was not in his destiny to avail himself of it. Mirza-nedjef-qhan observing his reluctance, proposed turning towards the Bondulcund, and joining the Marhattas: a powerful people, who might be roused into action; and he offered to lead the way. But this scheme did not please Mir-cassem: he objected to the length of the way, to his own ignorance of the country, to the diversity between his temper and that of the Marhattas, and to their rivetted inclination for sack and plunder: with such sentiments in his heart, he thought that his getting into Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's country, and in the Emperor's court, would prove the end of all his toils. This inclination of his did not receive a little strength from the letters which came from Mirza-Shemceddin, to the same purport; they advised him to think of an alliance with Shudja-ed-dö8la; and Mir-fuléiman, his steward, for purposes of his own, was urging the same measure. Mirza-nedjef-qhan, finding every one bent on going to Shudja-ed-dö8lah, declared, that in that case, he would be obliged to quit the Navvab's service. Nevertheless no party was determined yet; when letters came from Ahmed-qhan-coréishy, purporting *that the English were arrived at Mubib-aaly-poor*. This intelligence, although false and of Coréishy's forging, equally surprised and consterned the Navvab: his perturbation of mind cannot be described. Another letter came again from the same artificial hand, with advice, that the English had sent, in all speed by water, a party of troops to Zemaniah, with a view to intercept his way into Shudja-ed-dö8la's country. That perfidious man, not contented with sending these two forged intelligences, incited the zemindars of his djaghir to plunder the laggards of Mir Cassem's army, and to seize some of his baggage, which was on the road. The zemindars did as they were bid, and the run-aways coming to camp, spread the unwelcome news every where. Mir Cassem, confounded at such an universal desertion, quitted his camp, although he intended to tarry there a few days,

went

Is strongly
dissuaded by
Ne-jef-qhan
who proposes
an excellent
plan.

Mir-cassem
surrounded by
traitors, is
promised an
asylum by
perfidies.

and went forward. It was at this spot that letters came from my father, advising me to retire upon the family estate, as the times were unfavourable for serving Mir Cassem; nor was I much disinclined from taking such a resolution, as the Navvab had the worst opinion of my connexions with the English: but such was my attachment to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, that I could not bear to part with him, no more than with Mirza-bakyr and Mirza-abdollah, until I had seen them in a place of safety: I thought it unworthy and ungenerous to part with them, and therefore I continued with the fugitive army. Mir-cassem, the next day marched to Saharferam, and from thence he advanced farther, and encamped at Sanot-mehnia, on the banks of the river Durgauty, where the army was mustered and paid: the payment having lasted until it was dark, some people that had accounts to settle with the several officers, coming to high words with the clerks, a great outcry was raised, according to the custom of the latter; and, this being soon echoed throughout the whole army, caused such an uproar, that Mir-cassem, astonished at those confused cries, came bare-footed to the door of his tent walls, and could not help exclaiming, *That, to all appearance, those ungrateful soldiers had raised a sedition.* But, as the divine Providence reserved that army and its master for purposes of its own, the uproar and tumult subsided of themselves. The next morning, Mir-cassem finding Nedjef-qhan totally averse from going to Shudja-ed-dö8la's country, dismissed him with a present of one lac and a-half of rupees, and of five elephants; after which he marched forward and encamped on the banks of the little river of Kerem-nassa: there he received letters and a parcel from Mirza-Shems-eddin, his agent at Shudja-ed-dö8la's court. The parcel contained a Coran, on some blank leaves of which glorious book was written that prince's safe conduct and promise, under his hand and seal: This sight seemed to please him. From the Kerem-nassa, he marched into Radja Balvand-sing's country, which is of

Shudja-

Shudja-ed-dö8la's jurisdiction, and he encamped on the banks of the Ganga, where we shall leave him at present, to resume our narrative of the consequences of the disaster at 8d8a-nala.

Whilst Mir-cassém was passing by Mongher, a revolution took place at P8raniah. Reoh-eddin-husséin-qhan, son to Séif-qhan, and grand-son to the famous Emir-qhan, Governor of Cab8l, was the contriver of it. This man, displeased with his situation at court, where his salary being small, it obliged him to support his rank, by selling piece-meal what little he had saved of the wreck of his family's fortune, now resolved to emerge from that state of humiliation. Under pretence of intending to follow Mir-cassém, and of his inability to do it by land, he had hired an old boat, which he kept in a brook, that fell into the Ganga; in this he passed his time, all the while attentive on what turn Mir-cassém's affairs might take. One day he took his resolution at once; and, without the knowledge of any one friend or acquaintance, he crossed the Ganga, went over to P8raniah, and landed in the house of one Mehdy-beg, who had been his father's director and titular saint. It was in the dark of the night. The man, sensible of Mir-cassém's severity and exactitude, found that such an arrival exposed him to the utmost danger, as well as his guest, and he advised him to quit his house, and even P8raniah immediately; and that too at that very moment, rather than at half an hour hence. The adventurer, on hearing these words, got into his boat that instant, and dropping down the stream, he concealed her in a retired place five or six cosses distant, at a spot, where the little river that passes close to P8raniah, joins the old bed of the Cosséy in the rainy season: there he lived five or six days under a borrowed name, having no more with him than five or six people. He had the precaution to station some spies and messengers, or harcaras, at 8d8a, who were to give him notice of what turn affairs would take, before the event should become public. In this manner, on the English rendering

themselves masters of the intrenchments at that post, he was the first that got intelligence of it at P8raniah; and, as Shir-aaly-qhan, the Governor of the country, was absent, being one of the defenders of those intrenchments, the country was left empty of troops; for, the Governor's brother with a few soldiers, was rather concealed within the palace, than able to govern the province. Just at that time, a sum of two lacs of rupees had been sent on board of some boats, under the guard of a few messengers, which were intended for the treasury at Monghyr; and these also had come and taken shelter close to our adventurer's crazy vessel. The latter, who had been so early informed of the defeat at 8d8a, repaired again in the dead of the night to the saint's house; and, as the adventurer's father had commanded in that country for forty years together, and himself had lived there in much influence and splendor, as son-in-law to Sáy-d-ahmed-qhan, most of the inhabitants of those parts, who had been either in the service of his family, or were beholden to it for their welfare, proved well-intentioned for his cause. He was therefore listened to with respect; so, that sending for some of his ancient friends, he desired them to assemble in the night time those of their acquaintances whom they knew to be brave and well armed, and to bring them to him before day-break; as on the next morning he intended to recover possession of his father's government. There was no resisting the commands of one whom all revered as their lord's son and heir; so, that in a little time they assembled to the number of about an hundred men. It was yet dark, when he sent for Goordial-sing, who had been clerk in one of his father's offices, and was now the principal minister of government at P8raniah. The man came, and as he was the main hinge of all the affairs of the province, he was put under the charge of a few friends; after which, and before the dawn of the day, the adventurer mounted on the steed presented him by fortune, and, putting himself at the head of his armed friends, he marched silently to the

the palace, where throwing himself into it at once, he ordered the deputy Governor, who, as well as Shir-aaly, owed his fortune to his father, to come to him directly. The man, confounded at what he was seeing, and intimidated by the presence of his old master, submitted quietly, made a profound bow, and presented his nuzur in token of submission and acknowledgement. Roh-eddin-husséin-qhan after receiving it, went and seated himself on the mesnud of government, from whence he issued orders for the military music to play, and for the inhabitants to keep themselves quiet. These, on hearing of this revolution, thronged into the palace, where, both the gentry and people presented their nuzurs, acknowledged him for their master, and expressed their joy at his accession. Scarce was this ceremony over, when he sent trusty persons to bring back the boats laden with treasure; and these being not gone far off, were brought back in two days. After that, he appointed proper persons in every department, and dispatched a sup-
pique to the English General, and one to Mir-djaaser-qhan, acknowledging the latter as his master, and congratulating both the one and the other upon their successes. Mir-djaseer-qhan, sensible that the war was far from being at an end, was pleased to see so much strength and revenue deducted from the enemy's scale; and, he sent to the new governor a letter, in which he extolled his character for what he had done, and bestowed upon him the government of P8raniah. The new governor being strengthened by this accession of authority, established his government every where, treated both the people and gentry with the utmost benignity; and, firmly keeping his seat on the steed of fortune and good luck, he continued to ride in the fields of command and success for a number of years together; nor did he lose his seat, but when Mahmed-reza-qhan came to be promoted to the office of deputy Governor of Bengal.

We have left Mir-cassem crossing the Keremnassa, and flying to Balvent-sing's country, a dependence of Sudjah-ed-dö8la's. Fearful of a pursuit from the English, he did not think himself in a place of safety, until he was at six or seven coffes beyond Banares, where he encamped: and so far likewise did I go in company with my friends. There I took my leave of them, and went to Banares, where, after enjoying the honour of kissing the feet of his Highness, Sheh-mahmed-aly-hezin (whom may God place amongst the highest of his elect!) I took my abode in the house of my excellent maternal uncle, Séyd-abdol-aly-qhan, the valiant, whom I found oppressed by poverty and distress. It was there I was taking some repose from the toils of so laborious a campaign; but, I amused myself likewise with seeing often my friends at camp, and sometimes I paid a visit to Mir-cassem himself. The latter one day asked me, *Why, whilst my father and brothers were in connection and in correspondence with the English, I took the unprofitable trouble of following a fugitive in his retreat? Had you not better, Sir, join the English likewise?* Mortified by such an address, I answered that, "Al-though in friendship with those foreigners, I had never betrayed him; nor had I done any thing against his service; nor had I kept any secret correspondence with his enemies; nor had I ever served them as a spy; nor was such conduct of a piece with my character. Else," added I, "in imitation of so many others, who have deserted you, without knowing hardly where to go for bread, I could with a deal of ease turn to my right, and go to enjoy my father and self in our family estate. Generosity and friendship would not suffer it: nor could I resolve upon committing such a base action." To all this apology, the Navvab answered, by only remaining silent; but this silence was of a bad omen; and, from that day, I ceased to go so often to see him; contenting myself with serving the holy man above, and with visiting often Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, with some other select friends:

and.

and there was the more propriety in that behaviour of mine, as Mir-cassim was now thinking of dismissing great part of those that had followed his fortune.

It must be observed, that amongst the multitudes of covered carriages of all sorts that attended Mir-cassim's *harem-fera*, or sanctuary, in his retreat, there were numbers of covered coaches and chairs, which passed for containing some favourite ladies, but which, in reality, contained nothing but bags of white cloth, full of gold coin, and of gems, as well as of jewels of high value. All these, together with Mir-cassim's Begum, and his other ladies, both on going to Rhotas and in coming from thence, were entrusted to the care of Mir-sulèiman-qhan, his steward; a man on whom he used to repose the highest confidence, but, who being well apprised of the variety of contents in the covered carriages, stole and embezzled a number of jewels, of such a value, as could not be reckoned but by lacs. The Navvab had some notice given him of the treason, and himself soon became sensible of it; but, he was sensible likewise that the unprosperous state of his affairs did not admit of his examining his effects, or of calling his servants to an account, and especially such a man as Mir-sulèiman-qhan: for the latter, after this performance of his, had put on a fakir's garb, with which he used to go to court; and, it was curious to see him sometimes planted over against the Navvab, with a handkerchief in his hand, with which he wiped the tears, that flowed abundantly along his cheeks: he sighed and sobbed, and was saying to him, *How shall my heart, alas! and how shall my eyes, bear to see my good master in such a condition?* And it was with such farces as these that the man went on, until the person who had come on Shudjah-ed-dò8la's part to compliment and console Mir-cassim, being on his return, he was himself sent in his company, as an envoy to that prince. In this embassy, the treacherous hypocrite took care to make his peace with Beni-bahadur, who was prime minister

Infamous
hypocrisy of
Mir Sulèi-
man.

minister to Shudjah-ed-dö8la, with Aly-beg-qhan his general, and with Mir-behloo, which latter had been once tutor to that prince: with all these, as well as with all the favourites of that prince's, he found means to ingratiate himself by making them sharers in the treacherous booty which he had made, giving to some of them gems of an immense value. He also took care to procure himself the protection of Salar-djung, a principal favourite, whom Mirza-shems-eddin, first envoy of Mir-casssem's, had made use of as a mediator with Shudjah-ed-dö8la. Mir-fuléiman, after having secured all these great men, returned to Mir-casssem's camp with letters of consolation from every one of them, all fraught with promises without bounds, and compliments without end. But Mirza-shems-eddin was already arrived with letters, both from the Vezir, and from the Emperor. They contained such expressions of kindness as eased Mir-casssem's mind, and determined him to turn his views to that side, and to repair to their courts. As to Mirza-nedjef-qhan, that officer, after taking leave of Mir-casssem, turned to the left, and went into the Bundelcund: where the Radja, or prince of the country, who thought that the arrival of such a man could not but prove advantageous to his own affairs, took him into his service, and shewed him the utmost honour and attention. After his departure, the fugitive prince, who on Mir-fuléiman's return had entirely made up his mind, having picked up amongst his troops such as he thought of the best service, dismissed and paid the rest, and then directed his route towards the Emperor's and the Vezir's camp.

As to myself, this retreat put me under the necessity of providing for my own circumstances: finding that I was destitute of an equipage suitable to such a voyage, as well as fully sensible that Mir-casssem would never repose any confidence in me, I thought it best to return to Banares, and to remain there: for Mir-djaaser-qhan, naturally displeased with Mir-casssem's followers, being now encamped on the banks of the Keremnassa, whilst people entertained doubts
about

about what turn the Vezir's assistance might give to the affairs of the vanquished, it would have been imprudent in me to return to Azimabad; and on the other hand, I reckoned it a happiness, unexpectedly provided for me by Heaven, to pass my days at the feet of the venerable, holy personage mentioned above. Thanks without measure are due to that cream of living men, for that in such a time of despondence and anxiety, he vouchsafed to bestow some of the precious moments of his time in conversing with so humble an individual, as this the most inconsiderable of men. My pen and tongue would fail in enumerating the thousandth part of the kindness he had for me; nor do I know how I could describe the care and benignity with which he used to administer consolation to my grief. My pen, incapable to come up to so difficult a task, as that of mentioning them worthily, acknowledges with a hundred thousand excuses, its inability and impotence on that affecting subject.

But to return to our narrative: The complexion of the times being now so vicious, that nothing is to be seen amongst the generality of mankind but double dealing, and a traiterous diversity between the tongue and the heart; and such morals having become fashionable amongst men, and especially amongst great folks, there is no wonder if neither Shudjah-ed-dö8lah nor the Emperor were wanting to themselves in making artificial invitations to Mir-cassem, and in swearing to promises and treaties which they never intended to put in execution: for they were at the same time writing letters of congratulation to Mir-djaafer-qhan, and entering into treaties and negociations with both that prince and his allies. It was on this occasion that Ráo-shitáb-ráy, of whom mention has been more than once made in these sheets, appeared again upon the stage of the world. This able man, on quitting Azimabad, had repaired to A8od, where, soon getting into Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's service, and into the good graces of Beni-bahadyr, his minister
and.

and deputy, he was now reckoned one of the latter's principal favourites; and, as this minister on the other hand, had taken umbrage at Mirza-shems-eddin's managing the whole of Mir-cassim's negociation with Shudjah-ed-döglah, solely through Salar-djung's mediation, without his (Beni-bahadyr's) privacy or participation; so he resolved on his side to overturn all that structure, to which they had given him no share, and to raise a treaty and a negociation on his own bottom with Mir-djaaser-qhan, and with the English, by inspiring his master with a mistrust of the former negociation, or at least, by instilling in his mind some doubts tending that way. With this view he pitched upon Shitáb-ráy, who was sent with a message, and with letters full of civility, together with a Qhylaát or dress of honour; and thus both the Navvab and his ministers were now in warm connections and conferences with the two parties. Mir-djaaser, availed himself of Ráo-shitáb-ráy's arrival, to send the sum of a thousand rupees to Abdol-aaly-qhan, my maternal uncle, at Banares; but this remembrance of his was due solely to my uncle's being under a disgrace with Mir-cassim, and to his having been expelled Azimabad, when Ram-naráin, whose friend and servant he had been, was put under confinement. My uncle having crossed over to the English camp, was received by Mir-djaaser-qhan with a deal of kindness; and this sudden flow of good fortune happened at the very time when my illustrious father, finding how matters had turned out, had thought it expedient to pay a visit to the new Navvab of Bengal, and was actually in camp with his two sons: he was, however, received indifferently: the new viceroy, doubtless, having disliked his person on no better reason than that of his having been formerly treated with so much consideration and respect by Mir-cassim.

Whilst the negociation was going on with Mir-cassim, the Emperor and the Vezir were going to Ilah-abad, in order to bring under controul the country of Bundel-cund; and as they had wished
that

that the interview should take place at that city, Mir-cassem marched thither; and, the armies approached so near to each other, as to be divided only by a plain of three coffes. The Vezir, with great pomp and magnificence, set out at the head of ten or twelve thousand horse to visit Mir-cassem; and the latter, on being informed of it, ordered his disciplined sipahis to form a lane of about a quarter of a mile in length, one end of which commenced at the door of his tent walls; and these as well as the tents being hung up with the utmost care and neatness, were filled up with commanders and officers well dressed. On the Vezir's approaching, Mir-cassem went out as far as the inner gate of his tent wall, where these two illustrious personages having saluted each other, according to the rules of Hindostany civility, by an embrace, went together to take their seats on the same mesned. The Vezir, after having made the greatest protestations to his guest, spoke to him with every kindness imaginable; and he invited him to go in his company upon a visit to the Emperor. The offer was accepted: but, on his going to get up, one and twenty elegant tables, or Qhòans⁽¹³⁹⁾ were brought in, covered with a variety of the richest and most curious stuffs: these were followed by large plates and Qhòans containing mounted jewels, with a variety of loose gems, and pearls unstrung: after these, were presented several elephants of the greatest size. This ceremony being over, the Vezir got upon his own elephant; and, on his desiring his guest to be mounted with him, they sat on the same Amharry⁽¹⁴⁰⁾, and went together to the

Mir-cassem,
now in
Shudja-ed-
doḡlah's do-
minions, vi-
sits that
prince.

(139) These Qhòans are trays three feet long, and two broad, elegantly railed in, and ingeniously painted and gilt, as well as covered with a fringed towel of rich embroidery. The etiquette is to bring them close to the receiver, and the steward, or a man of distinction, raising one corner of that covering, gives him just a glimpse of the contents, and no more; the bon ton being only to cast a glance at them, and to continue the conversation.

(140) The Amharry differs from the Hàodah in this, that the former has a canopy, and is calculated for travelling and for state; whereas the latter has no cover, and is for war.

Imperial tents, where, Mir-cassem being introduced, payed his respects to the Emperor: after which, the Vezir went on to his own camp, whilst Mir-cassem returned to his quarters. The next day the latter returned the visit. The Vezir ordered his Mogul cavalry to put on their scarlet coats, and, with their muskets in their hands, to form a lane from the main street of the camp, up to his own tent. Mir-cassem having advanced with a pomp mixed with military array, landed at the outer gate of the Vezir's tent walls. On his getting within, the Vezir advanced to the border of his carpeting, and taking Mir-cassem by the hand, he carried him to his mesned, upon which they took their seats together, whilst the tent and the outer yards were filled with commanders richly attired, and officers well dressed. The Vezir did every thing in his power to administer consolation to his guest: he promised his help and assistance in the strongest terms, and made him hope that one day his three dominions would be recovered from the hands of the strangers. A few days after this visit, Mir cassem made choice of Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, to carry to Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's consort, a set of ladies' jewels*, of a value that could be reckoned only by lacs: to these were added a Rutt, or four-wheel carriage, of the utmost magnificence; it was drawn by two young elephants, covered with trappings of the richest embroidery. By the same nobleman he sent a message to Ab8l-man8r-qhan's consort, mother to Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, which princess he addressed by the appellation of mother, requesting her protection, and expressing a hope in her good will; nor did the message fail to be accompanied by some jewels of high value. These ceremonies being over, politics were brought upon the carpet.

* The expression of lady-jewels and men-jewels, has been literally preserved, to give the reader a glimpse of the Hindostany idiom on that head.

As Shudjah-ed-dö8lah had come so far only with a view to bring under controul some districts of Bundel - cund, and to receive the revenues and balances due on some other territories of Ilahabad, which were detained; the matter seemed likely to be spun to some length, as the Radja of Bundel-cund did not shew any sign of submission: this furnished Mir-cassem with an opportunity of shewing himself to advantage. As he feared nothing so much as a delay, the consequences of which might afford the English time enough to fix themselves firmly in their new conquests, he sent a pressing message to the Vezir on that subject. He was answered, that such an expedition could not be commenced, before the countries about Ilahabad were brought into order. Mir-cassem replied, that if this was all that detained the Vezir, it was needless that he (Mir-cassem) should remain with so much artillery, and so many good troops, uselessly encamped: *Please, said he, to refer that small affair to me, your friend; and I will undertake in a little time to bring it to a conclusion with a deal of ease.* The proposal being accepted, Mir-cassem crossed the Djumna, and getting into the heart of the country, he soon marched beyond Beni-bahadyr, the Vezir's general, who had been loitering his time in that fruitless expedition. As he had a good train of artillery, mounted and served after the European manner; and he commanded a body of picked men, disciplined after the English fashion, and all inured to the service; he soon reduced some forts that had stopped the Vezir's general; and he so intimidated the princes of the country by a warfare and a fight so unusual in the armies of Hindostan, that the principal fortresses of the country opened it's gates and surrendered; and the Radjas, availing themselves of the mediation of Mirza-nedjef-qhan, who was in their service, and had been well used by Mir-cassem, soon came to an agreement, by which they surrendered the districts in question, and submitted to pay the balances demanded: moreover, they gave security for the payment of those sums. Mir-cassem,

Mir-cassem's
successful ex-
pedition in
the Bundel-
cund.

A. D.
1764.

after this successful expedition, that gladdened his heart, and did him a deal of honour, soon rejoined the Vezir's army, and proposed again to march towards the eastern countries. This scheme was agreed to, and the Vezir, with the Emperor and Mir-cassim, marched down the river, and encamped at the city of Banares. It was in the middle of the month of Ramnazain, of the year 1177 of the Hegira, at which period I had been already living there five months in the city, when this arrival put it in my power to enjoy my friends and acquaintances once more: for Mir-cassim was defeated about the end of the second Rebi, or in the beginning of the first Djemadi; and it was the middle of Ramazan when he appeared again at Banares with the Emperor and the Vezir, in full hopes of recovering the sovereignty of his lost dominions. The agreement he concluded was on these terms: "That on the Vezir's
 " crossing the Ganga, and entering the enemy's country, Mir-cassim
 " from that day, and for so long as the expedition might last,
 " would pay him for the expences of his army a subsidy of eleven
 " lacs of rupees per month."

Fortune would have it so, that before this army had moved, it should be joined by an unexpected reinforcement. Mir-djaaser-qhan, on stopping at the Kerem-nassa, and giving over his pursuit, had promised the troops a sum of money, by way of gratuity, as a reward for so laborious a campaign; but as the money was not payed, Mo-shur Medec, a French-man who served in the English army, had come to some altercations with the English commander on that failure; and the matter went so far, that the French-man at the head of above a hundred soldiers of his nation, quitted the camp with arms and baggage, and I believe also, with a field piece, and marched into Radja Balvand-sing's country. A party of English pursued him for some time; but on recollecting the impropriety of lighting up the flames of dissention for so small a subject, and affording a matter of discontent to the Vezir, they returned back; and the French took service with Sudjah-eddö8lah.

Whilst

Whilst these three mighty personages, to wit the Vezir, the Emperor, and Mir-cassem, were encamped at Banarefs, they used to pay their respects together to the venerable Sheh-mahmed-aly-hezin (whom God may place amongst the highest of his elect!) and they were admitted to the honor of waiting upon his Holiness⁽¹⁴¹⁾. And it was several times observed in what fell from the lips of his venerable Majesty, that he objected to their marching against the English, as they were so very inferior to those strangers in the arts of war, in discipline, in knowledge, and especially in union and concert amongst themselves: he also strongly dissuaded me from following the combined army: *These people, said he, are not likely to be successful against those strangers; and I believe that after having only measured the road for some stages forwards, they will in a short time-measure it backwards again.* But this discourse did not make upon me all the impression it deserved; and the desire of rejoining my family, and of revisiting those places and friends to which I had been accustomed from my youth, did not suffer me to avail myself of so salutary a warning, and to enjoy the honour of waiting much longer on his Holiness. The Vezir, a few days after that visit, threw a bridge of boats over the Ganga; and that army, as numerous as the billows of the sea, crossed over, and a little after, was

(141) This anecdote, which is literally translated, shews the high respect paid to learning in India, and to that man in particular. But there is a great deal more than this anecdote: Shudjah-ed-dö8la and Mir-cassem having repeated the visit, as if to take their leave, *were honored with the Qhylaat* of a rich Dopata each; and this was bound round their turbant, not by the holy man himself, but by his steward:—Nor did he stand up for them, whereas both these Princes, as well as the Emperor, had bowed profoundly to him. This man, who had always a large number of servants, and lived well, and made presents to sovereigns at the head of mighty armies, as one who confers marks of honor, was reputed to have a familiar genius that brought him money, or at least to be master of the philosophical stone. He spent a thousand rupees per month; but at his death he was found to be reduced to his last thirty-four mohrs or double guineas, whether his familiar, sensible of his approaching end, had ceased his supply, or his servants had made away with the rest. He was aged eighty-two, and preserved his senses to the very last.—See remark 30, section viii.

put in motion. It was through the Radja Balvand-sing's country. This prince, who was exceedingly shrewd, and withal so wealthy, that his riches were reckoned by corors, bore a great character amongst the Gentoos for prowess; but was so very wary and shy, that no art, and no persuasion, had ever been able to bring him to pay a visit to Ab8l-man8r-qhan, or to his son, Shudjah-ed-dö8lah. At this time however he was persuaded by Beni-bahadyr, and all the commanders of that minister's troops, who pledged themselves for his safety; and he listened to the insinuations of N8r-el-hassen-qhan, the Belgramite, a man of consequence, who although sent to enforce by his presence the balances due by that zemindar, had gained much credit on his mind. Induced by the persuasions of so many persons of character, who pledged themselves for his safety, he now for the first time made his appearance in the camp of a viceroy: but it was in the middle of two or three thousand picked horse, and several thousand men of infantry, all attached to his person; and it was with such a cortége he paid his respects to the Vezir. This addition, great as it was, was hardly perceived in an army, which proved so very numerous, that as far as the eye could extend, it covered the country and plains, like an inundation, and moved like the billows of a sea. But there was so little order and discipline amongst these troops, and so little were the men accustomed to command, that in the very middle of the camp, they fought against each other, killed and murdered each other, plundered each other, and went out a plundering and marauding without the least scruple, or the least controul. No one would inquire into those matters; and those ungovernable men scrupled not to plunder to the right and left with impunity, and even to stripe and kill people of their own army, if they chanced to lag behind their main, or to be found in some lonely spot. They behaved exactly like a troop of highway men. It was not an army, but a whole city in motion; and you could have found in it whatever could be had in former times in Shah-djehan-abad

Shudja-ed-
do8lah at-
tacks the
English with
an army ut-
terly ungo-
vernable.

djehan-abad itself, whilst that city was the capital and the eye of all Hindostan. But if that moving city swarmed with so many senseless men, it had likewise some men of sense; and these never ceased to represent directly, as well as indirectly, “That to wage war with the English, according to the method customary in India, would not answer any good purpose: that whenever those strangers should be left at liberty to range themselves in battle array, according to their own rules, with their field-pieces properly stationed, and their Talingas upon the wings, so few as a thousand of them would always prove an over match for an army of fifty thousand Hindostanies: that since then the Vezir’s mode of warfare was by skirmishes, and his soldiers were inured to that custom, it would be more advantageous to leave the heavy baggage, with the greater part of the troops, in the camp where they were; and with a choice body of picked men, horse and foot, to advance on the enemy, amongst whom divisions had already crept so far, that they thought only of a retreat: that now was the time to fall at once unexpectedly upon them, before they had prepared for their march. If we succeed in breaking their ranks,” said they, “and in disturbing their battle array, victory is our’s, and success has crowned our design: if we are repulsed, we shall have killed some of them at least; and by hanging endlessly on their rear, destroying their carriages, rendering their cannon useless, cutting off their ladders, burning their baggage, ravaging their country, and rendering their subsistence difficult, we shall keep them in perpetual alarms every day without fail; but so however as to encamp every night out of the reach of a surprise: and this mode of war must be kept on, without quitting them for a moment, until they are gone within the walls of Azimabad. If, before they reach that place, we succeed in destroying them by retail, we have carryed our point; else, if we have not, we shall retire towards Saharferam, and pass the rainy season there: and meanwhile,

“ officers

“ officers of understanding and abilities, with several bodies of troops,
 “ may be sent over to the other side of the Ganga, into the district
 “ of Sarun, whose business shall be to take possession of a country
 “ undefended, but where, without offering the least injury to the
 “ meanest husbandman, the revenue and land-tax must be settled
 “ upon so low a footing, as that the contribution may be raised with
 “ the greatest ease, and may still, by it's lenity, contribute to gain
 “ the hearts of the zemindars, and of the inhabitants. By such a
 “ method, contributions might be established in many districts of
 “ Bahar and Bengal, not too far from the army; as whilst those
 “ troops would be employed on the other side of the Ganga, others
 “ might be as usefully employed on this side, up to the environs of
 “ Azimabad: that mean while, parties ought to be kept running
 “ up and down the river, and scouring every part of it, whose busi-
 “ nefs would be to seize or sink every boat going to Azimabad, and
 “ even to put every boatman to the sword; a practice that would
 “ soon put a stop to all importation of grain for the enemy's account.
 “ The English indeed will resist; but being straitened for victuuls
 “ and for every thing else, they will of themselves evacuate Azim-
 “ abad and return to Bengal. After which retreat, it will be time
 “ enough to examine again what line of conduct we are to pursue.”

This advice upon the mode of prosecuting the war was a wise
 one, and the best undoubtedly that could be given; but it made no
 impression on the mind of the Vezir, a man predestinated to a
 reverse of fortune: he was so full of himself, and so proud to have
 fought by the side of the Abdali king, whom he had taken for his
 model, that whenever any one made bold to propose any advice
 upon the mode of carrying on the war, he used to cut him short
 with a *do not trouble yourself about that: you shall fight as I shall bid
 you.* The English, meanwhile, being much diminished in number,
 and much fatigued by so severe a campaign in the very height of the
 rainy season, had commenced flagging: intimidated by Shudja-ed-
 dö8lahs

dö8lah's character for prowess, and impressed with an opinion of the bravery and number of his troops, they did not think themselves a match for them in the field: with this notion they repassed the Sohon, and resolved to retire within the walls of Azimabad. The camp at Bacfar, was therefore raised, and they retreated with precipitation. Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, with the Emperor and Mir-cassem in his company, marched on proudly and triumphantly; and, having advanced by continual marches, he entered the province of Azimabad, where his troops burning and plundering to the distance of five or six cosses in every direction, did not leave a trace of population throughout all that tract of ground. The poor inhabitants, whose hearts had been expanded on hearing of the arrival of an Emperor and a Vezir, no sooner found themselves exposed to every kind of insult and oppression, than they returned their heartiest thanks to the English, and prayed to God for their prosperity and return: for this nation, so far from plundering and sacking, had never offered the least injury to any one individual, throughout all their campaigns in Bengal.

As soon as I saw the Vezir's army arrived at Mecraïn, a considerable town on the banks of the Sohon, I could not help thinking of my family. I had panted this long while for a sight of my mother; and, forgetting at once the sanguinary and undisciplined disposition of these troops, I got into a chopala*, a carriage very well known in India, and set out thoughtlessly for Husséin-abad, which was the capital of the district constituting the hereditary djaghir, or estate of our family. I had with me only two or three servants, and a bullock loaded with some small baggage. We passed the Sohon, and, taking by the way a friend of mine called Mahm8d-qhan, with two or three men more, I went forwards. Being

(*) A chò8pala is to a paleki, what a waggon is to coach.

arrived at Sheh-p8ra, a little town, deserted by its inhabitants on account of the ravages committed by the Vezir's troops, I was surprised to hear the neighing of horses, and then to see a number of armed men; but could not comprehend from whence came those horses, and how any of the inhabitants had dared to stand their ground. With a little reflection I found they must be some freebooters from the army; and, thinking it improper to tarry there, I was pushing onwards. A moment after, I perceived a cloud of dust, from whence rose now and then a number of pikes. I was confounded at the sight: a little after I discovered that the dust was raised by several thousands head of cattle, amidst which could be distinctly seen two or three hundred Mogul and Afghan troopers, of the Vezir's army. Finding myself alone in that lonely plain, with only my friend in his chopala, and a few servants, I concluded myself in imminent danger; and abandoning my bullock with what he had on his back, I resolved to strike to my right, and to take my route beneath the banks of the Sohon, and amongst its sands, where I hoped to march without being discovered. As they were yet far off, and I thought they had not seen me, I explained my mind to my chopala-carriers, or chairmen, who were all of long standing in my service; their head man did not approve of the resolution I took; and he observed, "That they must have discovered us, just as we had seen them; and, that should we quit the high-road at once, they would attribute this retreat to our fears, and would plunder us with the more boldness. We have no other part left then," said the man, "than that of advancing in our way through the very middle of them." This advice appearing a good one, I followed it, and remembered the verses:

"Sometimes it happens that an ignorant boy

"Will lodge an arrow within the very mark."

As we were advancing on both sides, we soon met, and one of the troopers, whom I saw to be a Mogul, lighting up his match, came

came down upon me, and asked who I was, and whither I was going? I answered, *What is that to you? I am going on the Vezir's part, to bring to him Séyd-bedáiet-aaly-qhan-bahadyr, the Affed-djung, a very great man, who lives on his estate at the foot of the mountain of Robotas.* And who is that other man on the chò8palah, replied the Mogul? *He is my friend, said I, and we go on the same errand. My bullock comes behind: pray tell my man to walk faster.* After these few words, I marched on: and, the man finding how unconcernedly I spoke, suspected no artifice and no deception; nor did he offer us any injury. Half a mile farther, I met another such troop; and, these having put only a single question to us, which was answered by my servant, continued their route. A little farther we met a third party, close to a village; and these offered no question at all, but passed on without minding us. We were marching on, but, surrounded on every direction by villages on fire, and the smoke rose up to Heaven. After marching five miles more, we arrived at the village of Mehvan, which was deserted; and there was not a soul to be seen there, but two watchmen, of whom I asked, whether those free-booters had been plundering still farther? No, said the man, they have only plundered and sacked as far as this village; and they have carried away every head of cattle that they could discover. On this answer, I recommended to the men to give notice of this to the other villages, as they would the next day carry their ravages still farther; and, after having reposed for a whole hour there, we marched forward, and at last arrived at Hofféin-abad; from whence, after a short interview with my mother and brother, and my other relations, for two days together, I returned to the army. As this had advanced from Muhib-aaly-poor, my journey, on account of the freebooters that infested the way, was become exceedingly dangerous: nevertheless I arrived safe; but it was to see a strange spectacle. The English were retreating, after having lightened themselves of some heavy baggage,

bus

The English in distress, retreat under the cannon of Azimabad.

and they had marched as far as Arvel; where, not daring to stand their ground against an attack from the Vezir's troops, they had quitted the field, and were marching to Azimabad, after having been at much trouble in keeping at a distance the numerous freebooters of the enemy's army. Being arrived at Azimabad, they placed some of their artillery upon the towers, and taking the rest with them, they went out, and took post towards the buttresses, at the head of the dyke which controuls the water of that lake, by which the greatest part of the city is surrounded in the rainy season, on the southern side. There they threw up an intrenchment, enlarged the dyke, fortified it with towers or buttresses, and placed Mir-djaafer-qhan, with his Indians, behind their own army, adding to them some companies of their own Talingas, as if they had intended them, as well as Mir-djaafer-qhan's troops, for a body of reserve.

Whilst the English were preparing themselves, the Vezir, constrained by the necessity of affording plenty of water to so numerous an army, was obliged, instead of marching to Azimabad by the straight road, to descend along the banks of the Sohon, as far as the town of M8nir-mil, where I had the good luck to join the army. From thence he advanced in a straight line to P8lvary, which is only four coffes from Azimabad; and, although there was plenty of wells by the way, yet so numerous was the army, that he was obliged to order as many more to be dug every where. After staying one day there, the Vezir advanced to attack the English; his army, which was as numerous as the ants and as the locusts, proceeded by the highroad, as far as the reservoir of Meti-p8r, and the village of Lohan, where there is a monument over the tomb of Mir-cassem's father. Radja Beni-bahadyr, with Radja Balvant-sing, took post at the left of the Vezir's: he had in his line three thousand Rohillas, commanded by their countryman, Ynâiet-qhan, son to Hafyz-rahmet the Rohilla, lord of Berheily and Pilibéit; and

and, at the elbow of this, was the Ghossain, or fakir, with five thousand Gentoos, as naked as himself. Behind these, but at some distance, was placed Somro* with five regiments of disciplined Talingas of Mir-cassem's, supported by some pieces of cannon, mounted and served in the English manner. Behind these, and over against the intrenchment defended by Mir-djaaser-qhan, Mir-cassem himself had taken post to the right of Beni-bahadyr's, but in such a manner, as to be out of the reach of the cannon balls. He had about six or seven thousand horse. As to myself, the poor man, as I was now in no man's service, and had followed Mir-cassem's army only for the pleasure of accompanying Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and Mirza-bakyr, and Mirza-abdollah, my friends, I amused myself with galloping up and down, and examining the several stations taken by each body of troops. The Vezir, availing himself of the cover afforded him by several detached buildings in the suburbs, advanced to the very seat of Zahir-hussain-qhan: from whence, coming in the open plain, he went on advancing slowly and boldly, his troops keeping up a continual fire of musquetry and rockets. The English, on their side, were pouring an incessant storm of cannon balls; and, these balls reaching Somro's ranks, which were more advanced by half a coss than those of Mir-cassem's, killed and wounded many of his Talingas; but, as some of these balls by passing over his ranks, fell only in the empty space which remained between Somro, and his master Mir-cassem, a messenger mounted on a dromedary brought to the latter this message from the Vezir: "What for are you lagging behind there,

Engagement
under the
walls of Pat-
na.

(*) His German name was *Somers*: after having parted with Mir-cassem-qhan, for Shuejah-ed-dollah, he quitted the latter, for turning independent. This adventurer at the head of six or seven thousand disciplined sipahees, and a train of sixteen pieces of cannon, was courted by all the powers of Hindostan, who by turns were endeavouring to have him in their service. He died in Nedjef-qhan's army, immensely rich. His wife, called the Begum, was a woman of uncommon genius,

" whilst

“ whilst I am warmly engaged with your enemies? Advance, as I
 “ do, and engage the enemy on your side, as I do on mine. If
 “ you cannot advance, send forward, at least, Somro with his Ta-
 “ lingas and his field pieces: send them to me, that I may oppose
 “ their fire to the English; and, so soon as I see them engaged,
 “ I will wheel round with my cavalry, and take them in flank.”

This direct message was answered by Mir-cassem in an indirect
 vague manner; and he did not move from his post, nor did he
 send any orders to Somro. By this time it was past twelve, and then
 the Ghossain with his naked soldiers advanced to the charge; but
 being received by the English with several discharges of grape, they
 soon fell into the utmost disorder, after losing numbers in slain and
 wounded. I was, as I have said, on horse back between Mir Cassem's
 troops and those of Beni-bahadyr's; and I no sooner saw the naked
 Sanyassees advance to the attack, than I forewarned my friends, that
 if after some discharges of grape, the firing ceased, they might rest
 assured that the English had the worst of it, or possibly were totally
 defeated; but, that if after the discharge of grape and a little pause,
 they heard a firing again, and with cannon ball, then they might
 reckon that the Sanyassees had been certainly beaten. The event
 proved to be precisely as I had foreseen; and, the Sanyasses having
 been very roughly handled by the English, were retreating with
 precipitation. On seeing this, Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's troops rallied;
 and, Ynäiet-qhan in a moment after advanced with his Rohillas and
 some other troops, to the charge. But he was received by the
 English, as they had received the Sanyassees. I waited to hear the
 English cannon, as I had done before, when, instead of that, I
 observed that the tower towards Mehdy-gundj had commenced firing
 incessantly. It was now about three in the afternoon; and, the
 Vezir having rallied his troops again, brought them to a third charge,
 which being well supported by repeated efforts, at last made an im-
 pression on the English: Some disorder and much fluctuation was
 perceived

Shudjah-ed-
 dö8lah's vi-
 gorously re-
 pulsed by the
 English.

perceived amongst them; infomuch, that some of their drummers and fifers, men who play to them in an engagement, were taken prisoners by the enemy. This fluctuation, however, was only for a moment: for soon they recovered their ranks, and continued firm and immoveable, firing with so much briskness, that the Vezir's troops, unaccustomed to so hot a fire, retreated to their first post. All this while Beni-bahadyr and Balvant-sing did not move at all throughout the whole engagement; for the only one from amongst their troops that did any service, was Sheh-din-mahmed, an adopted son of Sheh-mudjahed, an old commander, who had long served under Ser-b8lend-qhan: this officer, putting himself at the head of his corps, advanced briskly to the charge, but was killed on the spot. At this very time, I observed that a westerly wind rising on the backs of the English, commenced blowing full in the face of the Vezir's troops, against whom they were advancing, with their artillery in front. On this appearance, the Vezir sent a dromedary messenger with reproaches to Mir-cassem, for his neglect and backwardness during the whole engagement. The messenger added, that as the day was quite spent, he ought to return to camp, where the Vezir would take measures for renewing the engagement the next day. On this message, Mir-cassem sent word to Somro, who was advanced a little before him, to fall back with his Talingas and cannon; and in the evening he followed himself, and retired towards his quarters. It was now the dusk of the evening, and Shudjah-ed-dö8lah was already retired, and Mir-cassem was also retreating, when a captain with two or three companies, possibly out of particular enmity to his person, detached himself from the English line, and advancing on Mir-cassem's retiring troops, gave them a volley. The laggards no sooner received this fire, than they fled with precipitation, and with all their might: and it was then only that I got some intelligence of Mir-cassem's backwardness, which I could not know sooner, as I had been all this while at a distance

distance from him. It became high time for me to retire likewise; but it was too dark; and there was too much noise, dust, and confusion, for me to know how I could find my way to my quarters: so that I lost my way entirely at last. But, luckily I recovered it again, and found a path to my own tents on making an observation upon the rising of the evening star. At day break there was a report of the Vezir's being mounted again, but it proved groundless. Two days after, another report ran throughout the troops, and it was, that he had got a bubo; but some others better informed, asserted that the Vezir having been wounded in the groin, had got his wound medicamented under the name of a bubo, for fear of discouraging his troops. After his recovering a little, he moved from his post, and going to the southward of the city, he encamped on the river of P8n-p8n, where every day some report spread in camp: one day, that he would attack the enemy by Mir-djaafer-qhan's quarters; another, that he would fall on him by the western side of the city. All this while, he used to get on horse back every morning, with a small number of people about his person, with which he used to take a turn round the city-walls, and round the intrenchment. One day it happened that some English officers with Mir-mehdy-qhan in their company, a commander who had now quitted Mir-cassem's service for their's, were taking a view of the environs of the city, and of the Vezir's encampment; nor had they more than a company of Talingas with them. The Vezir was also upon his survey that very morning, accompanied as usual; and the two parties meeting together, some abusive language was exchanged, and a skirmish took place with sabers, lances, and arrows, on one side, and with musquets and bayonets on the other. In this conflict, Mir-mehdy-qhan having discovered the Vezir, whose person was known to him, pointed him out to the English commander, who to all appearance was Major Carnac himself; and the latter having ordered his people to keep the Vezir occupied and in play, sent into the

the

the city for some more troops: this new detachment was advancing to surround the Vezir's people, when a trooper ran to camp, and gave notice that he was actually surrounded by the English, and going to fall in their hands. This indeed would have been the case, had not the Vezir become sensible of his danger, and thought proper to run for it; he turned about, and fled; and then recovering himself, he retreated at a slow pace, and regained his camp. Mean while the trooper had spread so strange an alarm throughout the whole army, that Mir-cassim taking with him such troops as he found at hand, whether of his own or others, made haste to rescue the Vezir; but he met him on the road: they returned together; and in this manner, a tumult that had risen to a great height, subsided at once. Two or three such skirmishes more happened in the sequel. But, now the rains were setting in; and the Vezir finding no ground dry enough for his encampment round the city, resolved to retire as far as Bacfar. This little town is on the very extremity of the province of Bhar, but upon a high ground on the banks of the Ganga, over against Ghazi-pur, which is in the dependance of Radja Balvent, his own vassal. He intended to quarter and barrack his army there during the rainy season, in which time he would provide for the operations of the next campaign. This design was put in execution immediately; he beat the general, raised the siege, and marched back by the way of Monir.

My father all this while had been in the army, where he had paid his respects to the Emperor and to the Vezir; and as I had myself taken service with the former, on my proving so dissatisfied with Mir Cassim, we both remained at camp for a full fortnight more: the army having tarried so long on the banks of the Sohon, after having forded that river at Calver, the capital of the Bodj-poor country. From thence my father resolved to return to his estate: and as I was myself so disgusted with the endless disorders which reigned in the Vezir's army, that I thought it improper to remain any

longer in it, I resolved to attach myself to the English, for whom I had this long while conceived an affection: I had even some connections with them; especially with Doctor Fullarton, who had so luckily escaped from the sanguinary hands of Mir Cassim's. Some correspondence had also subsisted between him and me; and it was by that means he had informed me that the Emperor inclined to the English party in his heart: he had likewise advised me early to provide for myself and for that prince's reaching the English camp. This intelligence I imparted to my father, and I exhorted him "to
 " take the lead in an affair that would establish our family, and intitle
 " him to the gratitude of that nation. I added, that it was evident that
 " so long as the Vezir continued to command such unruly troops, and
 " to be at variance with his confederates, as well as to turn a deaf ear
 " to every sober advice, he would not be likely to prevail against
 " the English; that matters standing in such a predicament, it
 " would be advantageous to join a nation that seemed to entertain a
 " veneration for the Imperial person, and an inclination for it's in-
 " terests: both which they expressed every where in their correspon-
 " dence with me, in such a manner as rendered it proper and expedient
 " for that prince to write to the ruler of that nation, such a letter as
 " they seemed to wish for." My father having listened to all this, imparted the whole to Munnir-ed-döslah, with whom he waited on the Emperor. This prince, who was sick of his dependence on Shudjah-ed-döslah, as well as tired with his obstinacy and his airs of superiority, was desirous likewise to shake off the yoke that had insensibly slipped upon his neck; and he approved the advice. After which, he wrote to the English commander, a letter in the style his ministers desired: but, when it was brought signed to him, he added these words with his own hand: *Know, that whenever such a letter, and in such a hand, shall come to you, the English commander, by the ministry of the present bearer, (meaning me, the poor man), you are to give an implicit belief to the same; but, if any other handwriting should come to hand by any other person, then you are to think it spurious,*

spurious, or, at least, written with intent to keep some terms with the Vezir, but without the Emperor's real consent. The intent of the addition was to put the English upon their guard against another negociation set on foot by Ráo-shitab-ráy's channel. The Emperor, who knew the latter to be in Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's service, and an intimate friend of Beni-bahadyr's, recommended to me to manage in such a manner, as neither the Vezir nor his agent should know any thing of the contents of his letter.

After receiving these credentials, I set out with my father, who took the road to his estate, whilst I took that to Azimabad. At that time I reckoned upon my enjoying some share in Major Carnac's good opinion, and was much connected with Doctor Fullarton, who loved me, had rendered me many services, and really was an excellent man. But, it was my ill luck that the Doctor, who had hitherto been my mediator, and my channel of conveyance with that commander, was now upon the worst terms with him; and unfortunately I knew nothing of the matter as yet. I therefore sent him intelligence of my coming; and he conveyed it to the general, who sent some of his messengers or harcarahs with a written order to some captains of his, stationed with a party upon the road, to procure me a free passage. Being arrived in town, I went to Doctor Fullarton's, from whom I learned that he was upon ill terms with the general. But, as I had already informed him of the errand upon which I had come, I intreated him to be upon his guard with Sadoram, agent of Shitab-ráy's; and to take care that he should not come to the knowledge of the business which had become my task; for, that such a discovery would prove of great disservice both to the Emperor, and to Munnir-ed-dö8lah, and could do no good to either my father or me. The Doctor answered, that he would serve me with all his might, but that he doubted much whether my business would succeed at this time. Be it as it may, on the second day I was sent for by Major Carnac, upon whom I waited in company with the Doctor. I found the Major sitting

with Mir-djaafer-qhan; and I shewed him the Emperor's letter. The Major kissed it, put it upon his head, and having stepped aside with Mir-djaafer-qhan to hear the contents, he returned; and his answer was, "That at present the Emperor did not dispose of his own actions; he was under another's controul, and intirely dependent on the Vezir's pleasure and will: and that this being the case, the English could not obey his Majesty's commands." This is what he said; but, it becomes highly probable, that after having said so much, he sent for Sadoram, and shewed him the Emperor's letter, of which that agent took a copy, which he sent to Radja Shitab-ráy. The Major, after these words dismissed me, and then sent me a supplique for the emperor; but as I had concluded that all my trouble had answered no purpose, I sent the supplique by one of the Emperor's messengers, and retired to our estate at Husséinabad. There I lived with my father, with whom I found both Mirza-bakyr and Mirza-abdollah, two friends, who had come over to pass the rainy season with him.

It was during my stay at Husséinabad, that I heard of Mir-cassem's having been arrested by Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's order, and confined; so that I shall faithfully relate this event in the same manner as I had heard it related afterwards, by Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, who cut a great figure in that whole transaction. It must be observed, that Mir-cassem, who had promised to pay eleven lacs of rupees per month to the Vezir, and had been hard pressed for payment at the siege of Azimabad, of course wanted to get out of the grasp of a man who gave him no rest and no respite on that subject; and, he once sent the following message to him, after having reflected for a while on some expedient to extricate himself: "I conceive that you ought to send me towards Bengal and Moorshoodabad, to the end, that by establishing contributions, I may distress the collectors set up by the English, and prevent their fixing their government in these countries: an operation, which may be thoroughly

“ performed with ease, as their force is now very small, and they
 “ cannot afford to defend all their possessions; and, as I am
 “ thoroughly acquainted with those parts, and am remembered still
 “ there as one that has commanded, I have, to all appearance, a
 “ better chance for performing this service than any one of your
 “ dependants.” This message was sent by the channel of Aali-
 hibrahim-qhan. The Vezir heard the whole of it, and, *What!*
 broke he forth, *if Aaly-djah⁽¹⁴⁾ should not come back again? What*
is to be done? Aaly-hibrahim-qhan answered, “ That such a con-
 “ jecture could not but be groundless, as Aaly-djah had no other
 “ place of shelter, and no other resource than the gate of the Vezir-
 “ rial palace.” This answer did not pacify the Vezir: he spoke
 like one that had conceptions and suspicions of a high nature, al-
 though quite foreign to the subject; but at last he added, *That if*
he chose to be surety for him, and to remain as an hostage, he had no
objection to the scheme. Aaly-hibrahim-qhan replied, “ that he had no
 “ objections to his remaining as hostage, but not for the payment of
 “ the promised money: that, as to the last article, whenever Aaly-
 “ djah should establish contributions all over the country, he, Aaly-
 “ hibrahim-qhan, would not fail to press him for the payment of
 “ the money; nor would he prove dilatory in sending to the Vezir-
 “ rial treasury, whatever would be transmitted from thence.” *Not*
so, Sir,—not in this manner, interrupted the Vezir. “ Then,” re-
 plied the Qhan, “ it shall be as your Highness shall please: but,
 “ if that chance to be the case, people will naturally ascribe to
 “ your Highness whatever good or whatever ill may result from
 “ this affair; nor will they fail to charge on your ministry, and
 “ not on Aaly-djah, every disgrace, if any, that may chance to
 “ happen. That prince has done every thing in his power to get
 “ to the gate of your palace, which he thought would afford him

(14) Aaly-djah, signifies the high-seated; the man of high station and dignity: it was
 Mir-cassem's principal title.

“ an afylum againſt his enemies, and a comfortable retreat, after all
 “ his toils. The queſtion is now, how to contrive ſome expedient
 “ that may conſerve unſullied, both the honour of command, and
 “ the luſtre of dominion, and may again bring the water to it's
 “ bed.” This diſcourſe ſeemed to make an impreſſion on the Vezir,
 (which he endeavoured to ſmother, although he was not endowed
 with much power of diſſimulation;) and he answered, *That he would*
appoint ſome other perſon for that buſineſs. The Qhan replied,
 “ That he wiſhed for nothing more than for what might prove
 “ fitteſt for attaining the intended purpoſes, and would beſt conduce
 “ to his Highneſs's welfare.” One would think that the propoſed
 ſcheme was of importance enough to engroſs the attention of a
 man who was marching to the conqueſt of Bengal; nevertheless it
 was ſoon forgotten by a prince immerſed in his pleaſures: and the
 Qhan returned to Mir-caſſem, to whom he made a faithful report of
 the whole converſation.

Whiſt this forlorn prince was labouring to extricate himſelf from
 the difficulties of his ſituation, his ſteward, Mir-ſulèiman, had al-
 ready parted his concerns from thoſe of his maſter's: for he had by
 this time made matters eaſy to himſelf, by coming to an underſtand-
 ing with Mirza-behlſ, the Vezir's ancient tutor, and with Beni-
 bahadyr, his miniſter, as well as with the principal perſons of that
 faithleſs court: and mean while, by changing his garment, and put-
 ting on a fakir's garb, he had contrived to get himſelf out of his
 maſter's way, and to ſecure a retreat. Mir-caſſem hearing of that
 retreat, went to ſee him, and he engaged him to retake his apparel,
 and to do duty as uſual. But as the poet has it:

“ How long to ward off a diſcontent that conſtantly furniſhes a
 “ real ſubject?”

Moſt of thoſe ſubjects of diſcontent aroſe from the ſteward's ap-
 pearing to be in ſo cloſe a connection with his maſter's adverſaries;
 and, as the latter in converſing with his friends, uſed often to com-
 plain

plain of his infidelities, and to say openly : *I have seen to day on Beni-bahadyr's turband a serptich⁽¹⁾, which I remember to have recommended to my steward's care.*----- I saw yesterday, on such a one's finger, a valuable ring which I had worn my self, and which was entrusted to Mir-suléiman's care: Such and the like discourses being regularly reported to the man, rendered him fearful of the consequences that might ensue from an inquiry into his endless infidelities: he therefore quitted his master's quarters, and going into Sudjah-ed-dö8lah's camp, he took up his abode in Mirza-behl8's quarters, and in those of Aaly-beg-qhan, who was a principal general of the Vezir's. Six days after this retreat of the steward's, a high-worded message came from the Vezir, on account of the monthly payment due by Mir-cassém. The latter excused himself on his impotence; but, having at the same time added some complaints against the Vezir, he widened the breach, which was already gaping open: not but some of his friends, and especially Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, had more than once objected to his uttering complaints in that strain. But they were faithfully reported to the Vezir, by the means of Mir-abb8, and some others, who being yet in the number of Mir-cassém's friends and favourites, thought of preparing for themselves a place for shelter amongst the grandees of the Vezir's court, although they often joined themselves in those complaints, and seemed to encourage them. These complaints, now afforded the Vezir a pretence for breaking with Mir-cassém: his intention having all along been to get rid of the promises he had made that fugitive, and to set aside the safe conduct he had given him. Matters at last came to an open rupture: he sent Mir-

(145) A serptich is a piece of jewel-work, composed of three oval or circular pieces, worne flat upon the forepart of the turband, but so as that the drop which hangs from the middlemost and largest piece, may play upon the forehead. The *calghi* is an Indian wig, worne a little inclined in the middle of the turband, on the forehead. But the *dy*, which is of Persian origin, is always worne sideways, vertically. Look at the remarks 147, section III. and 267, section IV.

casslem word, *That the Emperor required of him the balances due to his treasury upon the revenue of Bengal; and talked of sending enforcers of payment: and, that it was therefore incumbent upon him to devise some means for giving him satisfaction as quickly as possible.* Mir-casslem, on hearing a message so abrupt, sent Aali-hibrahim-qhan to make some representations to the Vezir; and the envoy, after having presented Mir-casslem's respects, added in his name, "That his master, when he had risked every thing, and given up every thing, to open a passage to the gates of the Vezirial palace, had looked upon that measure as the likeliest to put an end to all his toils, and to procure him some ease for the future: in which view he had not been sparing of whatever fortune had still left in his power; but that now his means were exhausted: nevertheless, that if his Majesty was pleased to form pretensions upon him, it would be easy to clear them at once, by ordering Beni-bahadyr to examine the accounts; when, if any balance should appear as due, Aaly-djah would do the impossible to come up with it; but, that if the pretension should prove to be groundless, then his master would hope every thing from the interference and protection of his Highness." This message, although delivered with that respectful politeness, and that soothing tone of voice, which were so natural to Aali-hibrahim-qhan, seemed to raise the Vezir's irascibility of temper. *What business have I with all that?* screamed he. *It is an affair between the Emperor and him. And who is Beni-bahadyr to interfere in it? As to my own part, I inform you that tomorrow I go a hunting, But the Emperor is the master: doubtless he will do what he shall think proper.* Aaly-hibrahim-qhan concluding, from these words, that there remained no hopes from that quarter made his report to his master accordingly; and the latter, who upon any alarm or difficulty, used always to consult that nobleman, now asked him his advice. The other answered in these words: "If there be money in your treasury, there is no doubt but that
 — satisfaction

“ satisfaction must be given to the Vezir; but if there be none, I see
 “ no other part for you, than that of quitting your tents, and sitting
 “ without, after having sent a message to the Vezir to inform him,
 “ that you had come to his dominions for an asylum and for protec-
 “ tion, and still looked up to him for protection and favour; and
 “ that at present your person, consort, family, and property, with your
 “ remaining effects were entirely at his disposal: all which his
 “ highness might use, as he in his wisdom and goodness might think
 “ proper.”

This was Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's advice; but some thoughtless people that surrounded Mir-cassem, made additions to it: and the latter listening to their suggestions, thought proper on the morning of the eighth of Zilhidj in the year 1177 to quit his tent at day-break, and to take his seat on a common mat, spread on the outside of it. He had quitted not only his Mesned;⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ but also his apparel, and he had on now only a shirt, and a fakir's cap⁽¹⁴⁷⁾, without either a turbant, or any thing else. A number of his friends and acquaintances, without attending to time or place, had quitted their own apparel likewise, and to the number of twenty, had put on a few coloured clothes, like so many fakirs; and in that condition they became a spectacle to the whole army. Intelligence of this change being carried to the Vezir, he was alarmed; and he concluded that Mir-cassem's turning fakyr in his own camp, and on the day of the sacrifice, would greatly⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ redound to his disgrace, and would mar

Mir-cassem
in despair,
turns fakir.

(146) A Mesned implies a throne; and is a piece of furniture never used, but by sovereigns, or by people in high commands; and lastly by bridegrooms, a maidenhead being then deemed, and also stiled, a kingdom.—Look at the remark 273, section 4th.

(147) A fakir's cap in general is like a sugar-loaf, very pointed; at other times, it is conical. A fakir's dress is a fantastical one, of a particular cut, if any at all, but by all means a brick-coloured one; or else, it consists of a kind of short cloak, made up of an infinity of stuffs of various sizes, colours, and shapes.

(148) The day of the sacrifice is always a day of rejoicings and of visits; but by all means a day of new clothes, and a day of reconciliation, of pardon, concessions, and forgiveness. Nor is the sacrifice acceptable to God Almighty, or it's merits attributed, if there should remain a single one unsatisfied.

the purpose for which he destined that fugitive. Directly he sent his General Aaly-beg-qhan to administer some consolation to him, with many excuses for his yesterday's message, and to endeavour to pacify and quiet his mind: this apology was sent both in the Vezir's name, and in that of his mother, who went by the title of the *Navvab-Begum**. Aaly-beg-qhan who was a well spoken eloquent man, although one that spoke boldly and without scruple, commenced by blaming his master highly, and by casting high reflections upon him; after such a preamble he apologised in his and in the Princess's name for the impropriety of the last message, and worked so powerfully on his mind by the sweet persuasion which flowed from his lips, that Mir-cassem altered his notions; but as he had not much of that readiness of delivery, and that elegance of speech, so remarkable in Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, he sent for that nobleman immediately. The latter had never approved a change of dress; but yet had thought it incumbent upon him to alter his own likewise, both to avoid any reproach from Mir-cassem's friends, and to parry the invidiousness of a comparison of dress, should he appear in his usual apparel. Little inclined, however, to go all the lengths of a fakir's garb, he contented himself with putting on a simple shirt; and taking down his usual turbant, he put on a pointed cap, round which he carelessly rolled up a coarse linen; and in this garb he followed the messenger. But on finding Mir-cassem exactly in the garb in which he had been reported to be, he took his seat, hung down his head, and remained silent, without uttering a single word. After some moments of silence, Mir-cassem himself opened the matter by these words: *My lord Qhan, the Navvab-vezir wants you: you must go.* At these words, Aaly-hibrahim got up, and was going to follow the General. *And pray,* broke forth the latter, *do you intend to go to court in that garb? to the Vezir of Hindostan?* "I will by all means," answered the other; "and if my master's affairs are come to this, that

* The actual Princess, the reigning Princess, and also the Princess Navvab.

“ such a garb should besit him, how can I object to it for my own
 “ self? The sight of Aali-hibrahim in that garb, affected the Vezir;
 he spoke to him with the utmost kindness, asked the reason of Aaly-
 djah’s having altered his dress, and apologised for the abruptness of
 his message. “ *The Emperor*, said he, *had mentioned something to*
 “ *me: I repeated it to Aaly-djah: the message required an answer,*
 “ *and not a change of dress; which by its cap and shirt should re-*
 “ *dound to my dishonour, and render me odious through all the*
 “ *world.* The other with a downcast look, and an air of dejection,
 “ answered that Aaly-djah having always looked up to the Vezir’s
 “ palace, as to his place of shelter and consolation; and his highness
 “ having shewn a disregard to his concerns in not protecting him a-
 “ gainst the Imperial message; that prince had naturally concluded
 “ that he had nothing further to hope from his highness, and had there-
 “ fore quitted the world, like a man without resource.” At these
 words, the Vezir without making any answer, beckoned to Beni-
 bahadyr, and bid him talk with Aaly-hibrahim-qhan. On this com-
 mand, the two ministers retired to a corner, but in the Vezir’s pre-
 sence, and commenced conferring together. On Beni Bahadyr’s en-
 deavouring to fix some balances on Mir-cassem, Aaly-hibrahim-qhan,
 with the greatest sweetness of temper, and the most elegant flow of
 language, repelled every one of his shafts, and shewed irrefragably
 that no balances could be due by his master. The conference took
 up a whole hour, when the Vezir interrupted, and asked whether
 nothing was determined yet? No, answered Beni-bahadyr, for the dis-
 pute is managed by two able antagonists. Upon this the Vezir rose,
 and going into a qhafs-tent (123) that had been prepared to shelter him

T t 2 from

(123) A qhafs-tent is an apartment made up like a tent indeed, but with the roof and walls
 entirely of mats, one inch thick, and entirely of qhafs, a kind of reedy grass, that strikes deep
 into the ground, and which, whether dry or besprinkled with water, never fails to emit an
 agreeable smell. The hottest wind by passing through the interstices of the contexture of the
 mats, assumes all the coolness of a zephyr, at the very time, when at ten yards from thence,
 that

from the heat of the weather, he beckoned to Aaly-hibrahim Qhan, and repeated the same arguments that had been brought forward by Beni-Bahadyr; and Aaly-hibrahim-qhan returned the same answers: the Vezir paused, and added that the method made use of by Aaly-djah would greatly redound to his (the Vezir's) disgrace, and to his bad renown. *It is not his fault: answered Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, having despaired of all protection, he has quitted the world, and has acted in a manner suitable to his circumstances, in a manner worthy of himself; let your highness on your side act in a manner worthy of your own self.* "I understand; said "the Vezir: do you go directly; and I follow." Aaly-hibrahim-qhan was making his report to Mir-cassem, when the Vezir himself appeared: he humbled himself, made many apologies, excused the past, and requested his laying down his fakir's garb, and his re-assuming his usual dress, immediately. Mir-cassem having answered that such a request proved a matter of pride to him, directly complied with the Vezir's pleasure; and one would have thought that all this disagreeable affair had been put an end to, and quashed for ever.

However two or three days after this, the ungrateful Sumro surrounded Mir-cassem's quarters with his Talingas, and asked the arrears of his pay. As there was no money in the treasury, there came some gold coin out of the sanctuary; and he took it in pay. After he was gone, Mir-cassem sent him word, that as in his present circumstances, he could not afford to keep so many men in pay, he ought therefore to return into the steward's office the artillery, field pieces, implements, and such flint locks as belonged to it; his intention being to keep only two regiments of Talingas. The ungrateful Sumro, who had already taken service with the Vezir, had the front to answer, "that now both the cannon and muskets, with every thing else, belonged to him who had them in his power." After this answer he

that very wind seems to blow out of the mouth of an oven, and kills abundance of people. These tents, whether in town or in the field, are used only in what is called the hot months in India, that, is in April, May, and June; for by the end of the latter month, the rains fall in abundance, and effectually cool the air. See No. C. section 15th,

quitted

quitted his post, and went to encamp amongst the Vezir's troops. Hardly was this affair over, when Mosher-Gjartil (Mons. Gentil,) came to Aali-hibrahim-qhan in the dark of the night, and gave him the following piece of advice. This Frenchman, who had once been dismissed from Mir-cassim-qhan's service, was this long while attached to the Vezir, but still professing a sincere regard for Aali-hibrahim-qhan, "To-morrow, said he, the Vezir's troops shall come down
" to seize and arrest Mir-cassim; and a great tumult will doubtless
" ensue: God only knows what will happen to you: take then
" these six Frenchmen, and let them remain with you; and rest
" assured that so long as they are alive, no Indian will touch you." Aali-hibrahim-qhan returned him thanks for his exemplary attachment and goodness; but excused himself from accepting the proffered assistance, as it would be ungenerous in him to remain secure under the protection of his friends, whilst his master might be exposed to imminent danger. The next morning at about nine o'clock, a number of troopers mounted in the Vezir's camp, and advanced towards Mir-cassim's quarters. On their setting out, Mosheer Gentil came again, after having detached himself from his battalion of Talingas: he was bringing a number of his men; and he repeated the same intreaties as the night before; and Aali-hibrahim-qhan repeated the same excuses. The Frenchman melted into tears, and returned to the head of his corps. That moment the Vezir's troops arrived, and after having surrounded Mir-cassim's tents, they placed a strong guard over the apartment of the women, and another at each of the several offices. Their commander went to Mir-cassim's tent, made him mount upon an Elephant sent for the purpose, took his seat behind in the Háodah, and having commanded his cavalry to surround him, he carried his prisoner to the Vezir's encampment, where he kept him in confinement in the place appointed for that purpose. In the evening some troopers were descried coming at full gallop towards Aali-hibrahim-qhan's quarters; who being informed of it, concluded
that

that they came for him; and he exhorted those that were then about his tent, to provide for their own safety, and to leave him to his own fate: he was then sick and upon his bed. On these words, all those present thought proper to disappear, except Mir-shetari, and Ghalub-qhan, and Vahed-aaly-qhan (this last was his brother) who resolved to share his fate. The horsemen being now arrived, alighted at once, and making their horses fast, they surrounded the tent as a guard over him, and took possession of all his effects. A couple of hours before this event, one Burhan, an Afghan officer, a man, who for an Afghan, seemed to have some sense and some knowledge, came into the tent; and this man who was so far indebted to the Qhan for his fortune as to be perpetually ringing lectures to his other friends upon gratitude, now made his appearance; and under pretence of being more zealous and grateful than any of them, he told him in great secrecy, that if he had any thing to conceal, he must do it immediately in his hands, as he was going to be seized instantly. The Qhan without any emotion, answered that he had nothing of value in his possession, but two Elephants and some Camels; and that he might take them, and keep them in the best manner he could devise. That worthy man who had always pretended himself one of the most grateful and most pious men in the world, took the elephants and camels, and went away with them, and this too in so secret a place, as to disappoint every search and every inquiry made for him subsequently. Whilst Aali-hibrahim-qhan was admiring the ways of Providence in Mir-cassem's case; and how the friends of that unfortunate prince had all disappeared, after having made each of them their nest in the bosom of some of the grandees of the Vezir's court; he was informed that the Moonshy-hafyz-esrar-qhan, who was Mir cassem's favorite secretary, ⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ had been violently seized, with some other heads of office, and put under confinement. In this extremity,

(149) He was a man of genius, and a great friend of Mir-cassem's: those words after all must be only a title; for they signify the Lord rememberer, or keeper of secrets.

some one present advised Aali-hibrahim-qhan to write a supplique to the Vezir: and he accordingly wrote a short note. The Vezir was already retired within the sanctuary; but such was the ascendant which that worthy man had gained even there by the sweetness of his temper and the uprightness of his behaviour, (a character of his that had come to be known even there, whilst he was carrying presents and messages from Mir-cassem to the Princess-confort, and to the Princess-mother:) such was the regard payed him by the women, the only guards of the gate; that on hearing of his being sick and in confinement, they against the usual rules, carried his note within, and put it in the Vezir's hands. Immediately an Eunuch of the presence came out, and went to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's quarters, to inform him under an order of the Vezir's signing, "that there was no intention at all to do him any harm; that prince only intending to put some questions to him, and to hear his answers." He at the same time commanded the troopers to watch only at a distance, and to take care how they presumed to offer any insult, or to be guilty of any want of respect. The next morning some troopers of Shudjah-cooly-qhan's regiment, (an officer who bore a good character, and went by the name of Mia-yssa ⁽¹⁵⁰⁾) came down and informed Aaly-hibrahim-qhan that the Vezir wanted to speak to him. Aaly-hibrahim-qhan put on a plain shirt, and a turband slightly rolled ⁽¹⁵¹⁾ and getting into his paleky, he went to court. But the troopers being themselves of the scum of the people, and commanded by men like themselves, carried him first towards Mir-cassem's quarters, and then to some other

(150) Mia-yssa, or Mr. Christ, would be the right translate of that name

(151) Over and above certain nationalities easily distinguishable in the several dominions of India, for instance amongst the Marhattas, Sycks, Bengalees, Rohilahs, and Moghuls, all which have a peculiar manner that differs greatly from that of others, it may be said that there are in India as many ways of rolling up a turband as there are men, although in general the style is so very gracious, that no coiffure in the world can be compared to it for accompanying elegantly a face; and a turband worn by a pretty woman is really distressing, and operates like downright magick: by which word is meant a real Indian turband, and not that clumsy, awkward invention so called in Europe.

places, and repeated the same trip three several times. The Qhan tired of so much travelling, sent one of his servants to Mia-yssa, to complain of such usage, and to inform him that he was going to court by order, but could not comprehend what the troopers might get by carrying him about from place to place, as he was ready to go, and take some rest in any place he would be carried to. This representation had it's effect: and Mia-yssa sent a person to reprimand the troopers, with orders to bring the Qhan to him, and to treat him with respect. The person after reprimanding and abusing the troopers, brought Aaly-hibrahim Qhan to the Vezir's hall of audience, where Beni-Bahadyr and Shudjah-cooly-qhan were sitting in a circle, with Moosher Dgentil, and the supervisor Yac8b Qhan. Moosher Dgentil, on descrying Aaly-hibrahim Qhan, got up to do him honor; and the others, ashamed to be outdone by a foreigner, got up likewise and made the Qhan sit honourably amongst themselves. It was in the apartment that served for school to Mirza Amani⁽¹⁵²⁾ eldest son to the Vizier. All those present endeavoured to administer some comfort: they took a concern in his illness, dispatched a man to the physician Doctor Mahmed-aaly-qhan, and were talking of putting him directly under a course of medicines. The Qhan excused himself from taking any, as the day was already so much spent; but a moment after, they carried him to the Vezir's presence. The secretary Hafyz Efrar-qhan, was already standing there, together with the Eunuch Sohaily-aaly-qhan, superintendent of Mir-cassem's Elephant office, with some other dependants of that prisoner's. The Qhan presented a Nezer of one Eshreffy⁽¹⁵³⁾ and some rupees to the Vezir; and then took his seat, before being bid: upon which Beni-bahadyr and those that accompanied him, took their seats likewise. The Vezir, who

(152) Now Affef-ed-dò8la, the reigning prince at Lucknow.

(153) An eshreffy is a double guinea and a quarter.

that day wore a Persian dress, (153) and had in his hand a battle axe of exquisite workmanship, fixing his eyes upon the Qhan, said, “ My Lord Qhan, what wrong had I done to your master, when on the engagement at Patna, he gave orders to fire upon me, should I come that way, after beating the English: (154) such an accusation would not but confound the Qhan: he answered, that he had never heard of any such thing; and woe to him! added he, who, after having come so far for protection to the Vézir, should have had the ingratitude to give such an order, against a Prince who had received him with so much kindness, and was actually exposing his life for his sake against such enemies as the English,” such an implied denial, displeased the Vézir: *what*, said that Prince, *do you believe then, that I can tell you lies? I will send for Somro, and bring him face to face with Aaly-djah in your presence, if you chuse it.* “ I have not accused your highness of an imposition, replied the Qhan, but only professed my own ignorance of such a fact: and as to bringing Somro face to face with Aaly-djah, matters are now come to such a low ebb, that even a menial servant of his may be confronted with him; whereas Somro is a man in office, and one constituted in dignity.” The Vézir affected by this indirect reproach, paused a while, changed the discourse, and did every thing in his power to sooth the Qhan’s mind, and to gain his affection,

(153) Saadet-qhan and Abol-mansor-qhan, the maternal and paternal ancestors of Shudjah-ed-dó8la, constantly wore the Indian dress, although Persians born themselves. But Shudjah-ed-dó8la having passed a whole year in the camp and court of the Abdali king, whether out of compliment to him, or otherwise, took a liking to the Persian dress, which is become in winter the court-dress at Dehli and Lucknow; for it is the court of Herat and Candahar, that gives now the ton to those two Indian capitals.

(154) Mir-cassem was far then from having Shudjah-ed-dó8la in his power; but he had had him before, and it would have been very easy then to have struck a mighty blow. Mir-cassem being then encamped about Banares, Shudjah-ed-dó8la, who had fatigued himself with hunting, plunged into the Ganges to bathe, and in the same breath, took into his head to pay him a visit. With a dozen of attendants, he got into a boat and crossed over. This was a critical moment; it was remarked by many of Mir-cassem’s servants, who pointed to the opportunity of making away with that Prince instantly, after which his army destitute of a leader, would soon be brought over. I am not a *m8xi*, a *perfid*, an *injurer*, answered Mir-cassem, *let him come alone, if he will; he will be no less safe from all double dealings.* All these particulars I know, not only from several of Shudjah-ed-dó8lah’s servants, but from those of Mir-cassem’s also, and from two of the proposers, whom I spoke to the very year after the battle of Bacfar, when I went to Ilahabad, &c. &c.

whilst he at the same time went on with blaming Mir-cassim; *you are a good man*, added the Vézir, *but he did not like you; probably, because, when he spoke ill of me in your presence, you objected to his holding such a language.* Your objections, however, he did not mind; and indeed I cannot understand, how with such a friend as you at his elbow, he did not like you. “I know nothing of the matter, neither, replied the Qhan, although I was endeavouring to serve him well; nor am I conscious of having done wrong at any time, or of having given him a wrong advice; unless indeed it should be after the capture of Azimabad by the English, when most of his friends proposing his going into Decan, and his exciting the Marhattas, to his support, I strongly objected to that scheme, and proposed by all means his seeking an asylum in the Vezir’s dominions, as I knew no place of more honor and safety for him than the gate of the Vezirial palace.” The Vézir on hearing these words seemed confounded; he fetched a sigh, dropped a tear, and did not dare to utter a word. After a pause, he expressed again a concern for his case; and he was going on, but unable to conceal any further his confusion, he got up and went to the women’s apartment; when his favorites having out-marched him, ranged themselves on both sides of the gate, and made their bow. The Vézir having made a sign towards the Qhan, went into his sanctuary. On this Mia-yssa and the others carried that nobleman into the *Mekteb-ghana* or, Mirza-amani’s school. “And told him that his highness had from that moment taken him into his service, as a proof of which, orders had been dispatched for bringing back his effects, all which, horses and furniture had been recovered; that as a further token of his goodness, he had ordered a tent to be pitched for him, at the very door of his own tent of audience; but that his Highness in his turn expected a full confession as to the persons to whom Mir-cassim had entrusted his money: that the bankers to whom he had entrusted his jewels at Banars, had been found out, but that nothing had transpired about those that had received his money in their custody; that it was therefore expected, that he, who had been al-

“ ways

Singular discourse between Ali Abrahim Qhan and Shuja-ed-dóla.

“ ways admitted to all his secrets, would be so obliging as to point
 “ those persons out; the more so as himself had been entrusted with
 “ forty thousand eshreffies; and that if the assertion should prove to
 “ be true, he (Aaly-hibrahim-qhan,) was too honest a man to deny
 “ the deposit; and if that sum had been entrusted to another, he
 “ might easily point him out, and by such a confidence entitle him-
 “ self to the Vézir's utmost regard and favour.” So strange a de-
 claration, was answered by Aaly-hibrahim-qhan in these words :
 “ To this day no one ever put such questions to me, or even hinted
 “ any thing of the matter; now that his Highness requests infor-
 “ mation, I will give him such a one, as I can afford. Nann8, the
 “ spy, for instance, a great friend of Somro's, and one who has
 “ ruined so many families, knows much of these matters undoubt-
 “ edly, and must be informed of the person to whom these forty
 “ thousand eshreffies were entrusted.” Nnan8 being sent for, was
 confronted with the Qhan; but before he could come up, one of the
 interlocutors present, got up, and going to the gate, sent word to the
 Vézir, that it was probable that much money was going to be dis-
 covered. The others mean while were pressing the Qhan, with
 their questions. That Nobleman without being ruffled by their
 ostentatiousness, was answering with calmness “ that every thing,
 “ from the cold water office to the office of jewels, had been en-
 “ trusted to Somro and to the Talingas under his command, toge-
 “ ther with a hundred thousand eshreffies; and all this doubtless
 “ must have been delivered to the Vézir's people, or it must have
 “ not.” At these words all the eyes were turned towards Nann8,
 then standing; but on Nann8's denying the fact, and objecting,
 that the whole was groundless, all eyes again were turned towards the
 Qhan. The latter replied, “ If you deny any credit to him whom
 “ you pretend to have been a man of so much consequence, as to
 “ have had no secret hidden from him, pray how can you give any
 “ confidence to, I know not what light-headed people, whom
 “ you acknowledge yourselves as too low, to have had any know-
 “ ledge of secret transactions? And how can you suppose that
 “ such people are capable of sticking to truth?” Béni Bahadyr, struck

with this reply, got up, and going to the gate of the sanctuary, he transmitted it to the Vézir, without alteration or addition; the Vézir returned this answer: *there is no disputing with a man armed cap-a-pie: the match is unequal; nor is there arguing with one who has convicted the master of hardness of heart and perfidy, and the minister, of inattention and ignorance: it is a fruitless task, and quite disgraceful. Do then dismiss him with much civility; and let that matter alone.*—The conference being ended, the Qhan turned towards Mia-yffa, and represented, that to keep ten or twelve unfortunate people of broken wings and ruined fortunes confined at the entrance of a hall of audience, could not much conduce to quiet their minds. “If your intention be really to oblige your friend,” added he, let me be conducted to your own quarters.” The officer, without saying a word, went straight to the gate, and sent in a request to have the Qhan in his quarters, and in his custody; and the request being granted instantly, Mya-yffa carried the Qhan to his quarters, and for a month and a half together, (for he was slain soon after) he never abated any thing from the civilities and attentions which he had shewn to his prisoner on the very first day. He did every thing in his power to alleviate his case, and to quiet his mind. As to Mir-cassem, the whole of his property having been traced by the means of the severities exercised upon his women, upon his eunuchs, and upon his other dependants, the whole was confiscated; and nothing remained to him, but a few jewels of high value, which he had some time before this event, sent to Negib-ed-8lah’s country, under the care of a trusty servant of his, whose name deserves to be recorded. It was Sheh-mahmed-ashec; and it was the sale of these that supported the forlorn Prince in his days of distress. There may have been some other small matters besides, which his women by the means of the old ones, their attendants, may have found means to conceal; and that is probable enough, although the enquiry had been so rigorous; but no detail on that subject is come to our knowledge, nor can it be traced at this distance of time with any certitude.

Whilst

Whilst Mir-cassim was consuming his days in the dungeon of a reverse of fortune, his unworthy steward Mir-suléiman was coming out from the corner of infamy, with Solomon's ring at his finger (156); and not content with becoming a favorite of the Vézir's, he turned out informer, and gave his new master advice: "that
 " Yaacob-qhan, the commandant of the troops in the fortress of
 " Rohotas, as well as Saho-mull the governor of it, were both de-
 " pendent on him, as men that owed their fortunes to him; he ad-
 " ded that the seraglio and wealth and effects lodged there, were
 " thoroughly known to him (Suléiman) as having been lodged there
 " by himself; and that if the Vézir were pleased to issue some or-
 " ders, he had a scheme ready by which that fortress with all its
 " dependencies and contents might be brought under his power, and
 " be annexed to his dominions." As the Vézir himself had a turn of mind for such adventurous expeditions, he very much cherished Mir-suléiman on his project, and gave him such letters as he desired; some to Rahim-qhan, governor of Saharferam, on the Vezir's part; and some to the principal persons of that district, besides those to Yaacob-qhan himself, and to Sahomul, who commanded in Rohotas.

Mir-Suléiman, trusting to the former connections which he had with the governor and commandant, and to the important services which he had rendered them (ties which after all are never minded by the man of the world, but at the moment of need), arrived at Rohotas, with all his letters. Just at this very time it happened that Major Monro, a King's servant, who had been appointed by the Council of Calcutta to the command in chief of the English forces, was just landed at Azimabad, from whence he had wrote me by the channel of Doctor Fullarton, "that if I could contrive to put the
 " fortress of Rohotas in the hands of the English, I would entitle my-
 " self to their friendship and gratitude." Upon this intimation I applied to Radja Sahomul, a man who had the greatest obligations to our family, (our Djaghiry estate forming the territory of that fortress) and I informed him, "that it was not in the nature of

(156) This ring, amongst an infinity of properties, had that of turning the wearers into any shape they chose to assume; it could also render them invisible,

“ things that the English should not prevail, shortly, and shortly
 “ should not overthrow and ruin the Vezir, and his confederates;
 “ that it was incumbent upon him therefore to examine the respec-
 “ tive circumstances of both parties, and to take his resolution
 “ betimes; but in such a manner, by all means as not to deliver the
 “ fortress to his master’s enemies, and still less to a traitor, who
 “ had trampled on every thing sacred amongst mankind.” Sahomul,
 who was a shrewd man, having examined my proposals, together
 with those of Mir-fuléiman’s, soon took his resolution; and he desired
 me to manage in such a manner, as that an officer with some Eng-
 lish troops might be sent to those parts; and whilst he kept Mir-
 fuléiman in suspense, he put in my hands a paper, containing his
 requests, and the conditions on which he was willing to surrender the
 fortress; desiring me to return it, signed and approved by the Eng-
 lish Commander. This paper having been transmitted to Doctor
 Fullarton, the major returned it, signed and approved; and I put it
 in the hands of Sahomul; who, on Captain Goddard’s approaching
 from Ticary with a force, surrendered the fortress, with all its con-
 tents. Mir-fuléiman, informed that an English battalion of Taliu-
 gas was coming, comprehended what was the matter; and making
 the best of his way to the Vézir’s army, he represented the whole
 transaction to that Prince with the most dismal colours; nor was I
 without great apprehensions, lest some body of cavalry should come
 from thence to carry me off, or to do us some great mischief. I en-
 tertained therefore some thoughts of retiring to a place of safety;
 when Sahomul who soon, had fallen out with Captain Goddard,
 and was now upon the worst terms with him, represented to me
 that not one of the stipulated conditions had been observed with him;
 and that as he had been evidently and greatly injured, I must repair
 to Azimabad with him, to represent his case to the English Rulers.
 I had already applied myself to Doctor Fullarton for leave to repair
 to Azimabad; and having got from thence a safe conduct, I shewed
 it to my father, to whom I represented the danger of his remain-
 ing at Husséinabad in such a time of trouble and confusion. I ad-
 vided him therefore to let me depart; and to answer all the enquiries
 which

which the Vezir might make on my account, with some excuse framed to this purport: that Gholam-husséin-qhan was indeed his son, but a son quite independent, who was these many years in connection with the English, and for whose actions he would not be responsible." I added, that such an excuse would prove valuable in case the Vézir should prevail; and as to myself who would be then with the English, I was resolved to take my chance with them, and to share their fate; but that, if the English should prevail, no danger would result to my father from their victory: so far from it, that my attachment to them would be productive of some obligations and some return. After having settled this matter with my father, I took Sahomul with me, and went to Azimabad. Major Munro was already returned thither, and it was there I learned some particulars relative to the conduct he had held with regard to the mutiny which happened amongst the Talingas stationed in the district of Sarun. These men, quitting at once their station upon some discontent, had deserted into Balvant-sing's country, and had also carried away their Captain, who, however, had found means to get out of their hands; but they had met at last with a condign punishment for their desertion. I heard also, how the Major had marched against the proud Vézir, and how the negotiations between this Prince and the English had ended in nothing but a compleat defeat, which they gave him, and which demolished him totally. All these particulars I got a full information of, and they shall be mentioned in the following sheets.

Shujah-ed-dó8lah, after raising the siege of Azimabad, had returned to Bacfar in the Bodjp8r country. It was a town on the Ganga, and over against Ghazip8r, which district is of his own dependence; and it was there he resolved to pass the rainy season in a camp. Mir-djaaser-qhan being informed of this, resolved also to return to Calcutta, to settle certain matters with the English. He had some time before appointed his own brother Mir-cassém-qhan to the Government of Azimabad, a man of much goodness of heart, and great simplicity of manners, but of little capacity or knowledge. And he had given him for his deputy a Gentoo called Durdj-

Durdj-naráin, who was brother to the deceased Ram-naráin: a man unfit for so cumbersome and so intricate a charge, and indeed unfit for any thing at all. After having, as he thought, provided for the government of that country, he set out for Calcutta: a voyage that proved his last, and which carried him to the confines of eternity. But should it be asked, what then could be Durdj-naráin's merits for being promoted to so important an office, the answer would be, that he was possessed of the merit of having had a brother drowned by Mir-cassém, and of the greater one of being himself in disgrace with that Prince; for it had become a standing rule of Mir-djaaser-qhan's politicks, to depress to the utmost every one of those that might have been in favor with his rival, although ever so worthy of promotion, and likewise so remarkable for abilities; and on the contrary, to raise and promote all those that had been in disgrace with him, although ever so unworthy or so incapable. It was on such a principle, that the old man seemed to averse from suffering such a number of noblemen and gentlemen of the best families of the country, to return to their homes and possessions; although it was notorious they had followed his predecessor's fortunes, solely to screen themselves from the oppression of a prevalent party. Of this number were Mirza-abdollah and Mirza-bakyr, (both sons to Agamirza) and Gholam-aaly-qhan and Y8f8f-aaly-qhan, and several others, who were hovering on the outskirts of Bahar and Bengal, and went on enduring distresses and miseries, until at last their misfortunes were put an end to, by the old man's demise; at which time the exiled and the dispersed found means to return to their homes and to enjoy their families. On the other hand, any one that had proved a traitor to Mir-cassém, never failed, whether at Azimabad or at Moorshoodabad, to become an object of regard, to be promoted to offices, and to enjoy the old man's confidence. And it was on so laudable a plan that he settled every thing at Azimabad; after which he set out for Calcutta, where he became endlessly occupied in discussions, and even in altercations with the members of the English Council: for Governor Vansittart.

for Governor Vansittart, who was thoroughly apprised of the baseness of his character, and thoroughly sensible of the supineness and imbecility of his mind, strongly feared lest he might fill the city, and even the whole province, with proscriptions and blood, should he be suffered to repair to M8rsh8dabad with an uncontrouled authority: he knew that in such a case he would not fail to make use of his power to torment every considerable man in the country, and to deluge the city with blood: and his anxieties were so strong on that head, that he had purposely suffered the negociation with him to take it's own course in the altercations of the Council, where after a length of time nothing was yet concluded finally.

I was on the same principle he would not permit him to carry out of Calcutta, and to keep in the high office of Divan or prime minister, a Gentoo, named Nandecomar, a man of an intriguing spirit, who bore the highest sway upon his mind; but who having already vexed numbers of persons of distinction throughout the province, would avail himself of his ascendant over his master, to attack indiscriminately whomsoever he chose to demolish. The President himself being impressed with these notions, and thoroughly sensible of the character of these two men, no entreaties, however urgent, from Mir-djaffer-qhan, could obtain of the Council a permission to carry Nandecomar with him, and to put him in office: nevertheless on his being arrived at M8rsh8abad, he was so well tutored by his friends of Calcutta, he learned to write such artificeous letters to the Council, and he succeeded so well in gaining some of the ruling members to his party, that the governor to get rid of their clamorous intrigues, consented to Nandecomar's repairing to his master. But however to guard his successors as much as possible against this man's dangerous character, and endless intrigues, he wrote a memoir upon him, got it bound in the form of a book, and kept it for use. As to the new minister, on his being returned to M8rsh8dabad, he worked himself into so much authority, that he undertook to demolish no less a man than Mahmed-reza-qhan.

This

This Nobleman, who was son-in-law to Rabia-Begum, and to Ata-ollah-qhan, and enjoyed now the high office of Nazem, or governor of the Province of Djehan-ghir-nugur-dacca, found himself under the necessity of crouching to the new minister, and of seeing most of the business of his department turn out of his hands, and referred to people appointed by the Court. The minister went so far, that the Navvab, in compliance with his will, dismissed that Nobleman from his office, and moreover had him brought prisoner to M8rsh8dabad : and probably would have proceeded farther, had not both the master and the minister being intimidated by the interference of the chief of Cassimbazar, who procured his release by dint of threats. Luckily for him that Mir-djafer-qhan fell sick at this very time, and became worse and worse ; at last on the fourteenth of Shaaban, being a Thursday of the year 1173 of the Hedjra, he departed this life, and passed over the stream which divides the confines of this fragile world, from the Regions of eternity. Several persons of credit have affirmed that some moments before his demise, he had, on Nandecomar's persuasion, ordered to be brought to him some water that had been poured in libation over the idol at Kyirut-conah, (a famous temple of the Gentoos in the neighbourhood of M8rsh8dabad) and that some drops of it were poured down the dying man's throat : this being the last water which he tasted.

A. D. 1765.

" Let this serve you for a warning, if you are capable of listening to it :

" If you sow thorns, you cannot expect to reap Peaches."

Preserve us, O God, as well as all believers from such a sickness, and such a death.

It must be observed that the old Navvab, intimidated by the Vezir's numbers, and by his personal character for valor and prowess, had always wished ardently for a peace upon any terms ; and the English themselves, impressed with high ideas of his power, and affected by the shame and disgrace

(157) Mir-djafer was then past seventy four. He died not only of old age, but also of leprosy : an appearance which the *Lues* very frequently assumes in Bengal, where by the bye, leprosy itself is as common as in Egypt, and much with the like symptoms.

of fighting against the legitimate possessor of the throne, were desirous of some accommodation, provided it could be obtained without endangering their trade : nor had they any objections to the Emperor's or rather to the Vezir's keeping possession of the province of Azim-abad, if they could be left themselves in quiet possession of Bengal, under a certain quit-rent. But Shudjah-ed-dòlah, equally proud and ignorant, (and ignorance is become in these times so prevalent, and so much in fashion, that there is hardly a single prince in India, but that labours under a want of intellects) Shudjah-ed-dòlah, I say, who expected mighty conquests from his atcheivements, and had conceived as high an opinion of his own power, as he had an indifferent one of what his enemies could perform, would not hear of peace on those terms ; and he thought himself equal to the task of conquering all the three provinces. Indeed he had a numerous army with plenty of artillery, great and small, and plenty of all the necessaries requisite for war ; but no knowledge at all about the means of availing himself of so much power : and he was so presumptuous at the same time, and so obstinate and full of himself, that he would not listen to any adviser and well-wisher, although he had many : and it is for that presumptuous ignorance of his, that he saw what he saw. Strange it is ! that in this age, as soon as fortune has taken a fancy to any one, so as to distinguish him from his equals, by raising him to the height of power and influence, he from that moment forgets himself totally : his whole frame undergoes a revolution ; and the man thinking himself superior to those prophets and antient sages of old, who have approved themselves so much above the usual powers of the human mind, at once assumes that independence of thought, and that originality of conduct, which was indeed characteristick in those great men, but which cannot suit the narrow limits of human understanding. Those great men, and above all, the crown of Created beings (158)

upon

(158) The crown of created beings is Mohammed, who nevertheless styles himself, and is often styled by the most antient Musulmen writers *the ignorant Prophet* or *the Idiot Prophet*, doubtless with a view to give the

(upon whom be grace and salute for ever!) who was indeed the greatest genius existing, and acted besides under the immediate impulse of revelation,) these extraordinary beings, I say, had no occasion to take advice: and as to the greatest princes and commanders of the times past, they always made it a point to ask advice, and to consult their ministers and friends on every subject of consequence. But now, as soon as fortune has been so favorable to any one, as to raise him suddenly to power, he from that moment fancies himself a compound of all excellence, and a being of a nature superior to human kind: such in a word, as would degrade it's high nature by asking advice, or holding councils: nay such a man comes at last to think, that asking advice would be detracting from his own dignity; and that deferring to a sensible opinion, would be derogating from his own wisdom, be the adviser an Aristotle or some superior being (159). These men seem to think that genius and ha-

greater weight to the divine impulse under which he acted. This much is certain, that he has approved himself, not only an excellent Soldier and a great Captain, but that he appears to have been one of the keenest and most subtle geniuses that ever existed. In his travels in Syria, where he conversed with the Greeks, and in his many trips to and from Mecca, which was then full of Parfis or Persians; he had collected lights enough to conclude that those two potent Empires were then really verging to their ruin; and it is, upon such a survey, that he had himself framed his scheme of giving the first shoc or pull, and to conquer them both: a project which was fully known to his three successors, and relations, who made haste to pursue that object, and at last completed it in less than thirty years. As to his mental powers, as writer or compositor, this man, whom the Arabians of those times, as well as the Christians of all ages, accuse of having wrote under the dictate of we know not what ignorant obscure Jews and Parfis, has actually sent into the world a book written in such an extraordinary manner, as is to this day inimitable, and never fails to amaze every one of those who can read it, or even hear it read. People talk of the melody and roundness of Tully's Periodes; and they deserve that encomium. But Tully was one of the learnedest geniuses of his age, and a man exercised in oratory; whereas the Periodes of the *Idiot Prophet* are still smoother and rounder; but they have another singularity, which the Roman had never so much as thought of: they are so singularly equipoised, so elegantly cadenced, and so richly rhymed, that although you cannot deny that you are reading prose, you feel nevertheless all the charms of the most melodious Poetry; and this cadence, this richness of rhyme, this melody of composition, runs throughout the whole book, from end to end. If we come to admit that the deity has at any time condescended to speak immediately to mankind, what are we to think? that it did so in the most melodious strains that ever flowed from the mouth of man; or only that it spoke in the homeliest, ugliest, most indecent, and most desultory language that ever disgraced paper? but what is singular, the *Prophet ignorant* had himself such a high opinion of his own book, that when the Meccans used to ask him for a miracle in proof of his mission, he always proposed the elegance and excellence of the Coran, as a proof unanswerable; and when they accused it of it's being dictated to by a, I know not what, *Selman* the Jew, and *Bebroos* the Parfi, he would ask them, whether they really believed that two such foreigners could have wrote so elegant a composition in Arabick? It is universally acknowledged, that Mahomet even in his life time and independently of all inspiration, passed for a man of the keenest genius and the greatest knowledge.

(159) Aristotle is all over the East reputed to have been the Vezir or prime minister of *Alexander-makedon* Alexander the Macedonian.

bilities follow money. Nor is it uncommon to hear them say: *we have genius and understanding by thousands and by hundred thousands, whereas the others have it only by tenths and by hundreds*; as if both genius and talents were of a nature to be counted by tale, or weighed by scale. Such is the state of mankind in India. Good God! what is merit reduced to in that ill-fated region! And what is become in those countries of the dignity of the human race! O God! vouchsafe in your goodness and mercy to infuse patience and resignation in our minds for the injuries done us; and change our alarms into quiet and security (160)!

MIR-DJAAFER-QHAN was yet at Calcutta, when Major Munro in consequence of a revolution, of which I know neither the detail nor the secret springs, arrived at that city in a *Manvarian ship*, which in their language signifies a ship of war: and as the council of Calcutta were displeased with the protraction of the war against Shudjah-eddò8lah, and were much inclined to ascribe those delays to Major Carnac's want of enterprise and abilities, they appointed Major Monro to supercede him in the command of the army: but independently of that supercession, it is a standing rule with that nation, that whenever a King's officer happens to be present, from that moment the Company's officers become his inferiors, and are bound to obey his commands: Major Carnac therefore hearing of Munro's arrival quitted the army, and repaired to Calcutta; and the other went-up to Azimabad, where he was acknowledged commander in chief of all the forces. It happened that a little time after his arrival, a regiment of Talingas, stationed upon the river Surdj8 alias Gahgrah, to oppose the enemy's passage, had taken up their arms, and had revolted. It is said they had even layed hold of their commander Capitain Ahmuty, and of some other English, as well as of a piece of Canon, and had crossed the river, with intention to march to Ghazip8r and to take service

(160) A sentence of the Coran often in the mouths of the afflicted and distressed,

themselves

with Radja Balvant-sing; who was likewise stationed on that river to defend the province of Gorockp8r, and to hinder the English troops from spreading themselves on that side. The Captain obliged to submit to the will of his Talingas, made it a point to humour them; but took care to send advice of that event to Major Munro. That commander on the very first moment of the intelligence, dispatched a Captain and some other officers, versed in the Hindostany language, to bring back the runaways by fair means and persuasion: but at the same time he marched himself at the head of a regiment of European Soldiers, with whom he advanced so fast, that by the time the Captain and his associates were reasoning them out of their revolt, and making them some concessions, which at any other time would have been improper, that commander was already up with the deserters. As the victorious fortune of the English accompanied them every where, and the Talingas were doomed to a reverse of fortune, and to chastisement, those men who had already cut so much of their way, and were near their intended spot, stopped at once, to take some rest, and yielded to their officer's intreaties and persuasion. The Major appearing at this moment, the Talingas saluted him according to the rules of their discipline, and then according to custom, layed down their arms. As soon as these were on the ground, the Major ordered them to be taken up in bundles; and then surrounding the Talingas with his European Soldiers, he marched the whole corps of the Mutineers back to his own camp, where he broke the revolted regiment, distributing it's men by ten and twenty in the several companies of the other corps: after which he draughted from the whole of these corps as many men as formed a new regiment, and having put it under the command of Captain Ahmuty, he commanded him to his late station. This done, he ordered twenty-five men from amongst the revolted, that is, as many as had been pointed out by the cast of dice, to be blown up at his guns, for an example to others. But one of those twenty five men, being a Brahman, made it a request to be indulged with some moment,

ments of delay to perform his devotions; and having obtained it, he prayed to the sun and to some other objects of his worship, took a little clay from the ground, whereon he had worshiped, and having rubbed his forehead and whole face with it, he marched up to the gun with the greatest intrepidity, and submitted quietly to be blown up.

WHILST that commander was occupied in bringing his army to order, a total revolution had taken place in the minds of the council of Calcutta. So long as a negotiation was kept on foot by Shudjah-ed-dó8lah upon reasonable terms, some of the leading members of the council, shewed themselves disinclined from waging war with that Prince; but some letters coming from him at this moment, which seemed written with a haughtiness, that could not be borne, and contained proposals of the most extravagant kind, the dissenters closed with the Majority of the council; and all joining together, sent orders to Major Munro to attack and fight the Vezir. The Major on receiving the orders, tarried only a few days to provide carriage-oxen, with a sufficient quantity of victuals; and having reviewed his army, and left his sick behind, he marched to Bacfar, with full intention to give the Vezir battle. It was about the middle of the second Rebi of the year one thousand, one hundred and seventy eight of the Prophet's retreat, (on whom be grace and salute for ever!) About the end of that month he made another review, and having made up a list of those he wanted to carry with him, which he compared with the numbers that followed his army, and the several animals necessary to it, he contented himself with just such a quantity of provisions and carriages, as would suffice him for ten days, and he dismissed the rest: at his departure he was heard to say these very words to some of the gentlemen of the factory of Azimabad: *I do not chuse to encumber myself with more: for either within that space of time we shall have beaten and expelled the enemy, and then we shall find victuals enough; or we shall be beaten ourselves, and in part destroyed, and then again we shall have no occasion for more provisions or baggage.*

A. D. 1764

THE

THE Major being now on his march, and his resolution being known and public, Mir-veli-ollah, a man born in Azim-abad, but who now commanded for Shudjah-eddollah in those parts of Bahar, dependent from the Sercar of Shah-abad, dispatched messengers to his master to inform him of the motions of the English. On this intelligence the Vezir sent some Moghul Cavalry to skirmish with them, and to impede their march. And as he had heretofore left some large cannon on the banks of the Sohon to oppose the enemy, whilst the latter were encamped over against that river at Calver, he ordered it to be brought back to his camp. It was now the height of the rainy season, and the wheels of those unwieldy carriages having sunk in the mud, it became impossible to get them from thence by any means whatever. The Vezir hearing of this, put himself at the head of one thousand Durrani-horse (161), and going to the spot, he disengaged the guns and brought them to camp; but after this exertion, he sunk again into a circle of entertainments, pleasures and amusements, without once bestowing a thought upon the necessary quantity of balls, or their quality, or that of the powder; and without consulting any one experienced man about the method of fighting the enemy: he even declined listening to the request of those officers of the artillery, who wanted necessaries for their office. Upon all those subjects he was quite careless and inattentive: spending his time in playing at dice, in observing the flights of his pigeons, looking at the performances of his dance-women, and amusing himself with pastimes of all sorts: and all that, with as much ease and thoughtlessness, as if he had been about his own Capital on a party of hunting. He

(162) So called from a drop (Durr) which they originally wore at one of their ears. This appellation and badge was given by Ahmed-shah, the first Abdalli King, to a body of two thousand guards, which were raised by way of tax from every house in his dominions that had an Habeshinian, or a Georgian, or a Calmac slave. In time this appellation came to be extended by the Hindostanies from the body-guards to the whole army, and from the army to the whole nation. For the real name of the latter is that of Afghan-Abdallies, a branch of Afghans who has swallowed up the whole nation, and founded a powerful monarchy that comprehends the eastern parts of Persia, southern of Euzbeg-Tartary, and western of Hindostan. They are mostly cavalry, wear the Persian dress, speak the Persito language, (but the Persian is the language of the court,) and can bring a hundred and fifty thousand very hardy and very courageous troopers into the field.

only ordered a wall or intrenchment to be drawn from the little river of Durgauty to the bank of the Ganga, intending to fight the English from behind that cover: but on the Major's coming up, and encamping at about three coffes distance from him on a morasse that lay betwixt the two armies, he altered his resolution; and abandoning the thoughts of fighting from behind the intrenchment, he resolved to give them battle on the other side of it.

THE Moghul horse, together with six or seven thousand men of cavalry and Infantry, commanded by Shudjah-c8li-qhan, commonly called Mya-yssa, ranged themselves behind Somro and M8sher-medec. Beni-bahadyr, deputy Governor of A8d and Ilah-abad, brought his troops out of the intrenchment, and took post on the banks of the Ganga, that is close to the ruined houses of the town of Bacfar. At his elbow were Somro and M8sher-medec with eight field pieces, mounted in the English fashion upon carriages, equally strong and light: they were at the head of eight regiments of Talingas that had been trained and fashioned by Mir-cassein. It was behind these, that Mia-yssa took his post. The Vezir himself coming out of the intrenchment, with a body of troops, ranged them at the right of Mia-yssa and of Beni-bahadyr's; and the engagement commenced by a cannonade on both sides, which killed and wounded numbers of people from both parties. The Vezir tired with such a slaughter, took his Moghul Cavalry and some other choice troops, and charged the English several times; whilst part of his Durrani-Moghuls attacking Major Monro's Cavalry, put it to flight, and falling upon the English camp in the rear, killed and plundered without measure, so that the main of the English line, repeatedly attacked by the Vezir's Cavalry, and exposed to Somro's and Medec's incessant fire, fell into disorder, and was in great danger. At this very time the Major observing that the troops posted at the Morasse, were by that very reason out of the reach of the enemy's efforts, marched part of them down to attack Beni-bahadyr. These troops were led by officers equally skilful and brave, who marching with a measured pace inclined
towards

towards the banks of the Ganga, and arrived close to those ruined houses behind which Bení-bahadyr had posted himself at the head of his troops, and also of another body of Cavalry, called the Sheh-zadians (162) of Lucnow, who were commanded by Sheh-gh8lam-cadyr. These had all dismounted from their horses, and were standing behind those ruins with their match-locks in their hands. The English Talingas advancing undiscovered along the main-street of the deserted town, were concealed by the ruins; and coming unexpectedly upon Bení-bahadyr's men, posted at the bottom of those ruined walls, they poured upon them a shower of clods and stones: on this Sheh-gh8lam-cadyr got up with his Sheh-zadians from betwixt the ruins, to oppose the English Talingas; and these being now all assembled by their officers, and ranged in a line, a fire of Musquetry ensued between the two troops. But how could the Sheh-zadians and Bení-bahadyr's people, accustomed to fire dispersed, and at will, stand the regular and violent fire poured upon them by the English Talingas? In one or two discharges, the business of Sheh-gh8lam-cadyr's and of his men was effectually done: numbers were made to bite the dust on the spot; and the others being wounded and dispersed, fled in the greatest consternation, and left their post empty. At sight of this Bení-bahadyr, who had close to him a friend of his, named Ghalub-Qhan, an Hindostany of valuable character and of much personal prowess, asked him what he thought was to be done?" *If you chuse to acquire honour only*, answered the other, *we must lay down our lives here; and if you love only your life, we must get from hence directly*, Bení-bahadyr having answered *that he wanted honour only*, the other replied, *let us dismount then*; and immediately alighting himself, he also ordered his son Vedge-eddin-qhan to alight likewise. By this time the English Talingas drawing near, were getting ready to pour a volley: at sight of this Bení-bahadyr, having preferred life to honour, turned about and fled with all his might. The

(162) The word *Sheh-zada* must not be confounded with that of *Shah-zada*, which last signifies King's son or Imperial Prince. The former signifies a person descended from Arabian adventurers, or from Gentoo converts; and a very large quarter of Lucnow is inhabited by such people. They are brave, united, and marry only amongst themselves.

young man on seeing this, went to acquaint his father, who on observing the flight of Bení-bahadyr's and of all that great body of troops, mounted again, and ran after his master.

WHILST Bení-bahadyr was flying, his friends thought he had gained an advantage : Mia-yffa who mistook the volleys of Musquetry between the English Talingas and the Sheh-zadians of Sheh-g8olam-cadyr's, for a severe engagement ; misapprehended Bení-bahadyr's retreat for a second attack ; and being jealous of a success which might reflect a dishonour upon his own inaction, he quitted his post from behind Somro and Mooshur-medec, and ran forward : he had before a Morasse full of mire and water, which rendered his passage the more difficult and dangerous, as the Morasse was lined in front by a body of English Infantry, that looked very much like a wall vomiting fire and flames. Hence of six or seven thousand men that were under his command, only a small number chose to follow him ; and these by thus passing before Sumro and Mooshur-medec, who made a continual fire of Musquetry and canon against the English line, put an end to that hail of balls that incommoded so much the enemy ; and by thus obstructing the fire made by friends, he by his position between the two lines, became exposed to a hot and expeditious fire, which the English incessantly poured upon him, and which proved as destructive as that at the day of Judgment. Nevertheless after having passed through that shower of balls, he with infinite trouble, but with a small number of men, emerged at last out of the mire and water ; and it was only to see himself and his people aimed at like so many marks : so that he fell fruitlessly and ingloriously ; and his indignant soul took it's flight towards eternity. Those of his men that could effect their escape from that scene of slaughter and wounds, overthrew in their flight such troops as yet stood their ground, and by their example carried them away. By this time the English Talingas after having put Bení-bahadyr to flight, had got over the intrenchment ; and breaking immediately into the Vezir's camp with repeated discharges of Musquetry

quetry, they threw the whole into so much consternation, that not a man in that immense multitude found courage enough to tarry a while and to load up, and carry away, his baggage or property : they all fled, every one providing for himself, as his mind prompted. For by this time, the whole army had been defeated so completely, that no one thought of standing his ground. But no sooner was this general discomfiture observed by the ungrateful Moghuls and Duranies, than quitting the Vezirs's person, they turned about upon their own troops and friends, and commenced plundering and stripping at such a rate, that a by stander would have taken them for so many enemies. The Vezir was yet in camp ; and although fully sensible that fate had given the victory to his enemies, he remained a full hour behind, to look at the amazing revolution which was taking place; nor did he quit the field, but when he saw those about his person shrunk to a small number : at which time he followed the run-aways, and left his camp standing. Every thing belonging to him or to his officers, such as tents, furniture, and other property, fell a prey to the victors; numerous shops of bankers, full of silver and gold coin, and numerous tents of merchants, replete with Kimqhabs (163) and other precious stuffs, were rifled in an instant : the sutlers and markets underwent the same fate: the artillery, great and small, was taken possession of; so that the English troops with all their followers made an immense booty. But whilst these strangers were busy in enriching themselves at the enemy's expence, the Vezir's troops were busy in plundering each other, and that too with so much earnestness, that whatever fell in any one's hand, was reputed fair prize. God only knows the wealth which must have existed in that army; and I acknowledge that it would be vain in me to attempt giving so much as an idea of it: but I can say with certainty, however, that there were immense riches in that camp; and such indeed as might have

(163) Silks adorned with gold or silver flowers, made in great perfection at G8djrat, but imitated likewise at Banares.

vied with the very capital of Hindostan in that regard, when the latter was the repository of all the wealth of India. Whilst this scene of sac and plunder was going on one side, vast numbers of people on the other, were endeavoring to cross the Durgáoty, a little deep muddy river, that flowed behind the camp; but they stuck in vast numbers in the mire and mud, or lost their lives by the volleys which the Talingas were endlessly pouring on the flying enemy.

By an event singular enough, it happened that the very day before the engagement, Shudjah-eddö8lah had thought proper to set Mir-cassem at liberty, although he gave him no better carriage than an Elephant which proved lame: by another event full as singular, and one of those which cannot be accounted for, but by admitting the interference of a particular providence, that very animal enabled the prisoner to get out of that scene of confusion and slaughter, and to save his life from more than one sort of imminent danger: doubtless he was predestinated to a longer Life; else, in that scene of terror and consternation, which parted the son from the father, and the brother from the brother, who would have thought of an unfortunate being, kept this long while in confinement, and deprived of all intercourse with mankind? Let us adore the secret workings of that watchful providence, which on the very eve of such a scene of danger and confusion, put it into an enemy's heart to provide a carriage for his prisoner.

Providential
escape of Mir-
cassem's.

“ Even an enemy will prove serviceable to thee, if it pleases God.”

This release had been announced to Aali-hibrahim-qhan in the evening; and at midnight he had sent secretly to inform him that he had ready at his service a bag of a thousand Rupees, and an excellent horse, which would carry him any where he pleased: adding, that if he made but a sign of the head, both would be sent him immediately: the messenger professed that the only reason why this had not been done already, was out of fear lest the Vezir coming to hear of it, should become again as severe as ever. Such a tender in such a conjuncture could not but prove highly acceptable to Mir-cassem's

caffem's afflicted mind: he bestowed on the Qhan all the encomiums he deserved for having remembered of past obligations, and proved grateful at so critical a moment of total dereliction; but he answered, that at present he did not think it proper to accept of his offer, as they had promised to bring him a carriage: but that if they should fail, then he would by all means avail himself of his generous offer. And really a little before day break, they brought him a female elephant that limped; and it was upon such a carriage that Mir-caffem made his escape with the run-aways, and saved his life.

A FEW days before the engagement, Aaly-hibrahim-qhan had had the precaution to send his heavy baggage under the charge of his brother Aaly-caffem-qhan to the Emperor's encampment, which was on the other side of the Durgáoty, the little river that parted it from the Vezir's camp, and upon which they had formed with some boats a bridge of communication. By such a precaution he had remained quite light and disincumbered: so that in the general deroute, he advanced expeditiously to the bridge; but finding it so thronged, and the runaways pouring in immense shoals, so as to barr all passage, he became extremely uneasy: moreover the bridge had broke down: the danger increased fast: and the English Talingas were preparing to fire: no time was to be lost: he put spurs to his horse, ran a little higher up the banks of the river, and throwing himself in the water with his horse, he swam over to the opposite side. Being arrived on the other side, where a number of people had stopped a while both to take some refreshment, and to wait for such of their friends, as were yet on the other side of the water, he observed a body of English advancing with a field piece, loaded with small ball called *Churras*, which they fired; whilst a body of their Talingas were making discharges of musketry; the cannon swept both sides of the river; nor is it possible to describe the terror and confusion that seized the runaways: they poured upon each other's shoulders in the miry shores of that very muddy river, and sticking in the mud, they

they perished in shoals (164): others having found means with infinite trouble to get over, fled in the most dismal condition, every one taking to what road chanced to be before him: most of these were set upon by the peasants who stripped them to the skin. Others having found means to join the runaways, that had preceded, returned graces to heaven, as if they had returned from the very gates of death. The Vezir having passed the river, and got all his family together, took the road which leads to Ilah-abad; but Mir-cassem upon his limping carriage, made a shift to get as far as six or seven cosses beyond Banarefs. As to Bení-bahadyr, he tarried upon the banks of the Ganga by the Vezir's order, with intention to bring away the Emperor, who was encamped over against that city: and Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, sick, as he was, found means, with no more than a dozen of followers, to advance close to Bení-bahadyr's, encampment, where he intended to take some rest, and to inquire after his brother, with whom he wished to encamp. A servant of Ghalub-qhan having descryed that nobleman by chance, went and gave notice of it to his master, who was a great friend of his, and then in Bení-Bahadyr's retinue. Ghalub-qhan no sooner heard the intelligence, than he expressed his satisfaction, and getting up directly, he requested leave of Bení-Bahadyr to meet his friend. The Radja on observing Ghalub-qhan's eagerness, asked him what kind of a man was his friend, that he seemed so eager to see him? the other having answered by a short eulogium of Hibrahim-qhan, added *that if ever he commenced an acquaintance with him, he might then get some knowledge of his merit.* The minister who had often been present at that nobleman's valuable conversation with the Vezir, conceived a desire of attaching him to his own person, and he asked Ghalub-qhan whether he could bring his friend to him? The latter undertook the business, and prevailed upon his friend to wait upon the minister, just in the undress

(164) Five or six thousand men perished or were slain in the action, but ten thousand or more stuck in the mire, or perished in the retreat; and two years after, the town of Bacfar, the fields, and the muddy shores of the river, for miles together, were beset with bones.

in which he was. The Radja happy to reckon so valuable a man amongst his friends, requested his friendship, proffered his own, and desired him to reckon himself henceforward amongst those of his family. This proposal could not but please Hibrahim-qhan, who thought that in a time of so much confusion, the very tarrying some days with that minister, would prove of some advantage to himself. After this acquisition, the Radja received orders from the Vezir to bring up the Emperor; and he was urging the propriety of marching forward: but that prince, who in his heart was dissatisfied with the Vezir, and had resolved to part with Bení-bahadyr, thought proper to temporise under a variety of pretences, having some time before conceived the design of joining the English. For that nation had already made overtures, on that subject, and rendered him desirous of joining them, as well as intent on availing himself of their assistance; and on the other hand, they expected that the Vezir, informed of their being forbidden by the company to make any new conquests in India, would of himself come to terms of peace and friendship with them: they had therefore thoughts of meeting Bení-bahadyr, whom they knew to be the Vezir's confidant, and Mir-cassem's enemy. But as Bení-bahadyr had then discovered the Emperor's defection, and his backwardness from marching farther, he continued his own journey with his own troops, and crossed the Ganga.

As soon as the minister was seen on the other side of that river, the Emperor, who was thereby left at liberty, sent for the English; who finding so fair a pretence for advancing their own affairs, doubled their pace, and joined him in a few hours. They payed their respects to him, crossed the Ganga with him, and from thence invited Bení-bahadyr to a conference. The minister who wanted to attach Aali-hibrahim-qhan to his person, and who had a high opinion of his genius, applied to him for advice; and having perpend-
ed his counsel, he from that time admitted him to all his secrets, and associ-
ated him to the negotiation: for he became at last convinced that his meeting
the

the English would redound to his master's advantage; and with that view he proceeded to their camp. The English shewed a willingness to come to terms with the Vezir, if he would but deliver in their hands Mir-cassem, and Sumro. The minister who was upon bad terms with the fugitive prince, and saw his own advantage and that of his country and master in this proposal, answered in a respectful manner "that Somro being master of a good body of troops, and such as had not broke their ranks in the last defeat, but had retreated in good order, the seizing that man's person would not be free from danger: but that Mir-cassem might be arrested; and if the Vezir should approve of it, his own endeavours would not be wanting in that business". The conference ended here; and Béné-bahadyr having heard the proposals of the English, took his leave, and returned to his own camp, where he disclosed the whole negotiation to his confidants, amongst whom was Aaly-hibrahim-qhan. The latter thought it incumbent upon his gratitude and upon those antient ties of friendship, that bound him to Mir-cassem, to send him immediate notice of the matter in agitation; and this fugitive, who was encamped only at a few cosses distance, no sooner heard the intelligence, than he fled to Ilah-abad, with a swiftness and a rapidity that could be compared to nothing but the wind or to the lightning; and having there managed in such a manner, as to get possession of his family and women, which had been plundered by the Vezir's people, and confined in that castle, he marched on without stopping as far as Berhaily, which is the principal city of that Colony of Afghans, who call themselves Rohilas: and there only he commenced to take some rest. There likewise we shall leave him, until we come to close his history; and this shall take place when we come to give an account of the resolutions that have happened at the capital of the Empire.

BUT by this time the defeat of Bacfar had made a total revolution in Shudjah-eddö8la's mind. That presumptuous man, who had never had an idea of such

such a reverse of fortune, finding now so total an alteration in his affairs, concluded that he had no other resource left, but that of abandoning his own dominions, and flying for shelter to a stranger's country. He therefore sent some of his relations to Fáiz-abad. (165) and to Lucknow, with orders to take away his family and treasures, and to carry them into the country of a Rohila Prince, called Haafyz-rahmet, with whom he had some connections; as Ynaïet-qhan, the latter's son, had become his companion of arms in his campaign about Azimabad: his orders were to keep them in Berheily, which is the greatest city of those parts, as being a place which surpassed Pylybeet and all the other towns of that country both in the salubrity of it's air, and the goodness of it's water. Mean while he repaired in all speed to Ilah-abad, and having taken from thence his mother and consort, he left Aaly-beg qhan in the citadel, and proceeded to the country of the Afghans, where leaving his family, furniture, and the whole of his effects and treasures in Berheily, he sent Sídy-bashír, a trusty Habeshinian of his, to command in the fortress of Chennar, with a proper garrison, and every necessary requisite for the defence of that place. Bèní-bahadyr arrived at this time; but his advice for making peace with the English, was rejected by the Vezir, who thought it derogatory to his dignity, and dishonourable to his name, family and pedigree; and on the other hand he reckoned upon powerful succours both from the Afghans princes, and from the Marhatta-general, Malhar-rào. He therefore dispatched Bèní-bahadyr to Lucnow, with secret instructions to keep fair with the English, and under this mask, to maintain his government in that province; whilst himself should proceed with all speed to the country of Ahmed-qhan Bangash, notwithstanding the cordial aversion he had for that prince: nor was this aversion of a modern date, as we already touched on the causes and progresses of sentiments in that part of our history which relates

(165) Fáiz-abad, a city founded by Saadet-qhan, maternal grand father to Shudjah-eddöslah, and added to the very antient city of A8d. It is now in ruins, being built like all the cities and towns of India with mud and straw, or with sun-burnt bricks, with here and there a brick or stone building.

to Shah-djehan-abad, and to the neighbouring provinces. On his arrival there he had a meeting with Hafyz-rahmet, with Ahmed-bangash, and with some other Afghan Princes, as well as with the famous Mir-sheabeddin-qhan, better known under the title of Umad-el-mulk, who chanced to be there likewise. The Vezir threw amongst them the dice of consultation, and requested both advice and assistance. Every one of them promised succours, but nevertheless all advised him to call to his service the Marhatta Malhar-ráo, who was a Prince of Decan, and an old General, who had once commanded in chief in Badjiráo's-army. This General was then Mucasdár or feudatory Prince (166) of the Province of Shah-djehan-abad, and went simply, by the title of the Soobadar or Viceroy : he lived retired in the country about Calpy and Goyalár; but as he had once lost all his baggage and fortune in that bloody defeat, which Ahmed-shah, the Abdalli, Monarch, had given the Marhatta nation, he did not cut any great figure. Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, sent some of his trusty servants in that country, who prevailed upon that general to come over with his troops to their master's assistance, in whose name they promised a great sum of money, in case victory should favor his party. The man, who since the loss he had suffered, had become exceedingly covetous, greedily accepted the proposal, and soon came over with his troops to Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's camp. As to the Afghans, all the instances made to engage them to come to that prince's assistance, in compliance with their own promises, proved useless ; and they went on with a multitude of pretences, and far fetched excuses, put him off with procrastination, and with promises of to-day and to-morrow, and at last did not move a foot.

MEAN while Bèní-Bahadyr, who was now arrived at Lucknow, gave notice of his master's intentions : " Shudjah-ed-dö8lah " said he " cannot be

(166-) The Mucasdár was the Governor who resided in a Province in the name of the Emperor of the Marhattas, and collected for him the *Chö8t* or fourth of the product of the country, whilst the Nazem collected the other three parts for his master, the Emperor of Hindostan. This Nazem was the Military Governor of the Province, and had the command of the troops and fortresses, as well as the distribution of justice ; whereas the Divan was only the intendant of the country, or the collector and distributor of the revenues. When these two distinct officers were joined in one person, this person was called the Sobah-dar.

" brought

“ brought to consent to a peace with the English on the conditions tendered
 “ by them : he is resolved to try another battle. As to Mir-cassem, he has
 “ escaped from his hands ; nor is Somro to be laid hold of, unless by
 “ some artifice ; but at any rate, my master thinks that at such a time as this
 “ measures of such a nature are very improper for him. With respect to me
 “ in particular, as I augur nothing good from his affairs, I am desirous and
 “ willing to meet the English half way, and to join their cause.” Now it
 must be observed, that although Shytáb rày was unquestionably a very trusty
 servant of that nation, he was also much attached to Bèni-bahadyr, in whose
 house he had found so honorable an asylum, with so many favours and so
 many benefits, when he fled some years before from Mir-cassem’s resentment.
 He therefore wished to shew the high sense he retained of so many benefits ;
 and thought himself happy in having an opportunity of serving his benefactor.
 This negociation was just set on foot, when Major Munro, after defeating the
 Vezîr, and pursuing him as far as Banares, thought proper, for reasons of his
 own, to go back to Calcutta, and to leave the command to Major Fooleecheer
 (Robert Fletcher); and this too having been found fault with, and been dis-
 missed from the command of the army, it devolved of course on Major
 Carnac ; an officer who had once been in the Company’s service, and had
 commanded an army; but had lately been promoted to the rank of supreme
 commander, which in their language is called a Brigadier General. As this
 officer had a deal of friendship for Shytàb-ráy, the latter embraced the oppor-
 tunity of imparting to him the proposals made by Bèni-bahadyr ; and this ge-
 neral who esteemed the minister’s arrival a great advance towards a peace,
 availed himself of the envoy’s presence, to invite the master, expressing his
 desire at the same time in a polite letter, fraught with expressions of high re-
 gard. Upon such an invitation, Bèni bahadyr came, and met the General ;
 but his intention was only to keep fair with both parties. The General propo-
 sed to that minister to bring over his whole family to Lucknow, and in particu-

lar

lar to send his consort to Banarés or Azimabad, in which case he would be satisfied with his sincerity, and would leave the whole business and all the contributions of the two provinces of A8d and Illah-abad to his own management: but as this proposal did not suit Bèni-Bahadyr, he declined it upon a variety of plausible pretences, and he kept the matter in suspense; until hearing that Shudjah-ed-dö8lah had taken Malhar-ráo in his service, and was preparing to fight the English, he went to a Fakyr for whom he had a high regard, and asked him what resolution he advised him to take. The Fakyr answered, "that the coming of the English was like a squall, which had brought on much blowing indeed, but which would soon be over and gone." This answer to which the minister paid an implicit belief, having made him conceive that victory might yet declare for his master, he resolved to continue firm in his attachment to him.

BUT the intelligence that had so much rejoiced Bèni-bahadyr's heart, had raised alarms in the mind of Shytáb-ráy, who was his mediator with the English; and who no sooner heard of the junction of Malhar-ráo's with Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, than he wrote to Bèni-bahadyr, in strong terms: "If you intend to remain with Shudjah-eddö8lah, *said he*, speak out and act openly, that I may get you dismissed by the English, after having informed them of your inclination: but if you think it better to attach yourself to us, let me recommend to you much firmness and steadiness in your conduct: for after all, why should we proceed in a negotiation that may bring a reflection upon me, and a reproach of faithlessness upon you? Or why should you bring me into an imminent danger, and expose your own character to endless shame and reproaches?" This remonstrance produced no effect; and Bèni-bahadyr, who thought it prudence to conceal his mind, kept his secret even from Shytáb-ráy, and left the rest to opportunity and time. But mean while, under pretence of putting in order some districts farthest from the English army, he got himself accompanied by some companies of their

Bèni-bahadyr's double dealing reprimanded by Shytáb-ráy.

Talingas

Talingas; and having proceeded with these as far as Lucnow, he carried from thence his consort and family, and took to the road that led to Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's camp: his intention being to effect a junction with him at any rate. The English Talingas wanted to prevent his flight; but as they were in so small a number, they were intimidated by Béni-bahadyr's numerous troops and threats, and let him escape.

ALL these motions could not be known to Aly-hibrahim-qhan, who having fallen sick, had been left by Béni-bahadyr in the castle of Partàb-gúr: where having been kept in the dark as to that minister's real intentions, he was much nettled when he heard of his final departure: as such an event bereft him of all support, and left him to himself. Luckily that the consort of the Radja of that country, in her husband's absence who had been persuaded by Bení-bahadyr to attend Shudjah-ed-dö8lah, thought proper to use the Qhan with a deal of kindness, and did every thing in her power to accommodate him with lodgings and with many conveniencies, which the country did not afford: by her means the Qhan procured every necessary for his voyage, and departed for Ilah-abad.

THE intelligence of Béni-bahadyr's escape, shocked the English, and surprized the General; who nevertheless had so much regard for the sincere attachment which Shytàb-rày had for him, that he forbore saying any thing of the matter: but this did not satisfy Shytàb-rày, who anxious for his own character, thought proper on the first news of Béni-bahadyr's defection, to wait upon the General and to supplicate him in these terms: "Sir, I was Bení-bahadyr's security for the performance of his agreement; and now he has acted in such a manner, as confounds all the world. Should you be called to an account for this affair by the Council of Calcutta, please to send me thither, as I am the only culprit in this affair, and not you." This short address had it's effect: the General and the other English commanders sensible of Shytàb-rày's fidelity, and pleased with the sincerity and frankness of his behaviour.

behaviour, did every thing in their power to make him easy. Nothing was thought of now, but war : and Shudjah ed dö8lah having on his side effected a junction with the Marhatta Malhar-rào, was preparing to fight the English. These had made an acquisition some time before this : it was that of the Radja Balvent, Zemindar of Banares, whom they brought over to their party ; and this was effected by Shytáb-rày's mediation, and by the management of Noor-el-haffen-qhan the Belgramite, a servant of Shudjah-eddö8lah's, but a friend of Béni-bahadyr's, and who now was in the office of Sazavul at Banares, that is, of enforcer of payment : and it was by Belvent's advice that the English resolved to besiege Chennar-gur, a Fortress famous for strength and security, as being seated at ten cosses south of that city, upon the top of a rock that commands thither both sides of the Ganga. A number of troops were sent under the command of a Major, who had with him several Captains, with many Lieutenants, Ensigns and Serjeants, and some battering (167) cannon. The Major having assembled his troops and necessaries, marched to the fortrels, and surrounded it. But first of all he produced an Imperial order, in hopes that the garrison would submit on the intimation of the Imperial threats ; however, as soon as he saw that these did not make any effect, he brought his cannon forward, battered the walls, and pushed the siege with vigor. The Governor of the place, Mahmed-beshir-qhan, a principal lord of the Vezir's court, was in his heart ill affected and wavering : nevertheless the garrison, which had resolved to stand a siege, stretched out the feet of firmness, and attached themselves to the defence of the place. But as their Governor seemed dissatisfied, they contrived to get him out of the walls in the manner he wished, and to have him conducted to the road that led to Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's camp ; after this, they made a brave defence ; but yet there remained but a few days respite to the Fortress : for part of the wall having been ruined and beaten down by the violence of the cannon, the English in a dark night, prepared a number of proper troops, and gave an assault to the

The English
disappointed in
their negotiati-
on, think only of
pushing the war.

They besiege
Chunna-gur.

(167) The original has *wall breaking cannon*.

The English
repulsed at an
assault.

place. They climbed the rock, and were encouraging each other to descend into the fort by the ruins, and the scattered loose stones of the breach; when they were over-heard by some of the Garrison, who being put upon their guard, waked their companions so expeditiously, that the Garrison was up in a moment, and ready at the breach: from whence they made such continual discharges of musketry, as disabled most of the assaunders. The latter being confounded both by the darkness of the night, and by the slipperiness of the loose stones, fell down in shoals; and rolling from the top of the breach quite down the brow of the rock, they carried along a number of others that had yet a firm footing; and these too rolling down in heaps amidst a quantity of loose stones and rubbish, numbers of men were wounded and maimed, in this attempt. The Major himself was in that condition: he was wounded by a ball, and had fallen speechless and senseless: his men being discouraged, fell back, and retreated; nor was it but after some while, that they thought of their commander, who was then sought out, and found under a stone: with much precaution and silence they brought him down from thence, but he was already senseless; and in a little time, he departed this fragile world. The General hearing of this miscarriage, thought proper to recall his troops, as he had certain intelligence, that Shudjah-ed-dö8lah was advancing; and after having effected his junction with them, he marched on in quest of the enemy.

Raise the
sage and march
to the enemy.

It was at this time that Mirza-nedjef-qhan, whom we have mentioned already as a man dissatisfied, just arrived from the Bundel-cand, and took party with the English, whom he joined with his Moghuls. And it was at this time also that the English commanders, sent some troops under Major Ustubert (Stibbert), to Lucnow, with orders to take possession of that city, and to gain a knowledge of the province of Aood, as well as of the adjacent parts. This officer appointed Mahmed-acber qhan to the Cutvaaly of that city, on the recommendation of Shytàb-rày. After this arrangement, the

General

General, with his whole army marched to Ilah abad, with Shytâb-rây and Nedjef-qhan, resolved to besiege it's citadel. Nedjef-qhan, who knew the strong and weak parts of the fortrets, as having long resided in it, pointed to a part where the wall had no rampart behind; and this being soon brought down by the battering cannon, which had been seized in plundering the Vezir's camp, Aaly-beg-qhan, the Governor, soon found that he had but little time left; and he offered to surrender on Shytâb-rây's promising that the honour and properties of the garrison should remain untouched, excepting only whatever should prove to belong to the Vezir himself: and he assured the besieged, that they would come to no harm, whether they attached themselves to the English, or not. These conditions having been agreed-to, he brought them out of the citadel; and the place was immediately taken possession of by the English. Aaly-beg-qhan, with his garrison, and other servants of Shudjah-ed-döglah's, received a safe conduct, with which he repaired to his master.

The fortress
of Ilah-abad,
surrenders to
the English.

AFTER this conquest, Radja Shytâb-rây was proposed to regulate the contributions and government of the two provinces, with Radja Belvent's assistance, especially of that of Aood. And as it was necessary to send rulers in the most distant districts or even in all, it became expedient to support them by taking in the English service most of the commanders that had once served in Mir-caslem's troops; for instance Mir-roshen-aly-qhan, Sheh-ferhat-aly with his body of troops, and Sheh-savar-beg, the same that had slayed Mr. Amyatt; and these were stationed every where for the management of the whole country. After these reglements had taken place, the General hearing of the Vezir's approach, advanced with Shytâb-rây and Mirza-nedjef-qhan to give him battle: for he had already eased his mind by stationing rulers and tax-gatherers in the most convenient places, where they were properly supported by the new raised troops: a business in which he was ably assisted by Shytâb-rây, a man who had not his equal in the art of settling and regulating the new provinces

The whole of
Shudjah-ed-
dö8lah's domi-
nions submit to
the English.

vinces; indeed he rendered eminent services in undermining a dominion that had been established almost these fifty years, and in oversetting a sovereignty, that had become hereditary in Shudjah-ed-dö8lah's family, so early as the times of Burhan-el-mulk saadet-qhan, his maternal grand-father. But every part of the new conquests was not thoroughly pacified; for to keep down some ungrateful servants, and to carry a tight hand over some restless Zemindars, and especially over Radja Belvent-sing, proved a business of much labour and difficulty.

Shudjah-ed-
dö8lah joined
by Malhar-raö
marches against
the English.

We have left the Vezir occupied in effecting a junction with Malhar-raö, the famous Marhatta General. As soon as he had eased his mind on that head, he advanced to attack the English, although the Afghans who had promised assistance on the Marhatta's effecting his junction, contented themselves with spreading a report of their marching; but did not advance one step. He was only joined by Umad-el-mulk, who came to camp with a small number of men; but who in fact proved only a mere spectator: for he was a man equally incapable of thinking of a scheme, or of doing any execution. But he was not alone in that case: not one man in that army had a head to plan, or a hand to execute, any thing; nor did any one think of wiping from one another's face that air of consternation, which their defeat had stamped thereon. For as soon as the two armies came to an action in the plains of Corra, and they had some skirmishes together, the Marhatta Malhar-raö who had never been exposed to the fire and violence of cannon, was at once confounded, and appalled by such a storm of fire; and after having galloped up and down, like one desirous to do something, he put spurs to his horse, and continued his gallop without once turning about to look behind; he galloped on until he found himself in the country of Goaliar which was the center of his government. As for Shudjah-ed-dö8lah himself, he became now fully sensible of the faithlessness of his people, and of the general discouragement that had spread amongst them; and as he did not spy

the

And is worst-
ed after a few
light skirmish-
es.

the face of success in the glass of hope, he retreated from the field of battle. It is observable that whilst the English were moving from Ilahabad in order to attack the Vezir's army, they had been surrounded by bodies of Marhatta cavalry, who faithful to their own wonted custom, encircled them at one time, and gave them some inquietude, by scouring and plundering the whole country round them. At another time they had very nearly seized Shytàb-ráy who with a handful of men, chanced to be hemmed in by them: he was very near being killed. But the man, without being dismayed by the extreme inferiority of his numbers, encouraged bravely his people, and having brandished his spear in the field of braves, he maintained his honour, until he was rescued from imminent danger by some English troops that hastened to his assistance. The truth is, that this man was endowed with many valuable qualities; and it may be said, that at this particular period of time, he seemed superior in merit to all the eminent men of Hindostan. But we hope soon, if it pleases God, to give an account of most of his good qualities; and this shall be, when we come to give a detail of his way of life, of his system of government in the province of Azimabad, and of his style of command.

As to Aly-hibrahim-qhan, who at the desire of Bèni-bahadyr's, had left Ilahabad in order to join him in the Vezir's army; that nobleman no sooner heard of this second defeat, than he came back, and remained secretly in that city for a length of time; until the Vezir had made his peace with the English, and the troubles of the country had subsided; then only that worthy good man, that Pattern of fidelity and righteousness, thought proper to quit that corner of silence and obscurity, in order to repair to M8rsh8dabad; but we shall in time make further mention of him, if it pleases God, whenever we come to speak of Mahmed-reza-qhan: for at present our business is with Shudjah-eddö8lah.

THAT Prince after his second defeat, repaired to Feròh-abad, where he complained bitterly of the defection and general inattention of the Afghan nation.

Singular speech
of Ahmed-qhan-
bangash's to
Shudjah-ed-
dó8lah.

nation. On this accusation, every one of their rulers brought forth some excuse and covered himself with some pretence : every one had a word for himself; but as it was not from the heart, it made no impression upon the Vezir. However Ahmed-qhan-bangash, son to the famous Mohammed-qhan-ghazem-fer-djung, acted with more sincerity and candor: it is true he hated heartily Shudjah-eddó8lah, but he was too noble-minded to conceal his opinion, and had too much frankness to keep a veil upon the real state of things: “ you, “ said he, that expect to obtain victory with the assistance of these Afghans, “ and some other strangers, are much mistaken in your reckoning. I give “ you notice that not one of them will prove of any use to you; nor will “ that expectation of your’s produce any thing, but a further opportunity of “ spending amongst your enemies, as well as amongst your own troops, some “ handfulls more of that little money that may remain to you from your former treasures: for rest assured that after all, you shall remain still in “ the state in which you are to day; nor will these very by-standers, “ that now hear us, answer any purpose at all, but that of standing mere “ spectators of victory, and of making it a subject of mirth and sport amongst themselves. As to my own part, I have nothing at your service, “ but my advice; and it is this: either come directly to a new battle, or submit to a peace. Content yourself then with the troops on whose attachment “ you can depend, and without waiting vainly for any one’s assistance, do “ rush impetuously upon your enemy, and lay your account with obtaining “ the victory, or perishing in the attempt; and then, if you survive that action, you shall be found to have been playing at dice with your own “ honor and life; or else, if you find such a business difficult, and your “ heart bids nothing for it, then without any one’s mediation, get-up, and “ go alone, and only with your person, to the English camp. Nor do “ think ill of such a step: from what I see and hear of those strangers, they “ seem always to act according to the dictates of generosity and sound sense;

nor

“ nor is it probable that they shall throw the dice of treachery with you, or
 “ bring you into any disgrace or danger; on the contrary, I shall be egregiously
 “ mistaken, if out of regard to your name and out of respect to the
 “ renown of your family, they shall not set open the door of friendship,
 “ and shew you so much regard and consideration, as shall not fail to satisfy
 “ you intirely.”

WHILST these events were taking place at Feroh-abad, the King and the English commanders were making another effort upon the minds of to the garrison of Chennar: they remonstrated to them how little they could rely on Shudjah-eddö8lah's successes or victories, and how improvident they were against a siege: and at last they prevailed upon them to surrender the fortrefs; when part of them took service with the victors, and part went to Shudjah-eddö8lah, their master. But this new reverse having greatly affected that prince, who by this time had fully perpended the Rohilah prince's advice, he thought it both advantageous, and honorable to take such a step: With a small number of his favorites, he got into his paleky, and took to the road that led to the English army, having with him no more than a dozen of horsemen: and he was already at hand, when intelligence was brought to the general, that the Vezir of Hindostan was approaching in that manner. That commander stood amazed, and at first was at a loss how to distinguish truth from falsehood: but the matter having been ascertained beyond doubt, he sent forward Radjah Shytábräy, and himself followed on foot in a respectful manner with all his officers. The Vezir on seeing the general advancing on foot, alighted from his paleky and embraced him; and he then received the several Nezers, which he as well as all his officers, presented. The general continued on foot all this while with them, and in that manner they surrounded the Vezir in his paleky, and conducted him to a tent, that had been provided for the purpose, and where he was desired to alight: there the

The Garrison
of Chennar-gur
surrenders to
the English.

Shudjah ed
dö8lah, without
any safe con-
duct, goes al-
most alone to
the English
camp, where he
is received in a
respectful man-
ner.

general

general saw him partake of an entertainment (168) prepared for the occasion; and he continued to treat him with so endearing an attention, that he seemed he had made it a point never to abate any thing either in himself or in his officers from the utmost respect shewn at first: the whole of his behaviour being one continual scene of civility and deference. Shudjah-eddö8lah after having partaken of the entertainment, went to take a nap; and after some rest, he got up perfectly satisfied, and returned to a spot two or three coffes distant, where he had pitched his own tents, and where his retinue, which did not amount to above four hundred men in all, was waiting for him. There he remained three or four days, in which time he made use of Shytàb-rày's mediation to conclude a peace with the English: and now being satisfied and easy in his mind, he availed himself of the modest looks of the English, to send for his whole retinue, and to keep it about his person; having so far divested himself of all suspicions, as not only to interchange messages and messengers very often with the general, but even to be desirous of his company: In so much that it became common to see those two eminent adversaries often in each other's lodgings, without any ceremony at all. Shytàb-rày during this intercourse, was advancing in his negociation, where he was aiming at the mutual satisfaction of both parties. But such was his gratitude for the kindnesses shewn him by the Vezir, when once he had found it necessary to seek an Asylum in his minister's house, that he evidently inclined to Shudjah-eddö8lah's side; and it was perceived that he was endeavouring to oblige him and to promote his interest to the utmost of his wishes: a conduct which acquired him the esteem and applause of both friends and foes. The negociation having taken up but a few days, peace was concluded under the following conditions: " that to discharge the expences of the war, Shudjah-ed-dö8lah

Shudjah-ed-
dö8lah con-
cludes a peace
with the En-
glish.

(168) Not only the Gentoos or Hindoos abstain scrupulously from any victuals touched by an European or indeed by any one, but those of their own tribe; but the Mussulmen themselves, although by no means under such a prohibition, retain that custom: and indeed well they may: for they are themselves nothing but Gentoos-converts. As to the Mussulmen of other countries, (except the Persians) for instance the Turks and Arabes, they have no idea of such a repugnance.

would:

“ would pay fifty lacks of rupees to the English in the following manner :
 “ twenty-five lacs contant, and twenty five lacs by assignments upon the future
 “ revenues of his country; under condition however, that any contributions
 “ which the English might have already raised in them, should be deemed
 “ parts of the assigned sums: That the province of Ilah-abad should be set a-
 “ part for the sole use of the Emperor; and that the city and fortress of that
 “ name should be assigned for his residence. It was stipulated likewise that
 “ Nedjef-qhan, who had attached himself to the Emperor and to the En-
 “ glish, should have a yearly pension of one lac, to be deducted out of the
 “ Imperial revenue due by Bengal: that a body of English troops should
 “ remain at Ilah-abad to guard the Emperor’s person; and that an English-
 “ man on the part of the English nation, should reside at Shudjah-eddó8lah’s
 “ court, in the quality of Vekil or agent, and Mian-dji or go-between, but
 “ without power to meddle with that prince’s affairs: that after the conclu-
 “ sion of this treaty, the friends and enemies of one party should be deemed
 “ the friends and enemies of the other: and of course that if an enemy should
 “ declare against one party, the other should be bound to give him assistance;
 “ but under condition that whoever of the two contractants called for troops to
 “ his assistance from the other party, should pay their charges to their own-
 “ er. To all these articles was added another; and it was this: that the Radja
 “ Belvant-sing, Zemindar of Banares, who by his siding with the Emperor
 “ and with the English, had been found fault with by Shudjah-eddó8lah,
 “ should be pardoned and forgiven; but under condition of his remaining
 “ subject to Shudjah-eddó8lah, although without ceasing to be under the pro-
 “ tection of the English”. The above articles having been set to writing by both
 sides, and ascertained by their signatures and seals, as well as by those of their
 principal officers, they were confirmed and exchanged; and there remained
 now to Shudjah-eddó8lah not one reason for staying, save that of paying
 quickly the money promised.

THAT

Shudjah-ed-dölah applies to every one of his relations for some money, and is refused by even his own mother.

THAT article now engrossed all his thoughts; and he proposed to every one of his favorites and servants to assist him with a certain sum of money, according to their respective abilities: in this design he wrote to his mother, to his consort, to the brothers of that consort, and to every one of his relations and friends, requesting their assistance, and informing them that his release from his present engagements depended intirely upon the reception and payment of the stipulated money. This was the message he sent in general: but the letters themselves were couched in such terms, as gave some intimation of the particular sum which he hoped from every one; and in reality, it was no more than what every one of them could spare with a deal of ease. But if this was his expectation, he found himself much mistaken: His very best servants proved much fonder of their money, than of their master's concerns; and every one listening only to the dictates of avarice, proffered only one half, or one third, or one fourth of what was so reasonably expected; nor were the many letters received on that occasion, penned in any other strain, whether from his mother, from his brothers-in-law, or from his slaves: those men that had made their fortunes in his house, and were most indebted to him for their well being. But this was not the case with his consort: that princess, not only sent him without hesitation whatever money or jewels, gold or silver furniture were in her possession; but she added to that offering whatever else she could obtain from the ladies of the Seraglio, without sparing the very ring of her nose with it's pearls (169). Not that she was not strongly dissuaded by her people from so much self-denial, but she would answer their remonstrances by these very words: that whatever "she was possessed of was of use to her only so long as Shudjah-eddö8lah

(169) This ring called *Nutt*, and the only part of the Indian finery which Europeans cannot bring themselves to like, is always the distinctive ornament of the mistress of the house: it is that which the bride-groom never fails to send to his bride; and the article on which fall most debates at that time. Not that but other ladies of the Seraglio wear it equally: but it is always reputed by the consent of the mistress of the house, unless they be comforts themselves. This ring which is of gold may be half a line in thickness, upon a circumference of about four inches; and it is passed through the left cartilage of the nostrils. At the lower part of the metal are two round pearls of value, divided only by a ruby somewhat flattened. The mistress of the house wears this ring only when she pleases: it is a distinction as well as the *bocca*, or Indian smoking pipe; but the ~~last~~ is never allowed, unless she has been once pregnant.

“ was safe; and that if he should cease to be so, all those jewels and all those precious things would also cease to be of use to herself; nor did she wish to use them on any other condition.” It was only a woman that spoke so; but her sentiments would have done honor to any man upon earth: and may so much generosity, and so much gratitude! may so respectful a remembrance of society of table and bed be ever rewarded with the blessing of heaven. Doubtless it is of such noble minded-women, that the poet thought, when he said:

“ A pious, obedient and dutiful woman,

“ Will make a King of a poor man.”

Shudjah-eddö8lah after such an experiment of his consort's attachment, conceived so high an opinion of her fidelity, that he made it a practice to commit to her care whatever money came to his hand in presents, or could be spared from necessary expences.

“ What man must he be, that should prove inferior to a woman ?

IN short, the Vezir after having payed down such a sum as was in his power, ballanced his account with the English commanders, by pawning in their hands an immense sum in jewels of high value, which were valued a part one by one: a delicate business in which he was much assisted by Shytàb-ráy. After this he sent for his consort and family from Hafyz-rahmet's country; and having given the fortress of Chennar in exchange for that of Ilah-abad, which had been assigned for the Emperor's residence; and placed with that prince a person of consequence to execute in his absence the office of Vezir, and another to perform the duty of Mir-ateshy (170) (which two offices were hereditary in his family) he departed, and took the shortest road to Fäizabad: a city that had been finished by himself, but commenced by his maternal ancestor, Saadet-qhan. And although he travelled with expedition, nevertheless he availed himself of his journey throughout that whole tract to put the country under a proper management; and there we shall leave him, until

(170) That office by giving the command of the guards of the citadel and palace, necessarily confers the disposal of the Emperor's person.

we resume his history, by bringing it as far down as the reign of our present Emperor, Shah-aalem: then with god's blessing, we shall close our narrative of Mir-cassim's adventures, in the cursory account which we are to give of the Emperors, Sovereigns, and eminent men who have appeared in Hindostan within that period. These matters we reserve for our subsequent volume; and this shall be over and above what we shall have to say of Bengal and Bahar, and of the boundaries which the new conquerors have given to those two provinces. At present our intention is to restrain ourselves to such events only as concern more particularly the English government in those parts: and we shall attempt to give an idea of the revenue regulations, and of the institutions which they have established themselves; or which having been introduced by the Viceroys or rulers of their own appointing, have since passed into a custom and become a law.

END OF THE ELEVENTH SECTION, BEING THE THIRD OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

C O N T E N T S

OF THE SECTION XII.

Sabut-djung, now Lord Clive, is coming to Bengal with an absolute authority. Nedjm-ed-dó8lah, alias Mir-pahlory succeeds to his father Mir-djaafer-qhan. Nandecomar, his prime minister, is dismissed by Lord Clive, who introduces Mahmed-reza-qhan in his stead, and acts every where as a despot.—He attacks Johnstone and Middleton's conduct, and is vigorously repulsed.—Billers, chief of Azimabad, frightened by Lord Clive, kills himself.—Doctor Fullerton dismissed the service.—Some account of Mirza-cazem-qhan.— Lord Clive goes to Lah-abad, where he obliges the Emperor to invest the English Company with the Divani or Divan-ship of the three province.—Insolence of Colonel Usmut (Richard Smith).—Lord Clive returns.—Changes and promotions throughout Bengal.—Lenity and generosity of the English towards the Land-holders of Bengal.—The young Nawab dies suddenly and unaccountably.—He is succeeded by his brother Séif-ed dó8lah, alias Mir-canáya, who also dies suddenly.—Death of the author's father, the Vezir Hedáiet-ally-qhan. Shitáb-ráy, Viceroy of Azimabad.—Discovers strange mismanagements in Durdj-náráin's administration.—Lord Clive makes a second journey to Azimabad, and secures Radja Belvent-sing's situation by a treaty. He returns to England, fully bent on impeaching governor Vansittart.—M. Veris (Verelst), succeeds to the government of Bengal.—New regulations with respect to finances, police and justice.—Famine and mortality all over Bengal.—Mubarec-ed-dó8lah, third son Mir-djaafer, nominal Nazem of Bengal.—Intrigues at his court.—Oblique hints against Mahmed-reza-qhan.—A strange way of distributing justice.—

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THE SEIR MUTA QUERIN; OR,

Severe in sinuations against Mahmed-reza-qhan.—Strange character of Roh-eddiu-hosséin-qhan, governor of P8raniah.—The Council resolves to investigate the finances to the bottom.—Bengal divided in six districts.—Charges exhibited in England against Vansittart by Lord Clive.—Vigorously repelled by Vansit-tart.—Who is sent back with honor to Bengal.—Mester-hushtin-bahadyr arrives in Calcutta, where he spends ninety days and ninety nights in perusing records.—Mahmed-reza-qhan arrested.—Shitab-ráy arrested.—The Nazem of Bengal's allowance reduced from twenty-four to sixteen lacs a year.—Shitáb-ráy honourably acquitted, and sent back to resume his office.—Dies of a broken heart.—Brilliant character of his.—Horrible famine at Azimabad, and generosity of Shitab-ráy's in that trying occasion.—Curious anecdotes about Shitáb-ráy.—Dies a Musulman in his heart.—Mahmed-reza-qhan released from his confinement.—Arrival of general Clavering and Colonel Monson and M. Francis.

THE diary of Mir-djafer-qhan's government and life had been already closed by the hand of destiny, when intelligence arrived in Bengal, that the renowned Lord Clive, that man so much tryed in war, was coming from the country of England with an absolute authority over the provinces of Bengal and Azimabad. As such an intelligence had nothing pleasing for governor Vansittart, and he did not think his presence convenable in Calcutta at such a time, he set out for England some time before that nobleman could arrive, and left the remaining gentlemen of the council to regulate and settle, as sovereigns, such business as concerned the government; and these determined that Nedjm-ed-dó8lah, heretofore known under the name of Mir-pahlory*, eldest son to Mir-djafer-qhan by Munny-begum, should succeed to his father in the power so

Sabut-djung, now Lord Clive is coming to Bengal with absolute authority.

Nedjm-ed-dó8lah, alias Mir-pahlory succeeds to his father Mir-djafer-qhan.

* This nick-name was given him by his mother, who in all the stages of her pregnancy found herself longing after *Pablories*, certain balls of pulse fried in sesame-oil, and sold about the streets. His title of Nedjm-ed-dó8lah may signify the star of the Empire

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of loosing and binding every business of government and sovereignty with the advice of the gentleman of the council. When this matter came to be settled at Calcutta, Mr. Middleton chief of Moorshoodabad, and Mr. Djonson (Johnstone) chief at Bardevan, went to the palace, and ordered Nedjm-ed-dô8lah to take his seat on the mesned of sovereignty; a favour for which this prince shewed his gratitude by respectfully presenting them with such a sum of money as had been agreed upon. And for some time he acted as absolute governor, having Nand-comar for his Divan: a minister who became the center of all the private and public business of his master's in Bengal. Mir-mahmed-cazem-qhan, brother to Mir-djafer-qhan, was appointed governor of the province of Azimabad on the part of his nephew: and Radja Durdj-Naráin, brother to Ram-naráin was named his Divan or prime minister. Shitáb-ráy seemed to have been forgotten in this arrangement: he enjoyed already the office of Divan of the Bahar, on the part of the Emperor; and he had such connections with all the English, and specially with General Carnac, the commander in chief, that Shujda-ed-dô8lah thought proper to take advice from the times, and to make him a present of a district about Azim-gur and Djohonpoor, called Mahoo, which produced more than one lac of rupees a year; and this he gave him as a free-hold or Djaghir. Some little time passed in this manner, when Nand-comar with whom Henry Vansittart had been much dissatisfied, was sent for to Calcutta by the gentlemen of the council, but not dismissed from his office: where his dependants continued to exercise full authority in his name. This governor had set down in writing this man's misdemeanors and bad qualities; and he had got those sheets bound in the form of a book which he left in the hands of his brother George Vansittart Hooshiâr-djung, with orders to produce it in council, and to read it compleately, whenever Lord Clive should come, and take his seat. The concil struck with the contents of that memoir, forbade Nand-comar from stirring out of the city of Calcutta; but did not chuse to dismiss him from his office because,

THE SEIR MUTAQUERIN; OR,

because that minister some time after the revolution that had overset Seradj-ed-dò8lah to set Mir-djafer-qhan in his stead, had served Lord Clive as his Moonshy or Secretary; and also as his Divan or Minister, at a time when that Lord was yet only Colonel Clive; and likewise because this Divan had from thence conceived mighty hopes that his power and influence would receive a great accession on that nobleman's arrival in Bengal. Matters remained on that footing untill Lord Clive arrived himself; when George Vansittart producing in full council the book written by his brother, read it to that nobleman, word by word; and although the new Viceroy had intentions to oblige Nand-comar, yet such was the impression made upon him by the light thrown on that minister's misdemeanors and character, that he altered his opinion of him at once, and dismissed him from his office, with injunctions not to stir out of the city and precincts of Calcutta.

Nand-comar
prime-minister
to the young
prince, is dis-
missed his office
by Lord Clive.

Nand-comar's downfall made room for Mahmed-reza-qhan, son to the Physician Haddy-qhan-akuly of Shiraz *, a man who upon Mir-djafer-qhan's second accession to the Mesned, had been made deputy-governor of the province of Dacca. This man came at once upon the stage of the world, in order to become by the mere force of his destiny the favourite object of boundless favours and endless graces from Lord Clive. He was recommended to the deputyship of Nadjm-ed-dò8lah's by that nobleman, who heaped honours and favours upon him, and gave him an absolute authority over his master in whatever concerned the government: an office which made him the center of all business public and private. At the same time he procured for him the titles of Mahmed-reza-qhan the valiant, ever victorious in war †; and little by little he

Mahmed-reza-
qhan is intro-
duced at the
young Prince's
court.

* Shiraz, a city in Persia, the fourth in rank in that Empire, and the capital of Pars, the Persis of the Greeks.

† Mahmed-reza-qhan, *Babadyr-Muzaffer-djung*,

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he obtained for him the further titles of the eminent of the state * the foremost of the kingdom, and of lord of lords: to these was added the privilege of riding in a Naleky †, which in Hindostan is a distinction reserved to sovereigns. It must be observed that when the intelligence arrived in England of the revolution effected in favour of Mir-cassem-qhan, and of the troubles that had been the consequences of it, the people of that country conceived such fears for the Company's safety, and fancied their affairs to be so teeming with mighty difficulties, that they thought no one equal to the task of re-establishing the Company's affairs, and quieting the country, but Lord Clive himself. And as such a commission was in their opinion an object of mighty importance and difficulty, they thought it incumbent upon themselves to make some amends to that commander, by promoting him at once from the station of simple Colonel, to the dignity and title of Lord, which in England and London answers to the dignity of Omrah in Hindostan: he was furnished at the same time with such ample powers, and such an extensive authority, that no governor to this very day has ever been invested with so unbounded an influence, unless it be the vaillant Navvab Mr. Hustin, who is the prop of the state and the darling in war and in battles, and who by surpassing even Lord Clive himself in dignity and importance, can have no equal or companion either in Hindostan or in Europe, and really deserves all that elevation. Lord Clive in taking the steps he had taken, or indeed in any business whatever, was not bound to deliberate with a council: Looking upon no man to be his equal, he made no account of any one, whether Hindian or English; and to give a specimen of his power, he first of all im-

formed

Lord Clive acts
every where as
an absolute Monarch.

* *Muâien-ed-dôslab, Mubariz-el-mulk, Zhan-qhanan.*

† The Naleki is the shell of a Palenkin, without tent or covering: It is properly speaking the sedan of the Palenkin; for this last is to all intents and purposes a kind of bed hanging at the fore and after part from a bamboo that rises archwise over it, and supports the tent or canopy: but the Naleki has neither the arching nor the tent; and instead of hanging from one bamboo, it is set upon two straight ones, as an European chair, which two bamboos that rest upon the shoulders of eight men.

THE SEIR MUTAQUERIN; OR,

Attacks John-
son's and Mid-
dleton's con-
duct.

formed Djanfon and Middleton, that they had done properly in placing Nedjm-ed-dò8lah in his father's station; but that they had acted very improperly and very unjustly, in taking money from him: he added that such a sum must be accounted for by charging it to the Company's credit. To this requisition, the two gentlemen answered first of all by sending in their resignation, and then by declaring openly "that so long as they were in the Company's service, they were bound to obey his commands; but now that they had resigned it, they had no further orders to receive from him: and that, if he had any thing to say to them, he must say it in the Royal Court of Justice; that, as to his injunctions for refunding the money they had received, they would be ready to submit to such a measure, and to refund the two small sums they had received from Nedjm-ed-dò8lah, whenever himself should think it proper to pay into the same treasury the enormous sums he had received from Nedjm-ed-dò8lah's father, at the time he had placed him on Seraj-ed-dò8lah's mesned." Lord Clive on hearing so resolute and so undisguised an answer, and on finding that they had resigned the service, did not dare to enter into any discussion with them, and he remained silent. Djanfon himself went home; but Middleton who had been long in Hindia, addicted himself to a mercantile life; and after some time he found means to be readmitted in the service, where he became chief of Moorshoodabad, when his last moment arriving, he died at Pàinty, a spot near Shah-abad, midway betwixt Azimabad and Moorshoodabad: he was entombed on that very hill of Pàinty, where his monument is seen from afar. In his nation he bears a celebrity for goodness of heart and much benevolence: but supposing that he was a man of much goodness, nevertheless there was no comparing him in genius and many other good qualities to Doctor William Fullerton; nor in bravery and military abilities, as well as firmness in friendship and steadiness of temper to Colonel Godard; nor in wisdom of conduct, attention to the rights of friendship and love, or in knowledge and keen-
nies

ness in the intricacies of business and government, to George Vanfittart; nor in goodness and in civility and many other qualifications to Mr. Aayoun-Law and Mr. Thomas Law, who was younger brother to Mr. Ayoon-Law, and equal to his elder brother, in merit *. Nor was Baaloo Sahab inferior to them; But Tamsan Sahab was incomparable in many valuable qualifications; and so were Mr. Anderson and Mr. Elliott, two young men who had no equal in the very perfection of wisdom, civility, and kindness, and in the whole assemblage of whatever could conciliate respect or love to a character. It is even reported of Mr. Anderson's younger brother, that he is equal to his elder brother, and in some sciences, such as the mathematics, his superior. Few men equal to these have been seen in that nation; for although some other English characters are spoken of with encomiums, yet as I never had any business or connections with them, I have not sufficient knowledge to write of them.

It was about this time that Mr. Billers succeeded in right of seniority to the chief-ship of Azimabad: he was a man of little understanding, and on that account much inclined to submit to the guidance of Mr. Middleton and Mr. Djonson. On his being appointed, he went from the garden of Bauky-poor, the then residence of every English ruler, and having traversed the city in great pomp and state, he proceeded to the castle where he ordered Mir-cazem-qhan to take his seat on the musned of government as Viceroy of the province of Bahar. This installation produced him a sum of money; but as at the same time he listened implicitly to the dictates and instigations of some gentoos, as senseless as himself, he rendered himself guilty of some improper actions, which rendered him distracted when he came to hear of Lord Clive's arrival, and of his great power and severity: He was seized with consternation on his past conduct, and
killed

Billers, chief of
Azimabad, kills
himself.

* All these names having been at first heard wrong, and then misspelt, and at last ill written and that too without vowels, there is no making any thing of them.

THE SEIR MUTAQUERIN; OR,

killed himself with his own sword; he was buried in that very garden of Bauky-poor where he has remained ever since, a standing stock for the reflections of his own countrymen.

Doctor Fullerton dismissed from the service.

But it was General Carnac who enjoyed now the full sunshine of favor: he had these many years enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Lord Clive's; and he became now the principal manager of his politics and government, as well as the center of all business public and private. He had been heretofore a warm friend of Doctor Fullerton's; but having become his sworn enemy, he had put some matters into Lord Clive's mind, that made him dismiss the Doctor from the service. This gentleman after taking an affectionate leave of his friends by whom he was exceedingly regretted, set out for his country, from which he promised to come back again, on his being able to obtain certain conditions and stipulations for himself. It appears that his intention did not tally with the decrees of providence; for he has not yet appeared; although there is intelligence of his being alive and in health. Wherever he may be, God almighty preserve him in peace of mind.

Some account of Mirza-cazem-qhan.

Lord Clive's first care after his arrival in Calcutta, was to take cognizance of some pressing business, and to settle some important regulations: after those arrangements, he resolved to repair to Ilah-abad in order to carry certain points which he had settled in his mind; and the Vezir himself, on that nobleman's invitation and that of General Carnac's, quitted Fáiz-abad, his capital, and took the road to Ilah-abad; being much encouraged thereto by the insinuations of Shitab-ráy's, who was the harbinger of peace between the different parties. There appeared at this time a certain person called Mirza-cazem-qhan, a Persian born, who by marrying in the family of Hassen-reza-qhan, grand son to Hadji-Ahmed, had acquired many friends, and in time had been promoted to
the

the government of the district of Sarferam and Cháin-poor through the interest of Aly-hibrahim-qhan. As Lord Clive had once known him when in Decan, he now remembered his acquaintance, made him an object of boundless favors and high preferment, presented him with one lac of Rupees contant, and admitted him so far amongst his favorites, that to all appearance it is to his interest and management that Mahmed-reza-qhan owes his elevation to the summit of power. The latter wanted to return the obligation; and as he could not bear to see Shytábray's extensive influence, and his participation in every secret of State, he recommended the new favorite as an able negotiator: his intention being to supplant Shitáb-ráy in the future negotiation with the king and the Vezir: this matter had even been settled with Lord Clive, without the general's knowledge; and it was with this view that the Mirza had accompanied that Lord in his journey to Hindostan. But that nobleman who on his arrival at Azim-abad, had maturely examined Mir-cazem-qhan, the actual governor, and Durdj-naráin his deputy, as well as Shytábray; and had weighed their several degrees of merit and capacity in the scales of discernment and penetration; soon came to take his resolution in favor of the latter, whom he desired to accompany him in his journey: his intention being to make use of him as an agent and a go-between in the ensuing negotiation. As to the actual governor Mir-Cazem-qhan, he found him to be a man simple and plain, but unfit for so weighty an office as the government of Azim-abad: he even seemed to listen to the proposals of Durdj-naráin's, who actuated by avarice and covetousness, wanted to be the sole disposer of all the affairs of government to the exclusion of his benefactor. This Gentoo, unmindful of all the obligations he owed both to the above nobleman, and to his elder brother Mir-djafer-qhan, thought only of advancing his own affairs under pretence of promoting his master's interest; and he went so far as to lay claim to the administration of the province in his own and sole name. Lord Clive who did not think the hurry of a voyage a fit time for di-

Lord Clive goes to Ilah-abad and obliges the Emperor to invest the English Company with the office of Divan of Bengal, Bahar, and Ooreffa.

dimissions and appointments, left the matter undecided; and taking Shitáb-ráy with him, he journeyed to Ilah-abad, where he had the honor to pay his respects to the Emperor: after which he visited the Vezir; and having exchanged with him some sumptuous entertainments and several curious and magnificent presents, he explained the project he had in his mind, and asked that the company should be invested with the Divan-ship of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Ooreffa, of which office he requested the proper patents from the Vezir and the Emperor. As both the Emperor and the Vezir were already in their minds subdued by the superior courage and prowess of the English, as well as over awed by the strength of mind and penetration of Lord Clive's (two articles in which they were greatly over matched,) they were obliged to grant the request, although reluctantly. Having therefore ordered the Seneds or Patents to be drawn-up in the manner that had been desired, they delivered them in the hands of Lord Clive's. By these patents twenty-four lacs a year were settled as the imperial tribute or quit-rent over the three provinces, for the future; and the Company's acknowledgement and bond for the same, which are the owner's voucher, were drawn-up under their seal, and entered in the imperial registers. Thus a business of such a magnitude, as left neither pretence nor subterfuge, and which at any other time would have required the sending wise Aambassadors and able negotiators, as well as a deal of parley and conference with the Company and the King of England, and much negotiation and contention with the ministers, was done and finished in less time than would have been taken up for the sale of a jackass, or of a beast of burden, or of a head of cattle. The lord having accomplished his purpose, returned to the seat of his command, which is called Calcutta; and left for his agent at the Emperor's court, Colonel Usmutt, (Smith) who after the lord's departure for England, received the title of General, and became entrusted with the command of the English army. His office was only that of an agent near the Emperor's person, but in fact

fact he was his master and lord to all intents and purposes; and he was himself so sensible of his power, that he took his abode within the Castle, and in the imperial Palace, whilst the Emperor was obliged to remain without: where to conceal his shame, he amused himself in finishing with brick and stone, some buildings which he had heretofore commenced. But even there he was not free from insult: for the Colonel one day being displeased at the noise which the Imperial kettle-drums and other warlike instruments made in the place appointed for them over the gate of the Castle *, sent them order to cease, and forbade their playing any more: with which order those poor men thought proper to comply, and henceforward they remained without performing their duty and without bread. Verse—

Insolence of
Colonel Us-
mutt.

“ Have patience: every one shall have his turn for five days.”

As to Mirza-cazem's views of supplanting Shitab-ráy in the business of speaker or agent of Lord Clive's, they totally miscarried: Shitab-ráy's good manners, and flowing language, together with his penetration, and keenness of genius, had gained so much on the lord's heart; and he had impressed his mind with so deep a sense of gratitude for the services he had rendered the Company and the English commanders, to whom he bore a sincere attachment, that Mirza-cazem missed the office which he aimed at, and returned with his protector without obtaining his ends. However he became instrumental in putting an end to Aly-hibrahimqhan's exile: for although this nobleman enjoyed much consideration with the Vezir and his Minister, nevertheless he lived uneasy on account of his being deprived of his friends and country; and he became now desirous of returning to

* This was a much graver affront than an European could apprehend; for this musick, which consisted of a variety of instruments, and played three or four times a day, and once at night, is a mark of sovereignty, and always of command.

to Bengal, chiefly through the persuasion of the said Mirza. This gentleman, who remembered how instrumental that refugee nobleman had once been in screening him from the blaze of Mir-cassem's resentment; and how much he was indebted to a patronage that had sheltered him so effectually from the scorching rays of that burning sun, so as to bear him harmless and in the very palm of his hand, now thought it incumbent upon him to make a return for those important benefits: he therefore presented him to Lord Clive and the General, and obtained permission for his return to Moorshoodabad: to which city the Qhan was strongly inclined, on account of his long residence in it, and the number of friends and acquaintances he had there. He set out then with Mirza-cazem and was received amongst the favorites and friends of Mahmed-reza qhan's; But although he was treated with much honor and regard, he was not held in that high consideration which he deserved.

Lord Clive being returned to Azimabad, dismissed Mir-cazem-qhan from the government of that province, and appointed in his stead Rajah-durdj-narain, as sole governor, with full power for loosing and binding every thing all over the country. Nevertheless he assigned to Mir-cazem-qhan a yearly pension of one lac; and this nobleman went and took-up his residence at Radj-mahal-ecber-nagar, where he had been born and bred, and where the easiness of his temper made him keep clear of all strife and contention: contenting himself with passing his days in quiet and affluence, by which he acquired the name of a good natured man. But Durdj-narain, as if in retribution for the ingratitude and under-hand dealing with which he had used the poor man, his master and benefactor, was in a few days put to a deal of shame, and dismissed from his office with disgrace: in so much that this man who had been endeavoring to raise himself to the sole government of the province at the expense of his

his master, lost both his character and life, as we shall shortly mention in it's proper place. Lord Clive after a few days stay at Azim-abad, repaired to Calcutta, where he settled to his own mind every part of the administration: he associated Mr. Sykes to himself in the business of regulating matters of revenue, for which purpose he appointed him chief of Moorshoodad; whilst the late Djessaret-qhan, was appointed to the government of the province of Dacca Djehan-ghir-nagar: But the Country of Bardvan was taken out of the hands of the hindians, and entrusted to the care of two or three trusty and approved Englishmen. Roh-eddin-hoffein-qhan, son to Seif-qhan, and grandson to Umdet-el-mulk-emir-qhan, governor of Cabul, was continued in his government of P8rania: He had chanced in a swift Mor-Panky * to overtake Lord Clive about Shah-abad and Painty, whilst the latter was going up in the height of the rains; and he had rendered so satisfactory an account of his conduct, that he had been confirmed in his post, with orders to send the product of his government, which did not amount to more than six or seven lacs a year, to the Cachery or Exchequer of Moorshoodabad, as it had been Customary formerly. But such was this man's ignorance of business, and his natural sloth; and such was his prepossession in favor of that ungratefull faithless favorite of his, called Asker-aly-qhan, who was son of his father's Per-zada or director, and whom he had entrusted with the management of all his concerns small or great public or private, that in two or three years time, he lost his office and appointment, as it shall be mentioned hereafter. As to the Djaghirs, Altumgahs, Free-holds and private possessions of several people, which had always been held free both by Aly-verdy-qhan and by his successors, who never

Changes and
promotions
throughout
Bengal.

made

* The Mor-panky, as it's name implies, is a swift elegant boat, the poop whereof is fashioned and painted like a Peacock, whose tail colored and gilt extends from head to stern. It is rowed with Paddles managed by twenty, thirty or forty men that have their faces turned to the place they intend to fetch. Such a vessel of a hundred feet in length, was put on board an East-Indiaman by Governor Vansittart, but divided in three parts, which were put together in London, and presented to King George III. Look at Note 43, Section 8.

Lenity and generosity of the English towards the land-holders of Bengal.

made any objections to their privileges, they were respected by the English who following that example of lenity, left them unmolested; nor was any injury or Chicane offered to a single man amongst the possessors. This proved to be one of the tokens of divine goodness, and one mark of English munificence; for had it not been for that lenity, all was over with the ancient nobility and gentry of this Land; nor could any one of them pretend to live a single day in it even under the bare canopy of heaven. The English did even more: for the revolutions and alterations which resulted from the changes of the Emperors, and which the wonted faithlessness of men in office had rendered almost certain and unavoidable, were now put an end to by these strangers, who established it as a standing rule, that whoever was actual possessor of a spot of land, should remain in possession of it forever: and that after him it should devolve to his posterity. Thanks be to God Almighty, that matters have remained on that footing; and that it is become customary and established, that those who satisfied with little, have let themselves down the scanty stream of resignation and contentment, should be suffered to glide safely in it with their children and families; and may God grant out of his goodness that we may meet with no worse times than these!

It must be mentioned that Lord Clive after a short stay at Moorshoodabad, had landed in the garden of Saaduc-bagh on his way to Ilahabad, where he had been complimented by Nedjm-ed-dò8lah and Mahmed-reza-qhan, who had accompanied him so far. On Lord Clive's departure, these noble persons were returning to their palaces, when on a sudden Nedjm-ed-dò8lah was assaulted by some sharp pains in his bowels, which finding no vent at all, became so excruciating, that the young Navvab on his alighting at his palace, departed this life. It was on the twenty-fourth of Zilcaad in the year of the Hedjra one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine. He was succeeded in the government of the country

Strange and sudden death of the young Navvab of Bengal, who is succeeded by Seif-ed-dò8lah alias Mir-Pahlory his brother, who soon follows him to the grave.

A.D. 1766.

country by Séif-ed-dò8lah * his second brother, a young man of gentle manners, and who shewed himself inclined to do good and to oblige; but he too in a few days hastily quitted his life and government, leaving a good name behind. His power did not extend far; but so far as it went, he never suffered it to fail whenever, there was an act of benevolence and commiseration to be performed.

Shitâb-rây had attended Lord Clive to Ilah-abad by order; but on that nobleman's departure from thence, he of his own accord took his leave for a certain time, under promise of returning soon, as he had some particular business of his own. As to my forgiven father, he was so dissatisfied with the complexion of the times, and the contempt in which the Majesty of the Empire was held, that he had chosen to live retired and satisfied upon that small djaghir or estate which he possessed in this province from ancient times; and from whence he used now and then to repair to Azimabad for the purpose of paying one or two visits to whoever happened to be seated on the mesned of government: for he thought it expedient to be upon some terms with the men in office, lest he should be molested by those men who lived by wickedness; and it was on that account that he had come to Azimabad

to

* As I was passing by the young prince's gate at that very time, I was stopped by a croud, when lo! there came out at one and the same time, that he was taken ill, and that he was dead. Immense crouds thronged the whole length of the street, where it would have been difficult to descry one single person that was not actually beating its breast, or bathed in tears. The desolation and screams of the women in particular, are not to be described; and the curses universally poured against the supposed author of that unaccountable death, will never be forgotten: People pointed to Mahmed-reza-qhan, whose sway and over bearing temper neither this Prince, nor his elder brother could brooke. It is remarkable that people talked freely, of the first sudden and amazing death; but on this second death, people became silent and sullen. I was then at Aga-ally's house, who was my neighbour, and an eminent merchant, attached to Mahmed-reza-qhan; and there were present then Hadji-mahmed-beg sedjdar of Moorshoodabad, Hadji-mahmed-lang, Aga-reza, and some other Mogols, all attached to that minister. *The general report, said the translator, charges Mahmed-reza-qhan strongly: what is your opinion of it? Ha! Sir, sayd one of the company, the Physicians are all of his Cabal: all Moguls....* but here he was interrupted by these words; *People do not talk of such matters at Moorshoodabad,* said very gravely Aga-ally: and this admonition was followed by a long pause.

to wait on Lord Clive. But that Viceroy, who always travelled in haste, having already quitted that city, my forgiven father went no farther, but sent Séyd-aly-qhan, my brother, who was a great friend of Rabia-begum's (mother-in-law to Mahmed-reza-qhan:) his intention was that he should accompany Shitâb-rây, to which last he wrote a letter, intimating the design he had in view in sending his son; for he requested his assistance in such matters as depended on the Nizamet, that is, on the interference of the Navvab and of the English: he informed him at the same time that he had sent his son for the purpose of procuring some Seneds or Patents under the Navvab's seal. The stile of the letter was of so conciliating a nature, that Shitâb-rây, who possessed much sense and good nature, and knew how to rate every one's worth and station, answered it with particular marks of civility and good will, promising his services and assistance with the best grace imaginable. My forgiven father on this promise, sent the Harcara or head spy Moorlydur, who was one of the Columns of the government of Azim-abad: a man of keenness and abilities, who had orders to attend Shytâb-rây; and Séyd-aly qhan himself was ordered to attend them both; for which purpose he went with them as far as Moorhoodabab.

On Shitâb-rây's arrival at Calcutta, Lord Clive by the Generals advice proposed to attach him to his person, by employing him in whatever was relative to matters of finance and government: Shytâb-rây who was sensible how much exposed he was to the shafts of envy and obloquy; and who wished to shew his resignation and want of pretensions; brought many reasons forward for excusing his backwardness, but he was not heard; and the Viceroy insisted so earnestly, that Shitâb-rây was obliged to acknowledge his being ill of a distemper, which was looked-upon to be a confirmed lues. On this intelligence he was made over to Lord Clive's body Physician and Doctor, who was ordered and bound to attend Shytâb-rây. The Doctor
applied

applied himself to his task so earnestly, that his patient's distemper which had risen to it's heighth, and raged with so much violence as to prevent all bodily motion, especially that of the joints in the legs and arms, was totally expelled and put an end to, by only rubbing the parts with a remedy composed of quick-silver and hog's fat: it disappeared so intirely as not to leave a trace behind. Shytâb-rây made the Doctor a present of ten thousand Rupees; But as soon as he was in full health, he was promoted to the titles of Maha-radja and Bahadyr*, to the high rank of commander of five thousand horse, and to an allowance of twenty five thousand Rupees per month for the expenses of his government, besides five thousand more for his own person. Over and above that, he was complimented with an enlargement of his Djaghir, and likewise with a more extensive share of influence in the management of government matters, in which he was associated to Durdj-narâin and to Mr. Middleton, which last was chief of the factory of Azim-abad: moreover he was entrusted with the use of Seif ed-dô8lah's seal, who was reputed Nazem of all the three provinces; after which he was ordered to return to his office.

Shitab-ray cured of the lues, and promoted to dignities and emoluments.

As to my forgiven father's business, it was performed to his own wishes by the exertions of Séyd-ali qhan, my glorious brother, and by the patronage of Rabiah-begum, his patronness, even some time before Shytâb-rây had returned to the city of Moorshoodabad.

During all this time I was by Doctor Fullerton's recommendation an attendant on Mr. Sage, one of the ablest and most considerable Englishmen of that time, who conducted all the business of Banares: moreover I enjoyed in that

* These two words in the Sanscrit or sacred language of Hindia signifie great king, or great Prince: But since the Mahometans have taken possession of that region, they are become only an honorific title given to hindoos of high distinction, just as the word *qhan*, which in the Tartar or Turkish language signified a king, is now become an honorific title only, all over India, as well as in Persia, and the beginning only of the titles of honor: that of Bahadyr, which signifies, vaillant, is the next. see the note 25th section 1st.

that city the honor of paying a respectfull attendance to the most perfect and glorious, Sheh-mahmed-aly-hezin, (whom god may place amongst the highest of his elects!) my forgiven father was residing with his whole family, relations, dependants and retinue at Houssein-abad, a town which he had founded and built on his djaghiri-lands: when at once, and without any apparent cause, his holy person resented a slight indisposition, which soon became a continuous fever. It is reported that it struck into his brain like a fit of apoplexy: his senses however and understanding were little impaired: nevertheless the twelfth day after his first indisposition, it being a Sunday, the third of the second Djemady, in the year one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine of the Prophet's retreat (on whom may be peace and blessing for ever!) he was pleased to depart to the merciful mansions of the omnipotent king, and was inhumed in the town which he had founded. May God's mercy be over him, and may he be admitted into the mansions of the pious and virtuous! this doleful intelligence was brought to me at Banares by an express dispatched by my glorious mother, (whose shadow may long continue to stretch over me!) I received likewise repeated and pressing letters from my kind brother, Naky-aly-qhan-fahr-ed-dò8lah and from some other relations and kinsmen, who all requested my presence instantly. This intelligence having overset my schemes, I discontinued my attendance on Mr. Sage, and proceeded to Houssein-abad. The venerable just whom I have just been mentioning, and upon whom I had hitherto waited so respectfully and so constantly, was dissuading me from that journey: "A little time more, would he say, and I will quit this fragile world: I wish that at that moment you may not be asunder from me." These words melted my heart. But the importunities of my mother and of those that survived my forgiven father, together with, the feebleness of my own destiny, did not allow my obeying commands so worthy of obedience, or of reaping the advantages of my attendance on that venerable man. Had I been able to stay, my attendance on him would

Death of the
author's father,
the Vezir Heda-
iét-ally-qhan.

would have proved the greatest happiness of my life; but there is no helping the failures of one's destiny! "verses:

"To those born to ill luck, of what use can be a complete guide?"*

"See! an Elias is bringing an Alexander thirsty from the fountain of life!

At last I arrived at Hufsein-bad; and on hearing of my forgiven father's demise, I proceeded to Moorshoodabad, where by good luck Shitâb-rây and Séyd-aly-qhan had chanced to make a stay, and had got the confirmation of my djaghir's patent, which was drawn up in the name of the lowest of men † who was the oldest of the forgiven's children; and they brought it to him on their return to Azim-abad.

We left Shitâb-rây on his way to take possession of his new office of Azim-abad. On his arrival in that city, he thought it incumbent on his wisdom and uprightness to make it a rule, that the conferences for business of government and finances, should be held, neither in his own house nor in that of Durdjânarâin's, but wholly in the Imperial Castle, which place had been time out mind allotted for the assemblies of all such men as were in office, for all such as rented any land from government, and for all such as had business with them: it was likewise established that the English chief should repair thither at the appointed time, and be seated in a chair of state; and that over against him, on a long musned spread on the ground for the occasion, Durdj-narâin should be seated on one side, and Shitâb-rây, on the other, with each a cushion of state on their back: ‡ that on every patent drawn up, Durdj-Narâin should sign his

Regulations established at Azimabad by Shitâb-rây now Viceroy of Azimabad.

* Alexander, (and there are several of them) on being conducted to the fountain of life by the Prophet Eliah himself, meet with so many cross accidents, that he was obliged to return without having quenched his thirst.

† The words *the poor man* at the third person always signify, *me*: but none, but persons of the highest distinction have a right to call themselves in their Letters or in their conversation *the least of men*.

A cushion of State is called a Gáo-Takkiâ, an ox cushion, or a large cushion. It is cylindrical, three or four foot in length and twenty inches in diameter.

his *baéz* * at the bottom of it; and that Shitáb-ráy should just by it, or below Nedjm-ed-dò8lah's seal, write in his own hand, and with a flourish, the words *it has been seen*. So much regularity could not please Durdj-naráin, a man who prided on his having held the government in his own single person, as well as on his relation-ship to Ramanaráin; and who used to apply his own private seal to matters of business; and as he had no other overseer but his own self, and he was known to have acted all along faithfully in imitation of his deceased brother, and of all the other lessees his predecessors, he felt himself much hurt by the new regulations, but however submitted to them. Hence his concurrence ceasing to be cordial, it increased the breach and dissensions between him and his Colleague to such a degree, that the officers of government split in two parties, one of which sided with Radja Shytáb-ráy, whilst the other continued as usual with Durdjânaráin. Matters turned out much worse, when the public accounts became objects of attention: Shytáb-ráy being in duty bound to inspect the papers of the Divanship, or the management of finances, soon found that the estimates of the revenue had been very faithlessly made; and that in every transaction thousands and ten thousands had been withheld as perquisites of office and as Nezers to Durdj-naráin: On which liberties he adverted with much severity, as highly improper. He therefore provided another set of Lessees and renters of the revenue, who undertook to preserve the article of perquisites and Nezer-anas, over and above the full finance due to government: On which offer he sent a message to Durdj-naráin in these terms: either "oblige the actual incumbents to account fully for the late failures, or "dismiss them, and set up the new proposers in their stead" As in either case the "incapacity and faithlessness of that man's would have come to light of themselves,

And discoveries
made thereby in
Durdj-naráin's
management.

* Letters are never signed in India (but the Gentoos sign). The writer only, if he be a man of importance, writes the word *Baéz*, or even *ez* in large characters; now as the seal whereon the writer's name is engraven, is put on the outside of the letter only, together with the place, name, and date; and all that is only set down on the cover, one may judge from thence what degree of authenticity such vouchers would be allowed to in a European Court of Justice. Look at the Note 183, Section 3,

selves, to his great danger and shame; and there appeared likewise in the receipts of government and in the publick expenses, much collusion and infidelity, Shytáb-ráy selected some trusty friends of Durdjnaráin's, by whose channel he sent him notice that the public money must be replaced by all means; but that he wished it might be done in such a manner as should not tear the veil which hung over it. Mean while Moorlydur, the harcara, who had joined Shytáb-ráy's party, being from long hand thoroughly acquainted with every minute circumstance relating to former transactions, was daily ripping open the lining from Durdj-naráin's secrets, and exposing to view the inside of his cloth. But that infatuated man, trusting to so much merit as accrued to him from his brother Ram-narain's having been thrown into the Ganga for his thoughtless attachement to Mr. Amyatt and general Carnac, listened to no sober advice, and was full of excuses and pretences: so far from attending to Shytáb-ráy's advice and reprimands, he would not hear even the surmises of his best friends; nor could he be made to understand, that the English, on that single merit of his brother's murder, would not carry their complaisance so far, as to let him enjoy as a Djaghir the whole revenue of the province: so that he should cutt and carve for himself. The matter little by little taking vent, came to the knowledge of the Lord, of general Carnac's, and of the principal Englishmen, all of whom by several friendly messages had endeavored to with draw the cotton of sloth and neglect from out of Durdj-naráin's ears, and all of whom had advised him to listen to Shytáb-ráy's proposals, to submit to his regulations, and to replace the ballances he had incurred: to all these he used at every time to answer by a short letter of excuses; and matters remained on the usual footing; until Lord Clive, for what reason God knows, conceived in himself the design of returning home; but thought it expedient previously to renew his treaty and conventions with Shudjah-ed-dò8lah, with whom he wished to finish some business, especially that which concerned Radja-balvant-sing: a Prince ill affected in general, but who now was

Lord Clive
makes a second
journey to Ilah-
abad.

impressed with a singular dread of Shudjah-ed-dô8lah's power and discontent. On the other hand Shudjah-ed-dô8lah himself wanted to meet the English Viceroy on many accounts: All the parties then wishing for a parley, they agreed to meet at a place called Chaprah; and thither they directed their respective journeys, Lord Clive from Calcutta, the Vezir from Fâiz-abad, Munnir-ed-dô8lah from Ilah-abad on the part of the Emperor, and the Radjah-balvant-sing, from Banares.

On Lord Clive's arrival near Azim-abad, Radjah Shytâb-rây went out to meet him with such a state and such a retinue as he could afford; But Durdj-narâin, who never thought but of his dignity and grandeur came out of the city also, without once minding the ballances he was adjudged to pay, or thinking how he might appease the Lord and his people: instead of that, he went to meet him with a deal magnificence and pomp, and with a vast number of retainers. As soon as the two retinues were descried at a distance, such a sight could not fail to surprise both Lord Clive, and the English Rulers, as they had repeatedly wrote to Durdj-narâin, that unless he payed the balances due by him, he must not think of coming in the Viceroy's presence: that nobleman hearing now that he was actually coming, sent a messenger to forbid his advancing one step farther; and the messenger having delivered the message just as he had received it, stopped him short, and made him return back: but as the injunction had been pronounced aloud, and in the presence of so many friends and foes, as well as of all those multitudes that had come out to meet or to see the Viceroy, it did not fail to cover that senseless and ill-fated man with confusion and shame. Shytâb-rây on the contrary was admitted to the *honor of the Lord's presence*, and received with much regard and favor; whereas Durdj-narâin having drank from the hands of arrogance and inattention several glasses of wholesome, but bitter beverage, stopped short, and returned back: and now grown wiser from this rebuke, he in

a short time provided for the payment of the outstanding ballances, and soon obtained leave to make his bow; after which he mixed in the Viceroy's cortege, and passed the Ganga together with Shytâb-rây.

This little affair being over, the travellers went on; and in the month of Moharrem of the year 1180 of the Hedjra, a meeting took place at the appointed spot between Lord Clive, the General, the Vezir, the Agent Munnir-ed-dôlah, and the Radja-balvant-sing; and the usual compliments and discourses having been exchanged, it was settled "that Radja-balvant henceforward would pay a yearly revenue of twenty lacs to Shujah-ed-dôlah, his Lord, who would forgive him the errors of his past conduct, and leave him for the future in peace and tranquillity, but with a most solemn promise never to use any fraud or artifice whatever against him: moreover it was stipulated that a breach of this article should be deemed a breach of the articles between Shudjah-ed-dôlah and the English." As soon as these articles and conventions between the Vezir, the Emperor and the English were signed, together with those between the Emperor and the Vezir, as well as those between the Vezir and the Radja, they were written fair and at length, witnessed by the principal English, and registered in the usual forms: after which those noble personages exchanged entertainments and curious and costly presents amongst themselves; and the Vezir having been entertained with a Mock-battle amongst the European soldiers, who managed their guns and musquets with an amazing quickness and celerity, made them a present of some thousand Rupees, and returned to his capital. The Radja-balvant, after making such a present as was worthy of him, was dismissed; and he repaired to Ram-nagur, his nest which is on the shore of the Ganga, over against Banares; and Munnir-ed-dôlah himself after having accomplished his purpose, returned to his master.

And secures
Radja Balvent-
sing's situation
by a treaty.

As soon as these matters were over Shytâb-rây mentioned in general terms

terms the incapacity, sloth and faithlessness of former managers; and he added that the recovery of the ballances due by Durdj-narâin and by his officers and dependants, was far from being an easy task; nor could such a sum be ever obtained without constraint and chastisement; and that as himself, Shitâb-rây, was an improper man for such a business, on account of the high regard he bore to the antient acquaintance and friendship that had subsisted between him and the late Ram-narâin; and such sentiments would never permit him to act against his surviving brother with the firmness and severity requisite for recovering such large sums, it was therefore proper that after his Lordship's arrival at Moorshoodabad, Mahmed-reza-qhan, who was the center and corner-stone of all transactions, should vouchsafe to come over to Azimabad for a few day's to perform that service on his Lordship's instructions: after which he might return to his palace. This request of Shitâb-rây's having met with the Lord's approbation, was followed by many favors and kindnesses; and that nobleman returned to Moorshoodabad, firmly resolved in his heart to entrust him with the whole government, and to dismiss Durdj-narâin, with whose incapacity and endless infidelities he was tired.

Lord Clive sends Mahmed-reza-qhan to Azimabad to recover the sums due to government.

On his arrival at Moorshoodabad he dispatched Mahmed-reza-qhan to perform the business he had so much at heart; and this minister arrived in a little time at Azimabad with all the terrors of power and punishment marching before him. At first he reprimanded and put under arrest the officers of Durdj-narâin's; and then he prevailed upon some of them to disclose the infidelities that had been committed. On their discoveries he confined some lessees, such as Sahomul, and Mohammed-naky-qhan, and Mahmed-ashruff-qhan the Cashmirian; and he arrested some others, who at last acknowledged their guilt. Sahomul was put to the cudgel, and thereby underwent a total disgrace. He was then sent to prison, there to remain until he had payed the ballances due by him: the like fate hung over the two others,

others, who were rescued in time by Radja-shitâb-rây's interposition; although not but after they had bound themselves solemnly to pay their ballances, before the expiration of their leases. But at this same time Durdj-narâin having by his infidelities and by his evident incapacity openly approved himself unable to perform a small service incumbent on his office of governor Lieutenant, was disgraced and dismissed; and it was determined that his revenues and Djaghirs should be sequestrated, untill the full of the ballances due by him were liquidated; but that mean while a small pension should be reserved for his support.

That envious man bore a grudge to my illustrious and excellent uncle, the valorous Séyd-abdol-aly-qhan the Moosevian, surnamed the impetuous in battles, as if he had proved a thorn in his side, and an object of envy to him; and that too, for no other reason than the high regard constantly shewn him by Mir-djaafer-qhan and by his brother Mir-cazem-qhan. Durdj-narâin in the height of his power and authority, which after all lasted but a while after Mir-cazem-qhan's dismissal, had out of mere jealousy and envy, dismissed that illustrious man from the lease of the district of Shah-abad; and although this Gentoo himself as well as his father and his elder brother, had owed their elevation to the favor, and their very sustenance and livelyhood, to the crumbs that fell from Mir-djaafer-qhan's table, and from those of that Prince's family; yet he no sooner saw himself in power, than he abandoned that venerable man to the rapacity of his officers, who under pretence of examining his accounts, put him to a variety of trouble and anxiety; and this severe usage lasted, untill the Gentoo himself being dismissed from his borrowed authority, Mahmed-reza-qhan and Radja-Shytâb-rây took the whole different under their own inspection: and finding it destitute of any foundation, gave the venerable man a full acquittal: he then received an invitation from Rabia-begum, a Princess who knew the whole extent of
his

his merit, and he went to Moorhoodabad with Mahmed-reza-qhan: for this minister having performed with Shytâb-rây's advice the business for which he had come over, returned to Bengal; and Shytâb-rây remaining alone, was invested by the Concil of Calcutta with the authority of disposing and finishing every business and transaction relative to the province of Azimabad. As he was anxious for the honor of his character, he applied himself closely to the functions of his new office in conjunction with Mr. Rumbold, who on Mr. Middleton's unjust dismissal from the Chiefship of that city, and the government of the province, had been appointed to command in his stead; it was at the time when Mr. Sykes was appointed to act in conjunction with Mahmed-reza-qhan at Moorhoodabad. Lord Clive satisfied with the state of affairs in these kingdoms, and with those arrangements he had made, departed to his own country.

This nobleman in his short sojourn in Bengal had always proved desirous of finding in Governor Vansittart's conduct such blemishes and misdeamors, as might come out of themselves before the Concil in England, in consequence of certain lights which he had taken care to provide, and to holdout for that purpose: for ingratitude and oblivion of benefits have at all times been, and still are, so far characteristick in the men of the world, and especially within this short periode; and time serving and selfish behaviour, now deemed prudence and knowledge of the world, are come so much in fashion, and are risen to such a height; that no trust and no faith can be reposed in another man's friendship or attachment: luckily however, and this is to be admired, these very persons, who have chosen such practices, and have abandoned every claim to credit and honor, find themselves much disappointed in their reckoning; for these after having been much made of for a time by their employers, untill the intended purpose is secured, come at last to be despised and hated by them for their folly and wickedness, so as to become in their company a stand-
ing

ing stock for scorn and derision: in consequence of such sentiments, those very persons upon whose information Lord Clive had reckoned so much, and who in fact had served him most sedulously in his views, proved to be those very men that had been over and over loaded with favours and benefits by Shem's-ed-dò8lah: (Vansittart) and yet they joined Nandcomar his inveterate enemy; and having drawn up a long list of his misdemeanours, they gave it to Lord Clive under their hands and seals. A transaction of such a magnitude having made an infinite noise, could not fail to come to my ears; but it was without any certitude of particulars: as little is to be got from that nation, which never mixes with others, and is suspicious and cautious to a high degree; being always so much upon it's guard, that strangers cannot come at any of their secrets; nay it is quite impossible.

After this little digression, which the ingratitude and wickedness of the times had thrown in our way, we shall return to our narrative; the Viceroy and the General after having appointed Mr. Veris (Verelst) Governor of Calcutta, and General Usmut (Smith) Commander in Chief of all the Forces, departed to their country. It was about the time when Mahmed-reza-qhan received from the Emperor, who resided still at Ilahabad, and was of late become fond of the company and conversation of the English, the titles of Lord of Lords, the foremost of the state, and the conspicuous of the Empire*, with the privilege of being carried in a Naleky. Through the same recommendation Shytáb-ráy obtained for himself the titles of the Perfect of the State, and of the vaillant, and victorious in war; to which were added the honors and insignia of the Mahi: he was now cutting a capital figure at Azimabad, where he passed his days with honor, ease, pleasure and profit.

This

* Qhan-i-qhanan, Mubaryz-el-mulk, Muaién-ed-dò8la.
 † Mumtaz-el-mulk, Bahadyr, Manfor-djung.

THE SEIR MUTAQUERIN; OR,

This minister on the new Governor's installation made a voyage to Calcutta, whither I thought proper to accompany him, his good manners and civilities having made a conquest of my heart. Mr. Veris in several visits received Shytáb-ráy handsomely, and dismissed him with regard and honor. The administration was settled in this manner, that Shytáb-ráy and Mahmed-reza-qhan, and Djefaret-qhan Bahadyr, should order all matters relative to Government and Revenue in the best manner they should devise for the Company's benefit; but that twice a week every thing they should have settled, should be imparted at full length to the respective Englishmen, their associates, who should sign in those two days whatever should have been latterly transacted; and that every receipt and expenditure of each district, after having been so signed by the Englishman of those parts, should be transmitted by each Nâib or Deputy to the Company's Registers of Calcutta at the end of each year. The affairs of distributive Justice were left to the Daroga or Superintendent of that Department with power to hear and determine in small matters, equitably and to the best of his judgement; but affairs of importance were to be decided in the Nâib's presence, and in that of the Englishman his Colleague for two days in each week, which days should be different from the usual justice days. In consequence of such an arrangement, business went on; and the English commenced acquiring a knowledge of the usages and customs of the country: for it was a standing rule with them, that whatever remarkable they heard from any man versed in business, or even from any other individual, was immediately set in writing in a kind of book composed of a few blank leaves, which most of them carry about, and which they put together afterwards, and bind like a book for their future use. Matters went on in that manner, untill Mr. Rumbold having in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty three quitted Bengal to repair to his country, was succeeded by Mr. Alexander, as was Mr. Sykes at Moorshoodabad by Mr. Beecher:

It was under the latter's administration that a famine made it's appearance

all

all over the country : It made it's approaches with all its terrors added to a severe mortality, and to a small pox, that spared no age and no sexe. Seif-ed-dô8lah himself fell sick of that distemper and succumbed under it's violence ; as did his kinsman, Ashref-aali-qhan. Fotoh-ollah-qhan, brother in law to Mahmed-reza-qhan, underwent the same fate, which also swept away his consort : this lady was sister to the consorts of Mahmed-reza-qhan and of Hadji-Ismaïl-qhan, (all three being daughters of Rabia-begum, who was herself daughter of Hadji-ahmed's). The famine and small pox having made their appearance at one and the same time in Muharrem, that is at the commencement of the year one thousand one hundred and eighty four, they both rose to such a heighth, and raged so violently for full three month together, that vast multitudes were swept away ; nor can their number, be known but to him that knows every thing that is hidden or invisible. Whole villages and whole towns were swept away by these two scourges, and they suddenly disappeared from the face of earth. It was in such calamitous times, that is in the month of Zilhidj of the year 1185 that Mubrace-ed-dô8lah third, son of Mir-djaaser-qhan's, was designed Nazem of Bengal ; and on Mahmed-reza-qhan's recommandation, Aly-hibrahim-qhan was appointed Divan of superintendent of the new Prince's household, which constitutes the whole of what is called the Nizamet or government of Bengal, and had then a revenue of twenty four lacs from the company's treasury. The new minister, who was a man of an approved character, did not fail to exhibit many talents joined to a thorough inclination to do good and to oblige. Some further changes likewise took place in the new Prince's house and family : for Mahmed-reza-qhan, who is a man of strange proceedings, and still stranger inclinations, after having been for a course of years in close connection and in compleat intimacy with Menny-begum, Mother to Seif-ed-dô8lah, wanted now to pull down that Princess, whose lofty spirit and extensive influence had given him much umbrage : and that too after having entered with her into certain stipulations and treaties so-

A.D. 1769-70.

lemnly

THE SEIR MUTAQUERIN; OR,

lemnly sworn to. All this change of hands took place for the sake of similar intimacies and similar connections, and treaties which had arisen of late between him and Babboo-begum, Mubarec-ed-dô8la's mother, another Princess whom he wanted to raise upon her ruins. This new favorite having shewn at his instigation a mind to quarrel with Menny-begum, the two Princesses became so inimical to each other that they avoided each other's sight. But Menny-begum, whose extent of understanding nothing can be compared to, but the immense stock which she is known to be possessed of in jewells and money, thought proper to take no notice of such an alteration; and although deeply wounded by such under-hand-dealings, she thought it beneath her dignity to descend to an explanation; and she passed the whole over with a disdainful silence. Neverth eless Babboo-begum's authority and sway were but of short duration.

It was observed at this period that the English of some rank spent their time merrily and in pleasures, and lived upon terms of much friendship and intimacy with the noblemen and other persons of distinction, natives of this country: they were endeavouring to engage them in conversation especially upon the politicks of the country: and so soon as an Englishman could pick-up any thing relative to the laws or business of this land, he would immediately set it down in writing, and lay it up in store for the use of another Englishman; nor had they any other view in taking notice of a Mogul or a native, or in courting an acquaintance with him. No wonder then, if some persons, who in these times of half knowledge, had come by mere chance to the helm of affairs and Government, should prove fearful, lest others by imparting more knowledge and affording more lights, might bring them under the imputation of neglect or infidelity, and thereby lessen their importance in the estimation of the English: no wonder if they made haste to initiate them in those

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those whatever little arts of oppression and rapine, which they had themselves employed through thick and thin, and through wet and dry; or which had been devised by vile men, and set-up as standing rules and established customs: It was upon such customs that they gave lessons to the English, doubtless to the end that not a jot of former tyranny might be abated, or lost by disuse. An affair of Moorlydur's decision came one day to be debated in an assembly, where I remember to have been present: two men disputed against each other: when sentence came to be pronounced, the one that had proved faithless and guilty, was fined into a sum of money, by way of fine and amend; but the other man, who had the right on his side, was likewise made to pay some money, by way of thanksgiving. Mr. Rumbold, who did not want sense, and was then like his other countrymen, who in those beginnings of their dominion were more careful and more inclined to conciliate the hearts of the natives than they are at present; Mr. Rumbold, I say, could not help expressing his surprise at the decision, and said: "that to take a fine from the man who
 " was in the wrong, and had behaved in a surly, impertinent manner, is a
 " proper way of punishing him: it is punishing his infidelity in kind. But
 " what I cannot understand, added he, is that a fine should be levied also on
 " him who had the right on his side, and was guiltless: this seems to be very
 " strange: what can be the meaning of that?" This was answered by Moorlydur and the other vile flatterers, who having observed the advantage arising from the thanksgiving, added: "That this business had been
 " transacted according to the rules and customs of the land: that there
 " was no innovation of their's in it; nor had they set up any new invention of their own." The gentleman expressed his astonishment and detestation, but remained silent: for the money arising from the practices of that vile multitude of time-servers, has always a sweet favor. *Can it be expected then that a nation that has been brought to such a head by wordly-minded-men, and shews no other view or intent than that of ad-*
 ing

ding to it's acquisitions, will for any length of time abstain from such practices with such temptations and such examples under it's eyes? Even to this day, when the veil has been with drawn from the whole matter, and intirely set a side, there never comes out of the hands of the English any such transaction or matter, as may reflect an ill renown on their own countrymen directly: It is the Indians that are made use of for such purposes; and it is only in consequence of the behaviour of their dependants in the management of revenue matters and in the distribution of justice; and in consequence of the incapacity and baseness of the Hindians themselves; that some corruption and some oppression has crept even amongst the English in office. I am inclined to believe that if even these foreigners come to conceive an inclination to alleviate the sufferings of the people of this land, and to attend to their supplications, probably the oppressed would find some release from the tyranny and hardships under which they now labour. For it is observed that not one of those that shewed so much zeal for the Company's benefit, but in fact had sought only their own welfare, ever thought proper to bestow a moment in informing the English of the reasons of some minute institutions; of the necessity of munificence and good will towards the natives; of the foundation of antient customs; and for what purpose such and such an institution was set-up, or what benefit might be derived from it. Matters have come to such a pass, that the Books and Memorandums composed by the English upon such interested reports as those of which we have given an example, have come to be trusted as so many vouchers: whereas they are only some faint idea of the exterior and bark, but not of the pith or real reason, of those institutions. Mean while as these strangers are men of penetration and extreme keenness of mind; and they have been sent by God Almighty to chastise this guilty criminal race of Hindostanees, over some of whose deluded sovereigns they have been made to prevail by breaking this race of proud Pharaohs and improvident short-sighted princes by the strong hand

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hand of those new comers; so they are come at last to undervalue the Hindostanies, and to make no account of the natives from the highest to the lowest: and they carry their contempt so far, as to employ none but their own selves in every department and in every article of business, esteeming themselves better than all others put together. It is true that they have commenced disputes and altercations with the rulers of their own appointing, and with their officers and dependants; but it is no less true that in the moment of inquiring about the infidelites, transactions and concussions of the latter, they have stopped short, to pass over the whole, with dissimulation and connivance. Nevertheless this very inquiry is become one of the tokens of the supreme disposer's dispensations: for these men brought to the helm of affairs, and to the summit of power by the mere partiality of the English, had in the little time which their borrowed authority had lasted, assumed so much pride and state; they were puffed with so much arrogance, and betrayed so much contempt for the rules of benevolence, and meekness and decency, that their behaviour is past belief. Neither the forgiven Mehabet-djung *, nor the illustrious Shudjah-ed dô8lah, although, both born in the height of power and exercising it in the fullness of authority, ever came up to one tenth of the haughtiness of these envious men: nor did they ever use their dependants with so much superciliousness and arrogance, as did these new men. It is observable of these envious men, that whenever they come to spy any one enjoying some regard and consideration amongst the English, they get up immediately, and never give themselves any rest, untill they have depreciated and discredited his merit: having made it a point to break the spirits, and to lower the characters of every one of those who can pretend to derive any native lustre from their noble descent, or from their rational and virtuous

Severe hints
against Mahmed
Reza-qhan.

* Ali-verdy-qhan, the last real King of Bengal: he is hardly known by any other name than that title, which signifies the *dignity of war*, and possibly the *terror of war*.

THE SEIR MUTAQUERIN; OR,

virtuous lives: and it is a fact, that every one of those newmen singling out for ruin and disgrace some man of an ancient pedigree, allowed himself no rest, until he had carryed his point, and had hunted his game down: In consequence of which envious persecution, it is come to pass, that at last all Hindostanies whatever have gradually lost the consideration and regard they enjoyed hitherto, and have fallen promiscuously in disgrace and contempt; but in such a manner however, as that the very perpetrators of these machinations have meet themselves with a reward adequate to their own wicked intentions, and have fallen in a greater contempt and disgrace, than those very men they had been pursuing with so much eagerness: nor has any thing befallen them, but what they richly deserved, and was of their own seeking; nor are they indebted for their own disgrace, to any but to their own hand and heart *. Such are thy dispensations, O Almighty God!

But let us leave these disagreeable matters: we shall speak of them more at large hereafter, so as to elucidate the above sentence: for we must now return to the course of our narrative. We may remember how Mir-Roh-eddin-hosseïn-qhan had by a sudden stroke of his destiny jumped into the government of P8raniah, and had kept possession of it. This sudden governor proved to be a man thoughtless and indolent, opinionated, excessively prodigal and unprovident; ever immersed in a sea of pleasures and sensualities: and never emerging from the gulph of a variety of strange practices, but to plunge head long into all the excesses of drunkenness and forgetfulness of himself. He had given the title of Qhan to a young man, called Asker-ali, who was grand-son of Shah Mustepha-c8ly, one of his father's directors; and he had become so very fond of him, as to invest him with full powers over his public and private concerns. This

fondness

* An Arabick sentence of the Coran.

fondness for him growing every day stronger and stronger, this young man who was excessively intriguing and ill-natured, and with all so impatient and passionate, as to forget himself every moment, no sooner found out that his master was devoted to his will, than he did whatever he pleased. He made it a system to undermine all those that kept at a distance from him, whilst he promoted and carried forward his own creatures. He spent sums of money in the company of dancers of both sexes, singers, fortune-tellers, farcers, and a variety of such sorts of people: but as he took care also not to meddle with some relations of his master's, who were always of his table and company, he kept him in good humour, as well as fully satisfied with his own conduct: and all this at the very time he was continually oppressing both the farmer and the soldiery. No wonder if the revenues of the province fell into so much languor, that the officers of government at Moorhoodabad lodged a variety of complaints against his master on account of the scantiness of his remittances. He was written to several times by some of his friends, who gave him warning of his danger; and even some of his intimates, fearless of his Naib's power, ventured upon giving good advice to their slothful lord, but did no good; and they soon were exposed to the revengeful Naib's resentment. At last one Husséin-cooly, who had been a favourite Eunuch to Séif-qhan, uncle to Roh-eddin-hosséin, prevailed upon him, after a deal of words and intreaties, to dismiss his favourite; after which he was himself made Naib in his stead; and it must be acknowledged that in the little time his administration lasted, he brought public matters into some order, and regulated also his master's household. But Roheddin-hosséin, who remained ignorant of every thing, and minded nothing, but that young man, for whom he had, I know not what for, all the sentiments of the most impassionate lover; in a little time sent for him again, and reinstated him in his former office: he devoted himself again to his will, dispossessed the poor Hosséin-cooly, and again

Strange character of the governor of P8ra-niah who is dismissed.

left

left every thing in that wretched youth's power and disposal. No wonder then if Mahmed-reza-qhan, who like all the other men in authority of those days, could not bear to see an illustrious name enjoy some regard or any consideration amongst the English, took care to represent to the council the arrears and ballances due by the Revenue of P8raniah, and got Roheddin-hosséin-qhan, dismissed from his office. On his dismissal it was bestowed on Ráy-souchut-ráy, who took a lease of that Revenue. The council at the same time settled a pension of five thousand rupees per month, that is sixty thousand a year, on Roheddin-hosséin-qhan. Things went-on in that manner for one year, when Souchut-ráy himself was recalled and cast in prison; and Rezy-eddin-mahmed-qhan appointed governor of the Province

Scarcity of coin
felt in Bengal.

On this occasion it was observed that money had commenced to become scarce in Bengal, whether this scarcity be owing to the oppressions and exactions committed by the rulers, or to the stinginess of the public expence, or lastly to the vast exportation of coin which is carried every year to the country of England: it being common to see every year five or six Englishmen or even more, who repair to their homes, with large fortunes. Lacs piled upon lacs have therefore been drained from this country; nor is the cheapness of grain to impose on the imagination: it arises from nothing else, but the scarcity of coin, and the paucity of men and cattle; nor are these deficiencies any thing else, but the natural consequences of the non-existence of that numerous Hindian cavalry, which heretofore used to fill up the plains of Bengal and Bahar, and which (reckoning those in the government service, as well as those in the Zemindary pay, together with the expectants and their servants) could not amount to less than seventy or eighty thousand effective men; whereas now a horse-man is as scarce in Bengal as a Phoenix in the world. The decrease of products in each district, added to the
in-

innumerable multitudes swept away by famine and mortality, still go on augmenting the depopulation of the country: so that an immense quantity of Land remains untilled and fallow, whilst those that are tilled cannot find a vent for their productions. And this is so far true, that were it not for the purchases of Salt-peter, Opium, Raw Silk and white Piece-Goods, which the English make yearly throughout Bengal and Bahar, probably a Rupee or an Eshreffí would have become in most hands as scarce as the Philosophical stone; and it would come to pass that most of the people newly-born would be at a loss to determine what it was which people called heretofore a Rupee, and what could be meant formerly by the word Eshreffí*. Matters continued in that languishing state, until the end of the year 1184 at which time Mr. Veris having thought proper to go home, was succeeded by Mr. Cartier, the next A.D. 1769. in rank and seniority. Under this new administration the decrease of the rents struck the administration with amazement and fear: they were confounded at the great diminution of the Revenue, and at the endless minutiae in which it was involved. These men anxious to investigate the matter to the bottom, and to obtain a thorough insight in the rules and usages according to which the revenue was collected, came to the resolution of sending throughout the country one of their own nation, who should inquire what business the subject had with the Ruler; and in what relation stand the farmers to the Radjahs and Zemindars of the country †; and what these are to give to the rulers of the land; and which and what perquisites and duties they draw; and under what name do they perceive tributes. The choice fell on Hoshíar-djung-bahadyr, Mr. George Vansittart, who was also my particular friend; and who in fact

Resolution of the Board to investigate all Revenue matters to the bottom.

* A gold rupee is worth sixteen silver ones of Calcutta; But those struck else where are inferior in value,

† Radjahs and Zemindars imply nearly the same meaning, namely that of great landholders.

fact proved a man of keen genius, much wisdom, and one of those who to a very valuable character of their own, joined a great acquaintance with the minute parts of business. This worthy man set out on the above business, first by going to Dinadj-poor; and there having acquired as much knowledge as his time could afford, he was welcomed with the applause of his friends and countrymen, as well as with the approbation of the council. But as his inquest had brought to light many infidelities and disorders in which the finances of Bengal were involved; and the council had conceived some general suspicions even against Shitâb-rây's administration, which they thought equally tainted; it was resolved that the whole country should be divided into six departments; and that over and above the respective Councillors associated hitherto to Mahmed-reza-qhan, to Shitâb-rây and to Djeffaret-qhan, there should be appointed in each of the six districts, three or four gentlemen more, not Councillors, but yet of a rank next to it, by whose concurrence business should be carried on. Amongst these Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Palk together with the chief of Azimabad, were appointed a Council for that province; and the whole country was divided into six collections, to wit, Calcutta; Bardvan; Radj-Shahy with Moorshoodabad; Djehan-ghir-nagar-Daca; Dinadj-poor; and Azimabad.

Bengal and
Bahar divided
in six govern-
ment.

As soon as the appointment of Mr. Vansittart to Azimabad, as a member of that Council, became public, those that were inimical to Shitâb-rây, conceived mighty hopes from such a change; although his able conduct and his obliging management were such, that few were the men, and but few, throughout that whole province, that could find fault with his administration. Nevertheless, as it is impossible that every one of his dependants should have been like his master; or that a single man's behaviour, however equitable and just, should be of one tenor with all the world; those that were en-

envious of his greatness, got every thing ready to light up a mighty flame; in so much that he was intimidated. And although the hem of his robe was pretty free from the dirt of infidelity; and the few blemishes in it, if any at all, could not enter in comparison with his many services; yet such was his diffidence at the inconvenients that were likely to arise from a difference of nation and language, as well from his unacquaintance with the man's character and genius, that he became somewhat doubtful of what might become of him. At last Vansittart himself arrived, when Shytâb-rây went out to meet him, as far as Fatwa; where having taken him upon his own Elephant, they returned to the city together, to the no small regret of those envious of his, who sought only to raise disturbances, and had hastened to wait on Mr. Vansittart with no other view, but that of setting-up a shop of chicanne and malice. They were struck dumb on seeing Shytâb-rây's artful behaviour. Indeed he was a man of great sense, and great honor, and not only averse himself from all acts of oppression and infidelity, but vigorously active in restraining his dependants from any thing villanious. As a great statesman, and a great accountant, he had ready every kind of paper that could be called for: firm and steady in his behaviour and answers, he never bogled or tergiversed at all the numberless questions put to him by Mr. Vansittart, and never shewed any hesitation in affording whatever information was desired, or whatever lights were expected: he continued to answer with so much firmness and propriety, that he never afforded him any opening by which any imputation might be fastened upon his character. No wonder if Mr. Vansittart surprised at his candor, and convinced of his fidelity, wisdom and knowledge, should have set open for him the gates of friendship and union: nor did the Radja prove wanting to himself on such an overture: after having thoroughly cleared the path of justification, he came forth himself from the door of love and attachment; and by a respectful behaviour, and a variety of curious presents, he gained so much upon

the

the man's mind, that the latter was thoroughly satisfied with him. After Vanfittart's arrival, Mr. Alexander who had been recalled, was succeeded by Mr. Djakul, who being likewise recalled after a short time, Mr. Barwell came in his stead. As this gentleman had a strong interest at home, and was impressed with a high opinion of his own wisdom and penetration, he did not live upon good terms with Mr. Vanfittart; and to shew his own power and sufficiency, he expressed a wish that Shytâb-rây should entirely close with his measures, and give-up his connections with the latter. To this Shytâb-rây answered "that without solide grounds and strong reasons, he could not estrange himself from his friends; and admitting, said he, that I should do it upon your commands, what dependence can you lodge in me yourself after such a proceeding?" This answer was full of sense: but Mr. Barwell, who was of a haughty and violent temper, and likewise indisposed against him, could not understand his meaning; and he not only became discontented, but remained in that mind of his untill some time after the arrival of the vaillant Mester Hufhtin, the prop of the state, and the impetuous in war*. This man who in strenght of genius, extent of knowledge, beauty of style, and propriety of manners, has no equal in these times; and who by his winning deportment, and the affability of his temper, has gained so much upon the inclinations of all the world, that there is no individual but finds himself beholden to him for some favour or some benefit, no sooner landed at Calcutta, by order from home, than he invited Mr. Barwell to a seat in the Committee of Calcutta: an assembly of five persons that manage and controul the affairs of all Hindostan. An order to that purport having being dispatched to that gentleman, he repaired to Calcutta, and left Mr. Vanfittart sole chief of Azimabad, as well as President of the Concil which composed the government of that place, and consisted of four men more, to wit, Mr. Astuvun (Stevenson). Mr. Dooroz (Mr. Droze, Mr. Ayoun Law, and Maharaja-Shytâb-rây.

We

* Umad-el-mulk, Mester Hufhtin-bahadyr, Djeladet-djung.

We have left Governor Vansittart on his way to England: after his arrival in that country, his administration had become the object of a severe inquiry. Lord Clive had taken care to make it a general topic in the Council of that kingdom. But Vansittart, (who was a man of such an extent of genius, and so much firmness of mind, that his countrymen themselves acknowledge how difficult it would be to find such another man throughout all England), took care to give such rational answers to each charge, as overthrew the accusations prepared against him, and set in an advantageous light the valuable services he had rendered to the state. Amongst all the articles of chicane exhibited against him, a principal one was this, that they imputed to him the death of the English prisoners slaughtered by Mir-cassem's order. But he soon confuted the imputation, by producing a paper written at Calcutta at the time of Mr. Amyatt's death, where the Counsellors openly disclosed their minds, and importuned their Governor for a declaration of war against that Prince. He proved his having represented, "that as there were so many English prisoners in that Prince's power, it would be proper to make some accommodation with him at present, until the prisoners should be released: after which it might be time to go to war;" but the Counsellors, blinded by their passion, and by the fury of their resentment, unanimously clamored for war, and gave it under their hands, that *whether the prisoners were to be slaughtered to a man, or not, they would go to war immediately.* Vansittart, on this declaration, had consented to an immediate war; but he kept the paper carefully by him: and now he presented it open to the Council of England, and asked, whether they conceived now that the slaughter was imputable to him, or to the members of the Council; and he added, that if they had the least doubt about the matter, it would soon be cleared up by inspecting the paper. This paper in reality turned the tide in his favor; and the members of the English Council, on seeing the contents, applauded his penetration, and conceived as much esteem for his keenness of mind, as contempt for the precipitancy

Charges exhibited in England, by Lord Clive's management, against Governor Vansittart.

The Governor's rational and vigorous defence.

precipitancy of his accusers. But there was another misdemeanor which those
 accusers wanted to fasten upon him; and it was this, that he had forborne
 trading in salt on the Company's account, although he knew that such
 an article of trade would produce immense benefits, when exported
 duty-free to distant places; instead of which, he had left it entirely to the
 Indians. "To this new charge Shems-ed-dó8lah answered, by ac-
 "knowledging the immense benefits that might have accrued from trading
 "in salt for the Company's account; but he added, that he had been over-
 "awed, by a variety of considerations arising on that subject; and had
 "been deterred from the attempt, on reflecting on the various branches of
 "trade already enjoyed by the Company throughout the whole country: that
 "should it be admitted, that the inhabitants of Bengal consisted of five kinds
 "of men; to wit, servants to government, handicraftsmen, merchants, labour-
 "ers, and necessitous people, that is old and poor men; it would be found
 "that the servants of government alone amounted to several hundred
 "thousands, who had no other way of subsisting than by dealing in salt,
 "from which article, by-the-bye, they were wholly debarred in the Compa-
 "ny's own dominions: that to those myriades must be added another multi-
 "tude that have subsisted entirely by trade, at a time when the Com-
 "pany was enjoying but a part of the trade of Bengal, whereas now it
 "enjoys the whole; and another multitude of the better sort again, which
 "being accustomed to subsist by serving in the cavalry, had found now
 "that such a species of service was entirely disregarded, and had be-
 "taken themselves to merchandizing; it is then for those multitudes,
 "added he, that I have left alone that branch of trade which might afford
 "them a livelihood; multitudes that amount to as much again as all
 "the people in England and in the Company's service put together; my
 "views having always been, that there might remain some veil over our
 "system, and that every man in Bengal, should not become our personal ene-
 "my: In one word, I was fearful, lest the whole nation, already oppressed by
 "our traders, and by the Company's encroachments, might be driven to
 "despair

"despair, on finding that our knife has cut deep, and to the very bone.

"What if times are not all of one tenor? what if a change of events

"should take place? would you chuse then to have every one of those people

"turn out upon you, as your sworn enemies?" This speech of Vansittart's

was greatly applauded by the wise men of those parts, and they expressed

their contempt of his accusers in strong terms: in fact these sentences

were very pithy, and those admonitions proved full of penetration

and of good sense. *And what if his adversaries had been told, that*

ruling and government need the assent and satisfaction of the govern-

ed; and that it was far from finding it's account in the injury and

ruin of the subject?

"If thou hast comprehended this, let me kiss thy wisdom;

"But if thou art insensible, what a pity, and what a pity!

Mr. Vansittart having come off victorious from those accusations, be-

came henceforward so conspicuous, that those who had the power of

binding and loosing in that country, conceived that there was no man

fitter for the purpose of introducing order and regularity in that dis-

tracted country, than himself. After his departure, they sent some

farther orders for his perusal. Misfortune would have it so, that the

ship which carried him was swallowed up by the sea, in such a man-

ner, that no intelligence and no vestige could ever be discovered of

her in any part of the world. When this piece of news reached En-

gland, the wise men of that country, after a thorough examination of

the case, resolved, that in such a conjuncture they had not one person

equal to Mr. Vansittart, and none fit to make amends for his loss, but Mr.

Hushtin, who was the very man fit to be sent, and to be seated in

his stead. The said Master was then Bará-sahab or Governor of Arcat

in Decan (24); they therefore made haste to send him an order to depart

(24) As Mahmed-ali-qhan is only a nominal sovereign of the province of Arcat in Decan, the people of Hindostan make no account of him, but always reckon that the governor of Madraht, or as they call it, Mendradj, or Chinnapatan, is in fact Viceroy of Arcat.

Sensible re-
mark on the re-
lation subsisting
between the go-
vernors and the
governed.

Governor Van-
sittart sent back,
with honor, to
Bengal; but pe-
rishes at sea.

for

Mr. Hushtin arrives as Governor at Calcutta, and spends ninety days and nights in perusing records.

He sends an order for arresting Mahmed-reza qhan and Shytáb-ray.

for Calcutta, where he was to take charge of the affairs of that country; to peruse the Company's dispatches; and likewise to attend to the instructions destined for Mr. Vansittart, which he was to put in execution, in the manner which he might think covenable. At the same time they dispatched another packet to Calcutta, with injunctions to leave closed and sealed the instructions destined for Mr. Vansittart, until Mr. Hushtin himself should open and peruse them. These two orders having reached their two destinations, Mr. Hushtin went from Mendradj to Calcutta, where the packet, that is the letter of the European council, containing the instructions and orders, had been kept under seal; and during the three months which Mr. Cartier remained in Calcutta, he contented himself with acting only as his second in the government: but he availed himself of those three months to spend days and nights in perusing the papers relative to past transactions, and also in meditating upon the orders and instructions brought by the said packet. At the end of that time, which probably was the term fixed for Mr. Cartier's administration, he took his post in the Governor's chair, and in a few days after, he dispatched orders for putting Mahmed-reza-Qhan and Shytáb-Ráy under arrest, and for bringing them to Calcutta. The two orders were addressed to Mr. Gram, (John Graham) Chief of Moorshoodabad, with so much secrecy that Mr. Vansittart, Chief of Aazym-abad, knew nothing of them. But it is reported that Mr. Gram, who was a great friend of Mahmed-reza-qhan's, had said, that since his endeavors had failed in saving and sheltering that minister, it was proper that Shytáb-Ráy, who was in a similar office, and upon ill terms with Mahmed-reza-qhan, (but for whose deposition and arrest there was no order from Europe) should partake of the other's disgrace. Djon Gram, in consequence of such management, wrote such letters to the Governor, that he obtained an order for recalling Shytáb-Ráy also, and for putting him in confinement, as well as Mahmed-reza-qhan. God preserve the innocent from such artifices, and such partialities!

MR.

MR. DJON-GRAM was at supper in the house of one of his nation, when the Governor's orders directed to him, were suddenly brought in. He quitted the company sooner than usual, and repaired to his house, from whence he wrote a note to a Captain of troops; and straight this piece of intelligence was carried, I know not how, in the very words to Mahmed-reza-qhan. But he was so full of the authority which he enjoyed, that he paid no regard to the intelligence, but recommenced another nap, with the utmost neglect and security. There remained no more than one hour of night, when the Captain with a battalion of Talingas arrived close to Nyshat-bagh, accompanied by Mr. Anderson, and he stopped at the gate. Mr. Anderson, with some servants, went into the Navvab's apartment, and after intimating the Governor's order, upon which he condoled with him, he added, that there was no intention to do him any harm, or to make him uneasy at all on any account: but that such an order had come, and must be obeyed. As Mahmed-reza-qhan had neither the heart or the power to make the least resistance, he inclined the head in token of submission, and consented to whatever was required of him. The Captain of troops, after dismissing Mahmed-reza-qhan's Talingas, placed his own in every place and every spot, as a guard, with injunctions to offer no rudeness and no opposition to any of that Minister's servants, or to any of his visitors; but only to send their commander immediate notice, should any of these offer any resistance: they had orders also to behave respectfully to that Minister; but to hinder any thing from being carried out of the palace, and even to take care that himself should not walk in the precincts of the garden, unaccompanied. After such a regulation, a Lieutenant, (which is an officer next in rank to a Captain), was dispatched with a detachment to that Minister's Palace in town, which Palace goes by the name of Nò8-faqht (25), and contains

(25) Nò8-faqht signifies new-built: it is a Palace, raised and fitted in the Hindostany manner. But Nishat-bagh, or the garden of intoxicating pleasures, is an elegant seat at five miles from thence, built, furnished, and fitted in the English manner.

the apartments of his ladies: such Talingas of the Minister's as he had found on duty, were left as they were; but he stationed an equal number of his own men at every door and every gate, without offering, however, any injury to any one, or even putting any question to a single man. This revolution affected differently the principal persons of Moorhoodabad: and it was expected that Menny-Begum, who had her mind so obscured by the dust of coldness and discontent as to wish for Mahmed-reza-qhan's disgrace, would now avail herself of so fair an opportunity to complete his ruin. But that Princess, on the contrary, had generosity enough to forbear her pursuit, and benevolence enough to seek that Minister's release, by every means and every endeavour in her power; and she performed some manœuvres to that effect, which would have done much honor to an able man, versed in business. It is with that same steadiness, and uniformity of conduct, that she remained attached to Governor Hufhtin in the sequel, when he came to be attacked by General Clavering, although it was a time of doubt and speculation. But she remained steady, without ever betraying the least weakness, or committing any thing wrong. After Mahmed-reza-qhan's disgrace, she was appointed tutrix to Mubarec-ed-dólah, and invested with the inspection and absolute direction of whatever concerned the Nizamet or government of Bengal; (words, which now signify no more than the household of that young Prince). To execute the detail of that office, she appointed for her Náib, or deputy, an Eunuch, who was now her servant, but who had once been a slave to the forgiven Navvab Iffac-qhan. Unfortunately Itbar-aali-qhan (for such was the Eunuch's name) was a man of a slow comprehension, and a distorted disposition, narrow-minded, and of an unequal temper, who gave a deal of trouble and uneasiness to an infinity of people(+); and this proved the only blemish in that Princess's

(+) Numbers of people, who know Itbar-aali-qhan personally, (and the Translator is one of them), differ greatly from our Author in this portrait.

They

Princess's conduct: for although she is not of a virtuous family, nor of a noble birth, yet she is a woman of infinite merit; and her good sense, as well as her steadiness of temper, are never so remarkable, as when she has any scheme to carry forward. For whatever she has once undertaken, she never fails to perform; as she always finds some expedient to bring it to perfection. And had she brought herself to the practice of sitting behind a curtain, and of hearing herself, from thence the representations of suitors, in order to determine them afterwards with her deputy; there is no doubt but the government of Moorshoodabad, and the direction of the affairs of the Nizamet, (at least such as it is at the present day) would have never been taken out of her hands: instead of that, she gave herself up to the Eunuch entirely: a man opinionated, destitute of sense, and incapable of the art of ruling. By that man's counsels she reduced both Mubarec-ed-dólah, and his mother, Babboo-Begum, to so low a condition, (although she herself had been bred a slave girl in the house of Babboo-Begum's father), that both the mother and son came at last to be bereft of all power, and to lose all credit and consideration. But it must be confessed that Mubarec-ed-dólah deserved no better usage, as we shall shortly mention, after relating some other events of more importance.

We have left Mahmed-reza-qhan under arrest, and with an English guard upon him: he was in suspense between fear and supplication, when there came a second order from the Governor to bring him down to Calcutta; and thither he was sent under the same guard, which had been already charged with him; it was in the year of the Hedjrah 1186. A vast concourse of people, whether from a principle of time-serving, or from a regard to the known adage, *the night is pregnant: what shall it*

They say, that he is a man of much sense, and very extensive charity: but he has been a man in office for a number of years, and in an office which chiefly consisted in rejecting some people's requests, and in admitting others; and such a state of things cannot fail of producing much odium, and still greater envy and jealousy.

bring

A. D. 1771.

bring forth to-morrow? attended him as far as Palassy, from whence they returned; but numbers, who wanted to be beforehand with their rivals, went as far as Calcutta, from whence, on finding his affairs desperate, they returned, after a short stay: insomuch that none remained with him, but a certain number of persons attached to him personally. Here it must be observed, that Calcutta is an immense city, not unlike the ocean; no one cares for another in the English territory; and as Mahmed-reza-qhan was now within the Company's precincts, he experienced daily a gradual diminution of that regard and those honors which had been hitherto constantly paid him: the attention to his concerns diminished every day: his answers and demands were postponed and set by; and other business taken in hand. Meanwhile Djon Gram, who was a warm friend to him, and a stranger to Shytáb-ráy, finding difficulties in supporting the former, contrived to involve the latter in Mahmed-reza-qhan's misfortunes (although probably there was no such order from Europe); and he managed so dexterously, as to have such an order sent to Aizm-abad. But such was the obliging behaviour of the Radjah's, and such his art of conciliating the minds of every one, and of giving satisfaction to all, that Mr. George Vansittart, to whom the order was addressed, contented himself with advising him to repair to Calcutta before such a day; and he carried his regard so far, that without informing him of the purport of his orders, he only advised him, as a friend, to take such a journey; nor did he disclose the matter to him until about the end of the month of Sefer, in the year 1186: so that there elapsed a whole month betwixt his arrest and that of Mahmed-reza-qhan's. The Radja, on the appointed day, got into his badjara, and proceeded on his journey to Calcutta. Mr. Vansittart having appointed a company of Talingas to do him honor, gave secret orders to the Soobadar, that is to the commander of it, to let him proceed as far as the confines of the government of Aazim-abad, after which he was himself to embark on the same badjara, by way of attendance; but without departing from the usual custom of paying his bow in the morning,

or

Shytáb-ray
arrested and sent
to Calcutta.

or of shewing every mark of respect and regard, until he had carried him to Calcutta. Shytáb-ráy having been in this manner conducted to that city, landed at the house which he had always used. But the detail of the answers and questions relative to these two prisoners, is not public, nor is it come to light how that affair ended: whenever it comes out, properly attested, mention shall be made of it in the continuation of these sheets, if it pleases God.

AFTER about two months more the members of the councils of Moorshoodabad, and of Azim-abad received an order of the council of Calcutta, by which Radja Shytáb-ráy and Mahmed-reza-Qhan were declared dismissed from their respective offices of inspection over the imperial Qhaliffah, (that is, over the estimate and collection of the imperial revenue), with injunction to those two provincial Councils, to take that business into their own hands. The next day, in the morning, Mr. Vansittart having assembled in the imperial castle the principal men of the city, and the heads of offices, repaired himself thither, with his council; and having retired with them into a room apart, he translated the supreme orders in Persian, and gave them to the Moonshy or secretary, Seradj-eddin-mohamed-qhan, with orders to read them in a loud voice to the whole assembly: to which he was to explain them distinctly, article by article. The purport was, "that " Maharadja Shytáb-ráy had been dismissed from the office of " Divan of the Imperial Revenue; and that the Council of Azim- " abad had been appointed to rule in his stead; to whose orders, of " course, the officers of that office were to pay obedience; but that " the said Maharadja having been confirmed in his office of the " management of the Nizamet, they were therefore to acknowledge " his authority in that branch. From that period, the Members of the Council, have continued in the management of the Qhaliffa, or office

The council of Azim-abad appointed to take charge of the finances of that province.

of finances, singly, and in full authority, without the assistance of any Hindostani Náib, or deputy; and altho' it is certain that, long before this period, and so early as Mir-djaáfer-Qhan's demise, the English had ever borne a sovereign sway in every thing, and had enjoyed full power every where, yet upon the whole the management of the finances was in the hands of Mahmed-reza-Qhan and of Shytáb-ráy; nor was it but some years
 A. D. 1771. after, that is, on the arrival of Governor Hushtin in the year 1186 of the Hedjrah, that the English gentlemen have accustomed themselves to govern, without the assistance of an Hindostanee Náib, or of any other creditable man from the natives; excepting however some clerks, and some other dependants of Mahmed-reza-Qhan's, and of Shytáb-ráy's, which were kept as registers and detail-men, but still under the absolute controul and the sole direction of the gentlemen of the Council. It is true that the English retain at Calcutta a Gentoo, who is son of D818b-ram, and grandson to Radja Djanki-ram, one of Aly-verdi-Qhan's ministers; but it is only for show; and although he bears the name of Divan of the Imperial Qhalissah, he is in fact no more than a clerk to Mr. Doocreel, (Ducanel) and to every Englishman that shall be appointed real Divan or superintendent of that office. Who knows what shall happen next? We have seen stranger things than that.

For on the beginning of the year 1195, Qhyaliram went to Calcutta, where he took a lease of the revenues of Azim-abad, partly on his own account, and the rest on account of Radja Caalyan-sing, son to Shytáb-ráy; but he was hardly returned, when there arose feuds and heart-burnings between them both: in a little time Qhyaly-ram, and after him Sadooram, were sent into confinement, and disgraced, so as to lose all credit: by which revolution Caalyan-sing was left in the vortex of necessity and embarrassment, endeavoring in vain to collect the balances due from the districts of those two Gentoos, and from his own.

"The world is undone by the men of the world,"
 "The pretence is Siavush and Afrasiab (26)."

WHEN Mahmed-reza-qhan and Shytàb-rày arrived, under a guard of English soldiers, at Calcutta, the Governor was preparing to take a journey to Moorshoodabad, in order to acquire a knowledge of the affairs of Bengal; and to put them under proper management. But first of all, in compliance with the instructions arrived from his country, he suppressed the Council of twelve that had hitherto presided over the affairs of all Bengal; and in their stead he established a Committee of five, of which himself was the head. Mr. Barwell, who arrived at the end of the year, was the fourth of that Council; but at the end of a twelve month, he went home: the names of the three others I do not know. The ten or twelve former Counsellors were ordered to oversee the Company's mercantile affairs, but under the countrol of the Committee. Committee signifies an assembly that has full authority to bind and loose all matters, high or low, relative to this country, whether for making conquests, for waging war against obstinate Princes at the head of armies, or for making peace with those who are abandoned by fortune, and submit to their fate: all these matters, and many more of that importance, are all determined in that assembly, in such a manner as they think convenient. The Governor, after having taken these arrangements, set out in the month of the first Rabi of the year 1186, and came by himself, or only with some Members of the Committee, to Moorshoodabad, where he spent about two months and an half in putting in order the affairs of the country, and in dismissing or confirming some officers and other persons who had been concerned in raising or depressing Mahmed-reza-Qhan's power; after which he returned to Calcutta: he reduced the Nazym's, or Nominal Navvab's allowance, from twenty-four lacs a year to sixteen; and out of regard to Mubarec-ed-dôslah's tender age, he left the disposal of that

Governor Hush-
 tin reduces the
 Navvab's allow-
 ance from twen-
 ty-four lacs a
 year, to sixteen.

(26) Two Ancient Kings of Persia; the first of whom in particular occasioned very bloody wars.

sum to Menny-begum's discretion. It was destined to defray the household expences of the young Navvab's, as well as some articles of luxury and parade, customary with the princes of these countries: likewise to pay a number of pensions to Mir-djaaser-Qhan's relations, and to the women with whom he had cohabited, as well as to some of the descendants of Aaly-verdy-Qhan: lastly, to afford some resource to a number of deserving persons, to whom much attention had always been paid by former Nazems. In the like manner, a small sum was allowed for the subsistence of some families allied to that of the young Prince's. A like sum was made up for the decayed families of Azim-abad, different from the salary allowed to the Nazym of that place, who is now Shytáb-ráy's son: but as this sum is not confounded in that allowed to the Nazym, it is regularly paid to the proper persons, without any charges; whereas that of Moorhoodabad being not kept distinct from the Nazem's allowance, it falls within the disposal of his officers, and of his Náib, all men, who being changed or dismissed every second or third year, (whilst those actually in office are perpetually busy in undermining each other's dependants and friends), unavoidably become covetous, and think of nothing but of the various arts of filling their own purses, without minding the pensioners, who are always left in the lurch. For these poor people, who are numerous, and the remaining stock of the antient nobility, being kept out of their pensions, some for sixteen and some for twenty-five months together, lose very often the whole of their arrears: it being customary to make them sign a receipt in full, under solemn promises of their being henceforward paid regularly, and afterwards to inform them that upon inquiry, it is found that the treasury is unable to discharge the balances due; but most assuredly would be put for the future upon a better footing: and the officers and clerks, having thereby got a release, fall anew into the practices of their predecessors. So that those ill-fated men, and especially the Moorhoodabad pensioners, who in these hard times have not a single resource under the canopy of
the

the Hindostany heaven, are reduced to such miseries, as God relieve mankind from; nor do their circumstances, or the sufferings of the wretched, affect in the least either the Nazym, or his Náib (27) or the Begums, or any of the men in power, or any of the officers of justice; and yet, were even that sum which is fixed, to be distributed properly, and according to the rules of common sense and commiseration, numbers of people would thereby get a sufficient subsistence, and pass their lives in some comfort. But such is their hard fate, that their rulers and administrators, regardless of the tears of mankind, and unmindful of the fear of God, remain entirely insensible: being themselves incapable of any sense of honour, and fearless of any danger from the publicity of the facts; whilst, in matters which cannot conduce to either their happiness in this world, or their safety in the other, they spend thousands and thousands, nay lacs and lacs, and never abate from their vanities and misdemeanours; as we shall mention shortly, if it pleases God, when we shall by-and-bye say something of their lives, although only as one would mention an unity out of a thousand, or shew a sample out of a heap. But this is enough at present upon so disagreeable a subject; let us revert to politicks.

THE Governor, after having finished the business which he had in mind, returned to Calcutta, and on a Tuesday the sixth or sixteenth of the month of the Second Djemady, in the year 1186, he arrived in that city: where he ordered the Committee to commence the trial of Mahmed-reza-Qhan, and of Shytáb-ráy, in such a manner, as each of them should be carried to make his answers and questions separately, and upon alternate days. They commenced with Shytáb-ráy; but as this man had with him some decisive papers, and the hem of his garment was free from any dirt; as there did not subsist against him any such grave accusations, nor any such high discontents, as might spoil his affairs, (which, by-the-bye, was exactly the case of Mahmed-reza-Qhan's,)

Trial of Shy-
tab-ray, who
was honorably
acquitted;

reza-Qhan's,) his trial was soon closed: his conduct proved quite free from the blemishes and false steps of which he had been suspected and accused, insomuch that after a year's conferences and discussions, he was honorably acquitted. The Governor, and all the Members of the Committee, after many excuses and much apology, shewed him every kindness imaginable; and they sent him back to his office, with a letter conceived in these terms. " They confessed, that the suspicions
" on Shytab-ray's fidelity, which for certain reasons had found their
" way into the minds of the Committee of Calcutta and of the Supreme
" rulers in Europe, had proved, after a very long, and a very exact
" examination, destitute of any foundation; and that nothing had ap-
" peared from that excellent man, but proofs of fidelity, fair attachment,
" and zeal: that it followed therefore that the hard treatment he had ex-
" perience, had been unmerited, and far from what his valuable services
" had deserved." To this they added a dress of honor suitable to his rank and merits, with an elephant and a number of jewels; and he was dismissed to his former station of associate in the council of Azim-abad. But

And sent
back to his for-
mer post; but
dies of a broken
heart.

the man had already broke his heart: accustomed these many years to the kindneffes and careffes of the English Rulers, he could not brook the ill return he had received for the many valuable services he had rendered the state. He fell into a despondent state of mind, and took a dislike against all the world, as well as against his own life. The truth is, that his predestined time being likewise at hand, a slight looseness, which chanced to come upon him on his arrival at Azim-abad, turned into a violent flux, and made him covet victuals and things he was not accustomed to. The steadiness of his mind, and his usual temper forsook him; and he henceforward made no distinction between what was hurtful, and what was beneficial to him. It is true that the learned Fàiz-aly, (whom may this salute of mine reach at some lucky hour!) a famous physician, who in these days has not his equal at Azim-abad, had attended him some time; and there appeared evident signs of his good management having been beneficial;

beneficial; but there were about the sick man's person some sycophants, and illiberal men, who made it a point to represent me (who was one of Mr. Vanfittart's friends), as inimical to his welfare; and at last found means to remove from his person the physician above, who then lived with me, after having represented his just reprimands, and his unfeigned zeal, together with his attachment to me, as so many proofs of hatred and enmity; insomuch that when the sick man was forced by necessity to recal him again, and he heard him strongly recommend his abstaining from the many compound medicines which ignorant persons of all sorts used to prepare in secret for him, this ill-fated man, already prisoner to death, abstained altogether from all physick, and left the whole to the course of nature: nevertheless, in consequence of the sollicitations of the Gentlemen of the Council, who so far from being inimical to him, were sincerely desirous of his recovery, he applied to a doctor, which in English signifies a physician; but this doctor having conjectured that it was proper to evacuate and remove out of his body the impure mixture which had taken consistence in it, he gave him a purging dose, by which the sick man's stomach, already reduced to extreme debility, became weaker and weaker, and at last lost all power of digestion.

RADJA Shytah-ráy, originally a Cahtri (28) by tribe, was a Kahut-fukafun by race, and born at Shah-jehan-abad. He was bred in the family of Semsam-ed-dó8lah, son to another Semsam-ed-dó8lah, better known under the name of Qhandó8ran, Lord of Lords to Mahmed-shah; and he commenced by getting into the service of one Aga-solèiman, a Georgian, who was slave and steward to Semsam-ed-dó8lah, as well as every thing in his house. He had at first but a small salary; but by his abilities in business, and by his meritorious services, he soon became the center of all business in Aga Solèiman's house, and of course the

(28) The Cahtries are one of the four grand tribes or races, into which the Hindoos are divided: it is the second. The *Suca-juns*, are a subdivision; and there is an infinity of subdivisions.

absolute ruler of Semsam-ed-dó8lah's affairs. On that nobleman's repairing to the mansions of God's mercy, and on that capital's becoming a continual scene of revolutions, he concluded that there was no safety for him in those parts; and he obtained the imperial Divanship of Azim-abad, with the management of the Djaghirs of his master's son, being the districts of Poluch and Malda in Bengal. Thus provided, he came into these Eastern countries, and, as it has been already mentioned, soon raised himself to the summit of power. He was a man of great sense, a minister knowing in business, and a clerk of a quick dispatch, keen, and full of penetration in every thing he took in hand; and he had so many other valuable qualities besides, that I always thought him the most deserving, and the ablest man amongst the most eminent men of Hindostan. Although originally a clerk and a penman, he proved that he did not want either courage or prowess upon an emergency; and although he had seen himself courted by Vezirs and by Emperors, nevertheless he had so little pride about him, that he behaved to men of virtue or of distinction with a modesty and an humility that disarmed envy itself. He comprehended at once, and at the very first outset, the intent of every one's supplication; and he used to grant it with a deal of condescension, if he had it in his power, and the subject deserved it; or else, he would offer a handsome excuse, in a condoling language: so that no petitioner ever went away from his presence, dissatisfied or discontented: perpetually in the hurry of business, and in conference with a variety of people, from day-break till noon-day, and from the evening to three o'clock in the morning, he seemed neither fatigued with the number, nor impatient with the singularity and extravagance of the demands endlessly crowding upon him; but would attend to every one with a regard always proportioned to the petitioner's rank: never chiding or reprimanding any one, or making use of a harsh or dishonest expression; nor did ever a word of abuse

Brilliant character of Shy-tab-ray.

abuse or rudeness come out of his mouth. Keen and knowing in every thing, and well apprised of the prices of all kinds of wares, he never disputed with merchants, but would give them a handsome price at once; nor would he admit stinginess or oeconomy, whenever he wanted to make a present. Fond of living high and with elegance, he used to procure from distant, cheap places, such provisions as he wanted for his own use; endeavouring to reconcile that taste of his with the dimensions of his purse. Magnificent and generous in his household, he strove as much as his finances could afford, to live up to the grandeur, and hospitality of a midling Omrah of Hindostan. For on the very arrival of some person of distinction in town, he would send him, according to his rank and station, a number of tables covered with a variety of sweetmeats, delicacies, and dressed victuals, of which he had always quantities made with the utmost nicety and attention. In the entertainments and feasts which he used often to give, he always imitated the splendour and the customs of the Moghuls (29); and when at table, he used to invite his guests with the utmost politeness and courtesy to taste of such and such particular delicacies. But his modesty and sense of decorum were such, that no man, not even his nearest relations, have ever seen him repair to the apartments of a woman, called Ram-dji, of whom he was very fond, and to whom he shewed a constant attachment: nor could any one say at what particular time he repaired into the inner apartments of his women, nor when he came out. His consort, a person of his own tribe, from whom he had his two sons, Calyan-sing and Bagvaany-sing, he kept no connections with this long while; but he entertained her at a small distance from his own palace, in a house

(29) Although the Moghul, that is the Hindostany, way of living, is so very inferior to an European table, both for the variety and costliness of the victuals, and for the expensiveness of liquors and other articles, yet such as it is, it is incomparably superior to the Hindoo or Gentoo way of living; the very Radjahs and Kings of that persuasion living with such an abstemiousness as would frighten out of their holes, all the hermits of Europe.

expressly built for her use; and thither he repaired two or three times in the year, at those stated times prescribed by the Gentoo law; but in such a secret manner however, that his visits were very seldom known to any one. His behaviour to some persons inimical to his welfare, was no less singular: these having found access to some Englishman in office, for instance, to the chief of Azim-abad, had grown so jealous of his greatness, that when they came to be complimented with some concern in the Company's affairs, or with some other advantage, they had in a course of years so far estranged themselves from him, as to express their enmity in every thing in their power; and with such a conduct he used to put up. But the moment a change of times had taken place, or any disgrace had happened to them, which might endanger their honor or their fortune, he from that moment forgot the past, and flew to their assistance with all his might and influence: from that moment, he turned his own breast into a shield and buckler for them, and would exert himself so strenuously, as often to rescue them from perdition. Whenever he heard of any one come from Shah-djehan-abad, he used to send for him, and if he happened to be of his acquaintance, and in distress, he never failed to relieve him in the best manner he could afford; but as his own salary was small, and not exceeding what had been appointed; and he did not chuse to lay a finger upon any thing belonging to the government; he contrived to give him a pension; and when he found it inadequate, and could not afford to give a better one, he used to employ him abroad in the collections of the revenue, in such a manner as he might benefit by the employment: but when matters did not succeed to his mind, even in this manner, his method was then to send for the parson, and after having excused himself in a rational manner, he ended his apology by making him a handsome present, over and above a sufficient sum to carry him back; and he always finished his compliment by dismissing him with politeness and regret. Sheh-sheerif-eddin-mohammed, a descendant of the Proto-martyr-Sheh-fäid-mohammed, (whose

station

station may God exalt to a higher one!) was an aged, learned, pious man, and one of the principal citizens of (30) Nedjef-ashreff (the nobility and holiness of which spot may God augment!) who, urged by necessity, and by the distress into which he had fallen, through some accident, had conceived a design of repairing to India, on hearing of the opulence of the country, and of the rich presents made, and the high regard paid by the grandees of that land to the officers and servants of the sublime places, and to those that had lived in, or had visited the holy cities; (and indeed such was the custom in India when the empire was yet in it's lustre). In these hopes he arrived in Hoogly, in his eightieth year, and for a full year made a shift to live in that city and in Moorshoodabad; but although both the Nazem of Bengal, as well as his Náib or lieutenant (31), were men of much wealth and power, both Musulmen, and both served by dependants rich and opulent, yet no one took sufficient notice of his circumstances; so that the venerable old man resolved to try his fortune elsewhere; and he set out for A8d and Lucnow, the capitals of Shudja-ed-dó8lah's dominions, as well as for Ilahabad, then the capital and residence of the Emperor Shah-aalam. On his way thither he arrived at Azim-abad, where having had myself the honor to pay him a visit, I procured the same advantage to Radja Shytáb-ráy. This Minister, on his first hearing of that venerable man's arrival, and circumstances, got into his paleky, and altho' a Gentoo, he left at the door his retinue and insignia, and went in only with one or two servants, and no other company than Mir-cavam-eddin-Qhan; he made his bow with the utmost modesty and respect, and whatever instances

(30) Nedjef-Eshreff, signifies the holy spot above the waters. In fact it is a spot always free from the inundations of the Forat, or Euphrates, whereon Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mahomet, is entombed. Hence the city of C8fah itself bears no other name than that of Nedjeff-Eshreff. This spot as well as Kerbella, near Bagdad, where Houssein, son to Ali, is entombed, is always designed by the words *the sublime places*: for it is only Mecca, the glorious, and Medina, the illuminated, that are designed by the words *holy cities*.

(31) Mubarec-ed-dó8lah, and his deputy, Mahmed-reza-Qhan.

were

were made by the holy man for his taking his seat upon a *mesned*, which he had provided for the purpose, he constantly declined sitting upon it, but took his place on a corner of the carpet, whereon the old man was sitting; and after having spent a full hour in his company, and obtained his acceptance of an entertainment, he withdrew with a respectful posture. In the evening, which was the time appointed, he ordered to be spread for him a superb *mesned*, used by himself only on festival days, and then took his seat upon a small white carpet, forbidding all his people to intrude upon him during the whole visit. The holy man having set out with me after the evening prayers, was met by the Radja, in the very middle of the yard, where having paid him a profound bow, he took him by the hand, and conducted him to the *mesned* spread for him, and there entertained him in such an humble, pious manner, that the Sheih, highly satisfied, could not help expressing himself in these words: "I wish, sir, that God had given also to the Mussulmen of this land, a part of those good qualities which he has bestowed upon you." As he spoke Arabick, the Radja did not understand him, and I served as interpreter: the Radja, returned thanks for the compliment, and observed how little he deserved it; and on his departure, he presented him with two tables covered with fine stuffs, such as paired shawls (31), *kimqhab*s (†), choice clothes and other rich gifts: out of respect to him, he thought it improper to bring any money in his presence; but after his departure, and when the Sheh was arrived with me in his company, to the house of the forgiven Zehir hofsein-Qhan, he sent after him, by the hands of a trusty servant, a bag of a thousand rupees, which the bearer put secretly in my hand, and which I presented in a respectful manner to the holy, hoary man.

(31) Shawls, (a delicate, costly stuff, now well known in England,) are sold as well as presented in couples. *Kimqhab*s are silk stuffs, sprinkled over with gold and silver flowers. The best come from G8djrati; for there is a manufacture of them at Banarees, which altho' worked and inspected by G8djratis, nevertheless affords stuffs inferior in quality, as well as in liveliness and colour.

ONCE there came at Azim-abad a person well known to Shytab-ráy, but also a friend and a favourite of the Prime Minister Nakur-mul, Divan of the imperial Qhaliffah of Hindostan, who resided in Shah-djehan-abad; a man accustomed to go upon a par with Vezirs and Omrahs. This person came from Shah-djehan-abad, for the purpose of performing the ceremony of the Gayáh (32), a rite which the Gentoos perform for their departed parents, and which is for them a divine institution, so obligatory, that without it, they do not believe that the departed soul can be saved. On his asking, at his departure, a letter of recommendation for Radja-Shytab-ráy, Nakur-mul answered; "Maharadja " Shytab-ráy is one of your acquaintances, as well as myself, nor is " he void of civility and good manners; and as we Gentoos have " the performance of the above rite in high veneration, and hold it " highly meritorious, doubtless he will not fail to oblige you. As for the let- " ter you request of me, it may perhaps be of disservice to you. What, " if my self-love does not bear to write to him in a style suitable to the " station and rank he now enjoys there? And what, if his self love would " not bear a style answerable to the station and rank he once held " here? He now rubs his forehead against the third heaven; and the " perusal of my letter would spoil your business." It must be observed, that Radja Shytab-ráy, in imitation of the most attentive and most sensible grandees of Hindostan, used to spend great sums of money in getting intelligence about every Sovereign and every Governor of that region, allowing those in the secret of affairs, monthly, and yearly pensions; and keeping for that purpose in every Court an agent, who committed to writing, without addition or retrenchment, every transaction, and every speech, worthy of record: regularly transmitting the same to other agents, stationed for receiving such intelligence. No wonder then, if Shytab-ráy, being so well

(32) Gayah is a town at three or four days south of Azim-abad or Patna. It is a place of great resort for the Hindoos, who go thither in pilgrimage from all parts of India.

served, this speech of Nakur-mul's had been faithfully conveyed to him, in the very words that had been used. On the first interview, therefore, with the person in question, he contented himself with saying to him: " Sir, that a person like you should come from so far; and that his Excellency, the Prime-minister, should have not wrote me two lines on your behalf, looks very strange, and is of bad omen for you." The person answered, that as himself had the honor to be of Shytab-ráy's acquaintance, there was no need of a letter; for as the Prime-minister is a sensible man, he has understood that the Mahradsja (my lord), that is Shytab-ráy, was already informed of the intention. Not so, Sir, replied Shytab-ráy, not so. Then, rejoined the man, your lordship is well informed of the whole matter; and if that be the case, there is no necessity for your putting any questions about it. Shytab-ráy's friends, such as Radja Qhyaly-ram, and Mir-cavam-eddin-hosséin-Qhan, who were present, understood not a word in the above enigma; but thought it improper to put any questions in the new guest's presence: however, after he was departed, they asked what was the meaning of all that mysterious dialogue? Shytab-ráy recited the intelligence he had received, and the very words of the speech, and then expressed himself in this manner: *I hope to be up with him, if it pleases God*: words which had a reference to what he knew himself, but which no one could comprehend; still less could any one guess what he meant by that expression of his; nor what he could do to one who would not meddle with him. When the person in question came to be upon his departure, Shytab-ráy made him a suitable present, and put into his hands a letter for Nakur-mull, couched in a very respectful and very humble style, although he had no manner of expectations from that quarter, and stood in no need of any service from that Minister: it was to this purport: " The letter you have honored me with has been an object of pride and consolation for me. It is hoped, from the good nature of your Excellency's character, that you shall vouchsafe to gladden by a small token of your good will, the hearts of those

" your

" your petitioners, that are doomed to live at such a distance from you." And to this letter he added a curious present, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand rupees, or even more; consisting of Arur of Augur (33), or Agalla-wood; delicate cotton-linen, manufactured only in Bengal, and such as is hardly to be procured elsewhere; bedstead feet, of Ivory; watches and clocks, made in Europe; lustres and sconces, of a glass that emulated rock-chrystal; looking-glasses, of great dimensions; and a variety of curiosities from Europe and China: all which he entrusted to the above person. But the latter sent them beforehand to Shah-djehan-abad, as he had come to perform his pilgrimage at Ghaya. Nakur-mull, on hearing of the words uttered by Shytab-ráy, and of the manner, equally noble and delicate, in which he had acted, was lost in amazement; and said, " This gentleman has acted with so much sense and nobility, that he has given me a lesson from afar, and has totally covered me with shame and confusion."

But it was in the famine of 1183, that this singular man had a full opportunity of exhibiting his character in the most advantageous light. This famine desolated the whole country of Bahar, as well as the whole kingdom of Bengal. Shytab-ráy, melted by the sufferings of the people, provided in a handsome manner for the necessities of the poor, of the decrepit, the old, and the distressed: and here is the method which he contrived for that purpose. In that dreadful year, when famine and morta-

A. D. 1773.

(33) The Agalla-wood, called Aagur in India, and Sdby the Turkes, Persians, and Arabs, yields, especially at the knotty parts, a rosin, from which they extract an essence highly scented, and so dear as to sell even in Bengal for twenty-five times it's weight in silver. Some even prefer that essence to that of roses; and in Hindostan, whither it is imported from Bengal, it sells full as dear; that is, twice or thrice it's weight in gold. This tree, which is now found only in the Peninsula beyond the Ganges, and in those parts of Bengal that border on it, is exceedingly scarce, and is hardly found, but when the rains and floods have torne it from it's place, and left it sticking on the muddy shores. Those that have been in the case of making use of Shishem or Seefoo-wood for common fuel, and have attended to the sameness of smell, will be very much inclined to suspect that the Agur-tree must be nothing else but some Seefoo-tree, grown very old.

lity,

lity, going hand in hand, stalked every where, mowing down mankind by thousands; Shytab-ráy, who heard that the grain was a little cheaper, and in greater plenty, at Banares, set apart a sum of thirty thousand rupees, and directed that the boats and rowers belonging to his household should bring regularly to Azim-abad, three times a month, the grain provided with that sum at Banares. This grain being landed at Azim-abad, was sold at the Banares-price, whilst the boats were dispatched for another trip: by which management there were always boats landing and boats loading. In this manner, during the whole time which the famine lasted, his numerous boats, divided in three squadrons, were constantly employed in bringing corn, which his people sold at the original price, without loading it with the charges, losses, and transport; and it was purchased by the necessitous, who flocked to his granaries from all parts. But as there were still vast numbers that could not afford to purchase grain so dear (34), he ordered them to be divided into four classes, which were lodged in three or four gardens, or seats, surrounded by walls, where they were watched, as prisoners, by guards, but daily

(34) Rice sells in general at Azim-abad at the rate of 120 pounds avoirdupois for a rupee; that is, for twenty-two pence English; wheat at 150; barley at 200; and Djevar, or African millet, as well as some other grains, at 300. Hence, when grain sells at thirty or forty pounds, as it did in 1769-70, it becomes so dear that the generality of people cannot afford to pay for it. The carelessness and inattention of the Indians, (to say nothing of their ingratitude, that bane of the nation) are such, that although thousands of necessitous people were daily fed at Calcutta, by several charitable English, who had clubbed together for that purpose; although in the year 1784 a daily distribution of wheat was ordered at Azim-abad by Governor Hastings, at his private expence; although the same year Mr. John Wombwell, and some other English of Lucknow, had rescued from the jaws of imminent death, to my certain knowledge, more than two thousand people, whom they used to feed every day for six months together; nevertheless, not one man amongst the natives, at either Calcutta, Patna, or Lucknow, ever mentioned it in conversation, although I put the question to several hundreds of the better sort, and have been endlessly inquiring from amongst the poor: so that to this day these three events are as unknown amongst the natives of Bengal, and as little minded or talked of, as the five or six scores of English smothered at Calcutta in 1756, or the three or four hundred massacred at Patna in 1764.

attended

attended as patients, by a number of clerks, who kept an account of them, and were assisted by a number of servants, who at stated times used to come loaded with victuals ready dressed for the Musulmen, and with a variety of grain and pulse and a sufficiency of earthen vessels, and of firewood, for the Gentoos; at the same time, several ass loads of small money, besides a quantity of opium, bang, tobacco, and a variety of other such articles, were distributed severally to each person, according to the kind he was accustomed to use: and this happened every day, and without fail. On the report of such generosity, the English and Dutch took the hint, and on his example, lodged the poor in several enclosures, where they were regularly fed, tended, and lodged. In this manner an immense multitude came to be rescued from the jaws of imminent death. But in Moorshoodabad, such a proceeding never came into any one's head; and it is reported, that although Mahmed-reza-Qhan had been appointed inspector of that branch of police, grain was often not to be had at any rate: for such men as Mir-soléiman-Qhan, and some others like him, who had been appointed overseers of the poor, proved so intent on their own interest, that so far from being able to procure plenty of grain, they were the foremost to use violent methods to engross it. Whenever any loaded boat chanced to come escorted to the market by the government people, the grain was dragged away with force by some one of the favourites of Mahmed-reza-Qhan's, and carried to their own houses. Numbers of them were guilty of such practices, especially Radja-Amret-sing, who gave himself all the airs of a sweetheart of his master's, and made nothing of wresting a boat-load of grain out of the hands of a number of famished wretches, who had thrown themselves upon it (*). Nor did any one trouble himself about

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these

() It is not improper to mention here Naamet-ollah Qhan, amongst the servants of Mahmed-reza-Qhan's, who engrossed the sale of rice. This man, who was a menial servant of Mir-djaaser-Qhan's, and is now steward to Mahmed-reza-Qhan, is reputed worth eighteen lacs; but he was an acquaintance of the Author's.

(*) There is no nation in the world so defective in common sense, as the Indians, whenever they have a distribution to make to the poor. Look at that man who has to-day

these practices, or about securing the grain, or getting it sold at a reasonable price; or about executing strict justice against those engrossers; and matters rose at last to such a height, that this neglect came in the end to cut a considerable figure amongst the articles of accusation urged

day proclaimed a distribution of grain and cloth for Tuesday next: this man, by his senseless distribution, will cause twenty murders; and rather more than less: for I remember of a Gentoo, who about ten years ago, was the innocent, but thoughtless, cause of seventy men being trampled to death; although I informed him of a method I had myself practised to prevent disorders, and offered to preside at the distribution. A couple of hundred stout fakirs, with knotty bamboos in their hands, take possession of the house-yard, and murder, or maim, or trample to death, those famished children, those impotent old women, those decrepit old men, those blind and lame, that cannot stand upon their legs. In the famine of 1784 or 85, the Navvab of Lucnow distributed five thousand rupees a day; that is, killed about fifty impotent people every morning regularly for three months, together, and, in his own words, put an end to the famine,—add, by diminishing the number of mouths. A man of sense, who was very nearly smothered by the crowd, and who would have never extricated himself, had he not been vigorously supported by the show of a brace of empty pistols, and by the exertions of a dozen of vigorous servants, presented a petition the next morning to that Prince, on what he had been seeing these six days; and proposed to lessen the price of grain by full fifty per cent. in five days, on condition only, that he was proposed to the distribution, not of money, but of grain and dressed victuals; and on condition, that three preparatory steps were taken immediately: TO WIT.

“ Sending forthwith fourteen hundred elephants, with five thousand of their attendants
“ into the woods of Mahmedi, five days journey north of Lucnow: Seventy elephants
“ only to be kept near the Prince’s person.

“ Dismissing immediately towards Banares, with each three months pay before-hand,
“ the fifteen hundred men that attended three hundred thousand pigeons. Appointing a
“ number of cooks to roast or boil every day five thousand of those pigeons, to be
“ distributed to so many famished wretches, disposed properly by classes.”

On these conditions, the petitioner, without having recourse to any breaking of shops, and magazines, or to any compulsion, offered to forfeit his head, if grain, which was to be had no where, was not within five days sold in many shops; and in a month, at full eight or ten seers, instead of three or four seers, (that is eight pounds avoirdupois) which small quantity nothing could fetch now but gold, secrecy, and interest. The petition was laughed at, as being that of a man that had no common sense. And no wonder if it was: for meanwhile his Highness, with his five thousand rupees a day, had brought plenty in three months time; and this was, by killing, or which is the same, by suffering to be trampled to death ten or twelve thousand wretches; and at the end of those three months, the rain fell plentifully, and grain sold at six and seven seers in the markets.

The man had promised, and that too upon his head, that the first day of the distribution of victuals, there would be no more than fifteen murders; the second, six; the third, four; the fifth one; the sixth, none; and so on to the end of the famine,

against

against Mahmed-reza-Qhan, by the Committee. But let us drop those matters; doubtless they are better known to the Almighty Scrutiniser of hearts; for our part is now to continue our account of Shytab-ráy's way of life.

He used every year to purchase large quantities of fresh fruits of Iran (35) from the merchants, and to send them in presents to the principal English, and to the Grandees of Bengal: besides that, he had it in custom, two or three times a year, to compliment with such delicacies, all the persons of Azim-abad, that seemed of distinction, whether by their rank, or by their merit or virtue; and as he found that still some people were forgotten, and had no share in the distribution, he betook himself to this expedient: over and above the sum of money yearly spent for his own use, he set apart another sum, which he used to lend to the fruit-merchants, who were to employ it in fruit, to be sold publicly in their shops: so that any one might become a purchaser; and whatever remained unfold, he took it off their hands in part of payment: by which management neither the merchant became a sufferer, nor did the public want for fruit. Not satisfied with that, he, by dint of money, engaged some fruit-gardners, amongst those that either cultivated fruit-trees or dealt in fruit, to quit their abodes at Shah-djehan-abad and at Lahor, and to settle at Azim-abad, where he lent them capitals, sufficient to put it in their power to cultivate such fruit-trees as the climate would bear, and such as could afford an object of trade. As a further encouragement, he used yearly to make them presents of seeds, which he procured from Lucknow, from Agrah, and from Cabul (36), especially of musk-melons, ferdas,

Shytab-ray introduces the culture of musk-melons, and of grapes, at Patna.

(35) Persia.

(36) Cabul is a fortress and a province of India, the last towards Persia; it is renowned, even in that empire, for the superior flavour of its fruits. Pears, apples, quinces, and admirable pomegranates, come from thence to the interior parts of India, but especially grapes of two inches in length, and exceedingly luscious. All that comes over-land

ferdas (*), and other fruits: and so soon as they had produced a crop, he purchased that product, and distributed it in presents. At last grapes of a good size and complete maturity, as well as figs, and several other fruits, came to be in fashion at Azim-abad, and to be sold from one seer and a half to two and three seers (37) to a rupee; infomuch that those rarities are now to be had, not only in gardens of distinction, but even in the shops of the city.

Shytab - ray
a Musulman in
his heart, and
moreover a fa-
natical Shyah.

AFTER having spoke so much of Shytab-ráy's generosity and industry, it is proper we should say something of his religious principles. He was fond of the notions and practices of a Musulman of sense (38); for he went into deep and respectful mourning for the Prince of Martyrs,

over-land, over a tract of four or five hundred leagues, to Azim-abad; but then it amounts to such a price, that a single grape sells at Lucknow for a penny English, pears, apples, and pomegranates for half a crown the couple. From Lucnow they are sent to Calcutta, in presents, by the post.

(*) Serdas are a longish sort of Musk-melons, that have the rind, yellow, and the pulp green; on the contrary of the ordinary Musk-melons, which have the rind green or yellow, and the pulp of a saffron or golden hue. Some of both species are admirable. But people must go to Persia, and to Constantinople, to eat those fruits in the greatest perfection. As to grapes, properly speaking, besides their being excessively scarce in Bengal, as well as in Bahar, they very seldom come to maturity in either of those countries; because in the months of May, June, and July, when the grain has acquired it's full growth, and wants only the benefit of much sun-shine to mellow it's juices, there fall such floods of rain, and the weather is so constantly cloudy, that no ameliation can be expected. In Lucnow, where rains fall only in July, the Grapes grow to maturity.

(37) The seer weighs about thirty-two ounces avoirdupois.

(38) A Musulman of sense in our author's opinion, is a Shyah, That is a man who gives to Aaly the titles of Sole Rightful Successor, and of King of Braves—The two Princes of Martyrs, are, that same Ali, called the *M8rtexa*, or agreeable, because he was the only man living whose name was mentioned in the Coran, besides Mohammed, who is called *Muslepha*, or the select: the second Proto-martyr, is Hosséin, the second son of Ali, who is buried at Kerbela near Bagdad. Nor is it to be wondered at, that Gentoos or Hindoos should slide into the practices and customs of Musulmen, especially if they be showy or affecting, as are the theatrical rites of the Muharrem. Man, when not persecuted, naturally becomes imitative and apish: and hence we see every day, in India, Musulmen insensibly sliding into the practices of Hindoo customs, rites, and festivals, as well as Gentoos turning Musulmen, and especially Shyahs, by shoals.

(on

(on whom be peace for ever)! and the twenty-first of the holy month, which is the day of the martyrdom of the Prince of Martyrs and successors, Aly the Morteza (whose eulogiums and encomiums may for ever be upon the increase)! he used to order quantities of rice boiled in milk, and other sweetmeats and victuals, to be prepared with the utmost nicety and cleanliness; and these he distributed throughout the city, after having offered a prayer over them. In turning himself from side to side, he had in general the invocation of *Ya-Aaly*, (O Aaly, 39) in his mouth; nor was he at any time heard to pronounce the name of any of the Gentoo Saints. His usual oath was *Wallah*, and *Billah* (40). Once every year he used to spread the table of the King of Braves (on whom be peace!) and that too with the utmost cleanliness and elegance; and after the prayer of the Fateha, pronounced according to custom over it, the whole was distributed away. One day some one said, that before the distribution should have taken place, it would have been proper to wait for the appearance of *the sign* on some of the salt-cellars, or on some of the dishes upon the tables: "this," said he, is an essential condition: and does the Mahradsja neglect the same?" Shytah-ráy answered, that such an appearance, being a deviation "from the natural order of things, is what cannot be asked from, nor "granted by, the King of Holiness (40); nor does it become a poor "Pagan like me, added he, to request a miracle for such a matter. "As I have in his Majesty such a faith as I ought, why should I wait for "such an exhibition (*)? On the other hand, no body has a right to lay

(39) No Shyah, in making any effort to raise a weight, or otherwise, will ever say *Ya Qhoda!* O God! the invocation is always *Ya Aali!*

(40) O God! by God! This is the usual oath of a Musulman; but in judiciary matters it is amplified in this manner: *Vallabil-Aazím! Oo Billabil-kerím!* By the most high God! and By the most bountiful God! The usual invocation of Gentoos is, *Ya Bagván! Ya Permessér!* two attributes of God, in the Shanscrit language, which is the Latin of India.

(40) The King of Holiness, is Aaly.

(*) Look for these miraculous signs, at the Note 171, first Volume, Section III.

“ his commands on his Majesty in such matters; and supposing, that for
 “ want of precaution and requisite cleanliness, or for some lack of suf-
 “ ficient respect, the sign should not make its appearance, then a door
 “ would be set open for pouring abuse and reproach upon poor me, who
 “ am but a Gentoo, and would become exposed to the taunts of those
 “ who know not *the interior of my thoughts*, and who in that case would
 “ not fail to say: look at that presumptuous Pagan! he to expect a sign
 “ of approbation from the King of Braves! as if he had had the honor to
 “ be one of the Believers (41)!”

ONCE he was going to receive general Asmeet (Smith) at Bar; and
 it happened that his tents were pitched behind a temple of Idols (42), in
 a spot of ground used by all comers. In the morning, as he intended to
 go forward, his Paleky was set ready at the door of his tent, close to
 which his servants and retinue having formed a long lane that extended
 afar, waited for the moment of making their bow. At that moment I
 walked in, and a little after came out again in his company; when the
 Brahmans, who served that temple of Idols, availing themselves of the
 opportunity, advanced in a body (43), at the moment of his getting into
 his paleky, and made their demand; “ observing, that this spot was conse-
 “ crated to *Mabadé*; and as to-day was full moon, and a lucky day, they
 “ hoped

(41) The Shyabs know no Believers amongst Musulmen, but their own selves; and hence they call themselves Moominin.

(42) This is one of those atrocious lies, begotten by ignorance and fanaticism, against Gentoos or Hindoos, and like so many others propagated against Mahometism. If there be a people that have the sublimest notions of the Deity, it must be the Gentoos. But these are not only permitted, but enjoined, to turn themselves in their prayers towards the sun, towards the fire, towards the elements, and also towards simulachres, as so many emblems of the Divinity, which serve the purpose of fixing the mind, and of keeping the imagination from wandering. Thus a rick of grain, or even a bushel of meal, is a very good emblem of the Deity; and a man to keep himself recollected, may fix his eyes thereon during his prayer.

(43) The Brahmans, on the contrary of all Indians, never salute any one with an inclination of the body or head, but God. All others are saluted only with the lips, the
 body

“ hoped he would pay some regard also to their circumstances.” Shitab-ráy answered, that they ought to make their request to whoever had come in pilgrimage to this place, or to offer his prayer at this altar. *As for me,* added he, *I have no business with either your persons or temple.* This said, he got in his paleki, and pursued his journey, without giving them any thing at all, although he was far from wanting sentiments of generosity. For it was often observed, that when Gentoo mendicants applied to him, he would not give them even a farthing; whereas when any Musulman asked him alms, in the name of his Majesty, the Commander of the Faithful, or of his children, or of his descendants, straight he would give them one rupee. It was reported by people of worth and credit, who were always near his person, that in his many journies to Calcutta and to Bengal, where the sight is every where assailed by idol temples, some of his friends, who were zealous in their worship, proposed to him to visit those places; but he constantly excused himself, although he would give them one hundred and two hundred rupees at a time to visit them themselves: desiring them to do it also in his behalf, and to fulfil the usual rites in his name. On his finishing a magnificent palace for his residence, his Gentoo friends proposed that he should consecrate it, by giving the Brahmans a repast in it. He answered, that they would sully, and spoil his house, and fill it with dirt; and that if it were necessary to feed them, they were welcome to take his money, and to entertain them upon the strand, on the shores of the Ganga.

body remaining erect, and the palms of the hand being turned upwards towards Heaven, as if to pray for him, or to give him their blessing: this also being the posture taken in praying to God. Mahade8, or the great Saint, is, according to some Gentoos, the first man; but as these people never know but the bark of their religion, and on the other hand, the sacerdotal tribe, who know better, would rather suffer death than reveal their tenets, we had as well believe other Gentoos, who report, that Mahade8 is a name given to the destructive power of God; and possibly is it on that account that he is represented with a chaplet of twenty or thirty human heads hanging from his neck: he has also a large vertical eye in the middle of his forehead; and the Ganges is seen to issue from his hair, made up in a bundle on the top of his head.

At

At the time of that famine, which did so much havoc, and which was distinguished by so great a scarcity of rain, some of his Gentoo friends, such as Moorlydur and Ráy-kituldas, and Surd-sing, whom he consented to humour, prevailed upon him, to go with them to a Brahman, who was highly respected by the Gentoos, on account of his learning and the holiness of his life; the Brahman, who thought himself much honored by the Radja's visit, used often to repair to him, with a view to increase his faith in his person, and also to conciliate his good will. One day he was heard to say to Shytá-ráy, " My Lord, we have made choice of a name for you, according to your horoscope; accept it, and use it in telling your beads over." *I have*, answered Shytá-ráy, *made my choice already, and it is one from the one thousand and one names of God (44); and that is enough for me.* Pray what is it, added the Brahman? The Radja would not disclose it; the Brahman became urgent; and he was answered, that it was God's holy name, *it is Rabim* (merciful): on this the Brahman, guessing at his meaning, and desirous to soothe his mind, replied, " My Lord, *Ram* (*) as well as *Rabim*, are equally the name of the same Eternal One; " *I ask your pardon*, replied the Radja, *there is a difference betwixt them*; and on the Brahman's enquiring, the Radja answered, that the word *Ram*, always reminded him of *Dusrut*, his father, whereas the name of *Allah*, implied neither filiation nor paternity. From such, and the like expressions mentioned above, as well as from the whole tenor of his deportment, it appears, that his belief was not consonant to the tenets of the Gentoos, and that in his heart, he was a Musulman; but this is known only to him, who views in-

(44) The names of the attributes of God, are to the number of a thousand and one; but the Musulman Rozaries being only of a hundred and one grains, people content themselves with repeating only a hundred and one upon their beads: for instance, O, Almighty! O, Immense! O, Supreme! O, Assister! O, Cherisher! &c. (*) *Ram* is not only the name of a Legislator of India, (and observe that he is always represented blue, or black, with an Ægyptian flute in his hand, and an Ægyptian cap on his head), but it is also the name of one of the ten Incarnations of the Deity upon earth.

tuitively the minds of men, and fees the innermost secrets of their hearts (45).

He was not so cautious in other parts of his behaviour: fond of obliging and gratifying his friends and acquaintances, he was so careful of his character, that he compassed his end, without committing any infidelities in the management of the public money, from which, he abstained religiously; but as his salary, and personal income, fell so very short of his expences; and he was often in the necessity of bestowing sums of money on some Englishmen, recommended by the rulers of that nation, and likewise of supplying the difference betwixt his income and his expences; he made use of two methods, equally improper and iniquitous to fill the chasm: the first was, that in matters of *Atlac*, (which word signifies the sending one or two constables for compelling payment of sums due to the treasury,) he used to send them by whole dozens at a time; and as the debtors are always obliged to find these people in diet-money, he used to enter but a small part of it in the books of public receipt, and to keep the remainder, as a supply for his liberalities. His second method was no less iniquitous: he used to bring under contribution, the possessors of Djagirs, Altumgas, and other freeholds, by telling them, that such an Englishman wanted to see their charters and vouchers; and when he had once got them in his possession, (and this was always in that Englishman's name,) he used to put those vouchers in the hands of one of his own dependants, or heads of office, who, without any possible reason or justice, would exact from each incumbent or possessor, a sum of money proportionable to his income: after this he got together all those contributions,

Iniquitous methods used by Shytab-ráy, to support his expences.

(45) It is notorious that Shytab-ráy, although a Gentoo, and of one of the highest tribes, was in his heart a Musulman, and moreover a fanatical Shyah; and as notorious, that his two sons, although circumcised and bred in Mahometism, have a strong bias towards Gentilism, and indeed live like superstitious Gentoos: But Gentilism admits of no profelytes.

() Of the Deity in India.

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which amounted to a large sum, and bestowed them on the Englishman that had been recommended to him. In this manner, he seemed wholly occupied by the thoughts of keeping the individuals of that nation in good humour; but without ever minding the divine resentment, in an affair of so much consequence. Doubtless it is on such sorts of men, that historians have made such severe remarks; and it is such men as these which Sheh-saady of Shyras had in view, in his G8listan (46), when he says, that “ whenever any one forgets himself so far as to “ postpone the Creator’s service, to that of the creature’s, it happens soon “ or late that God Almighty sets that very creature on him, so as to cut “ off the root of his well-being.” An observation, which has been but too visibly verified in Shytaby-ráy’s case, who to oblige those that had hoodwinked their hearts, and shut up their ears and eyes against God’s eternal justice, made no scruple of vexing and oppressing his creatures. It is from those very persons, whom he wanted to keep in good humour, that his ruin took its origin at last; and as it was under pretence of *Atlacs*, that is of letting loose a number of exactors, that he ransacked, tormented, and ruined such a number of innocent deserving men, so it was by falling himself in the miseries of such an *Atlac* or looseness, that he lost the garment of his existence, and was forced to set out for the other world: where no one, but the Searcher of all Secrets, can know what may now be his fate; although nothing is more certain than what we read in the holy writ, where we find *that his forgiveness is always greater than our demerits.*

RADJA Shitaby-ráy was hardly arrived at Azimabad, when Governor Hushtin resolved to go to Banarefs, to meet Shudjah-ed-dó8lah. The fifteenth of the second Reby he was arrived at Moorshoodabad; and at the end of that month, or at the beginning of the first Djemady, in the year A. D. 1773. 1187 of the Hedjrah, he was arrived at Aazymabad, where he proposed

(46) The G8listan is a book of Persian poetry, translated into Latin, by Angelus Politianus. It is made up of a number of sentences, stories, apologues, and apophthegms; all enforcing, in beautiful verses, every moral duty. Even children know it by heart.

to Shytábráy to accompany him in his journey: but this Minister, who was now on the wing for the regions of eternity, excused himself upon the ill state of health under which he really labored, and did not accept the proposal. The Governor, after a stay of two days, pursued his journey to Banáres, where he met Shudjah-ed-dó8lah, who was come thither also to see him, and where he finished the business for which he had come so far: and it was there likewise that the new Zemindar, Radja Chéyt-sing, son to Radja Bulvant-sing, which latter departed this life a little time before, had his first interview with Shudjah-ed-dó8lah, by the Governor's mediation; who having firmly established him in his Zemindary of Banáres, took his leave, and returned to Aazym-adad, a little time after Radja Shytábráy had departed this world. It was about the middle of the second Djemady, in the same year.

ALTHOUGH this man's principles, as well as those of his sons, were much more consonant to the Musulman religion, than to the Gentoo tenets, yet for fear of disobliging his relations and kindred, and also out of regard to some other considerations, his body was burnt to ashes, in compliance with the Gentoo custom. The governor, to shew that he entertained no disinclination to the deceased, and to prove that he retained no suspicion against his fidelity, took care, of his own motion, to bestow the father's office on his son, Radja Calyán-sing; although the latter did not shew that capacity and fitness which might have been expected from a man of his age and education. He confirmed likewise to him his father's salary, and his Djaghirs; and he also increased the pension allowed to his mother, relict of Radja Shytábráy. But at the same time he suppressed the twenty-five thousand rupees a month, hitherto allowed for the charges of the Nizamet, and which were in his father's disposal. Instead of that, he fixed such a sum of money as he thought proper; and directed, that it should be managed henceforward wholly by the Council. And having further made some additions and some retrenchments in the
several

several pensions paid by government, (which last he appointed to be disbursed by the Council and by the Qhalissah office,) he set out in all haste for Calcutta; it being his custom to dispatch much business in the least time possible.

Mahmed-reza-Qhan forsaken by every one, in his confinement at Calcutta; but supported by Ali-hibrahim-Qhan.

MAHMED-REZA-QHAN meanwhile, under all the terrors of arrest and confinement, was in continual alarms, and in great distress of mind: he was friendless, and without an adviser; deserted likewise by most of his men of business, to whose treason indeed he had afforded some pretence by his former carelessness, and his neglect of their welfare. The Divan or Minister of his heart, Amret-sing, was a young man of unequal temper, proud of his wealth, averse to men of honour or penetration, hating cordially whoever pretended to any thing like fidelity and scrupulousness, and withal destitute himself of that capacity requisite in those matters properly of his resort; such as examining papers, and auditing accounts. On the other hand, every one, tired this long while with Mahmed-reza-qhan's haughtiness, as well as exasperated at the violence of his temper, and at his abusive language, went his own way, glad to have got so easy a riddance. Nay Amret-sing himself, that darling of his heart, under a feint of disclosing some secret which he knew, obtained a full clearance and acquittal from his doating master (47); and he retired to enjoy his own ease in a house which he

(47) Mahmed-reza qhan was confined in an elegant villa at Chitpoor, which although a suburb of Calcutta, and full of seats and gardens, is four miles from the Old Fort, the center of that city; whereas Amret-sing took a house in town. But as our Author is hinting in more than one place at the nature of the intimacy that subsisted between Amret-sing and his master, and this hinting has a reference to the morals and customs of those times; nothing will give so thorough an insight into the strange genius that reigned in those days, as a peep into a scene that happened two years before that period, in the Palace: and here it must be observed that Ali-hibrahim-Qhan, who by-the-bye was suspected of some heterodoxy in love matters, was by tribe a *Sheb*, the feminine of which in the Hindostany language, is *Shebani*, as the feminine of *Maba-radja* (the honorific title of Amret-sing) is *Maba-rani*. One day Ali-hibrahim-Qhan coming

he took in Calcutta. Not one at that time thought of Aly-hib-rahim-qhan, who, however unacquainted with the records and papers relative to past transactions; however uninformed in matters concerning the revenue and collections; however unapprised of the accusations brought against Mahmed-rezá-qhan; however almost a stranger to him; resolved to come to his assistance: and without having ever benefited any thing by Mahmed-reza-qhan's full power and influence, he paid so much regard to his misfortune and to the very name of friend, that he tucked up the hem of exertion and zeal, into the zone of activity and vigour; and having in a little time acquired a full knowledge of all the papers, records, and transactions, relative to his friend's affair, he undertook to answer all the accusations stated against him, and to act as his advocate in the whole circle of questions and answers. Resolved to make of his own breast a buckler against all the shafts of those times, he took upon himself to stand out in his name, and to refute and repell all the accusations set up by the Committee, or proposed by the Governor; which last, however, has not his equal in the fairness and equity of his questions, and in the uprightness of his management. He answered every one of the accusations set up by Nandcomar, who was a shrewd, powerful man, deeply versed in business, informed of every secret, and a sworn enemy to Mahmed-rezá-qhan: he set at nought

coming into the hall with a large bundle of papers, which he wanted to get signed, found fault with Mahmed-rezá-qhan's closet-door, which remained fast shut up. The Divan or Prime-minister, Amret-sing, who was a youth delicately beautiful, being within, with another bundle of papers. At last the young Diván came out and took his seat close to the Qhan, but without taking the least notice of him. The latter, who by this time was fully dosed with impatience and peevishness, turned towards the Divan with an officious air, and a soothing tone of voice and *come*, said he, *come Maharani, come my lady: your ladyship seems to be flushed, and much out of breath. Pray my lady do take this pillow, and repose yourself. Shall I send for an ewer and some water to wash your ladyship's face?* "Mistress Shehanny" answered the other, "you had better keep your ewer and water to yourself; nor do forget you may have occasion for both before it is midnight." To render this answer more caustic, this was said in a fawning, feminine tone of voice.

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the whole of that man's influence, and stood alone against all his machinations, artifices, and revengeful temper. It is reported to this day, that his answers, as if by enchantment and by some hidden charm, had the power of soothing his enemies and of pleasing the by-standers, who astonished at his solutions, and reasonings, were left in amazement, and had no other faculty left, but that of applauding, admiring, and assenting. It was that able man, who both by his pen and tongue secured Mahmed-rezá-qhan from the hands of his accusers; and put it in his power to receive a full clearance from the Council. This event

A. D. 1773. happened the 25th of the first Raby, in the year 1187; and in the next month, he obtained a dismissal of the guards that had been set upon him, as well as of those that were upon his palaces at Moorshood-abad. Nevertheless the latter, even after that release, thought proper to tarry a long while at Calcutta, on the hopes, that like Shytab-ráy, he would be restored to his station, and again appointed associate to the Council in the provincial department of Moorshood-abad, nay of the whole kingdom: an office which in fact would have invested him with the chief direction of affairs, and rendered him the main hinge of all transactions in revenue matters. Full of these notions, it is not surprising he should be prone to lend a willing ear to the sycophants of Calcutta, and to the dependants of some Englishmen, who daily fed him with crude reports, and idle expressions, with which they ever kept him in spirits; and from whence he always fancied, he foresaw a completion of his wishes. As for instance, "such a Lord (48) to-day said so, at his breakfast,—and such another said so, yesterday at his dinner:—and such an one has received such an intelligence from home:—and such a Gentleman has heard such a Member say.—It is upon such, and the like intelligences, that Mahmed-rezá-

(48) The English, from the highest to the lowest, are not designed in Bengal by any other word than that of *Saháb*, which signifies both Lord, Master, and Gentleman.

qhan,

qhan was conceiving mighty hopes from the influence of his friends; it is such babblers he took to be his well-wishers; and it was upon their advice, he bestowed beforehand large sums of money to several persons, for their future assistance in his designs. Not contented with that, he promised vast sums more, on his being restored to his former station and rank: and it was in this manner he accumulated on his shoulders an immense load of debts and charges, by borrowing on all hands at Calcutta. I was then arrived in that city myself, where, under the impulse of a pious desire, I was making preparations for my visiting happily the forbidden House of God (49), and the Tomb of the Prince of Men, (on which be peace); and it was in such circumstances I happened to make a small request, which was refused, although so small a service would not have cost Mahmed-rezâ-qhan a single farthing; nor would it have caused the least detriment to his affairs, or to those of any other: it was no more than this: to order the Overseer of his Djaghiry-lands to take charge also of

(49) The forbidden House of God is that square house or room, built of large blue stones, in the open air, and in the middle of the inner area or yard of the great temple of Mecca, by which it is surrounded every where at about thirty yards distance. It may be thirty feet high, upon a length and breadth of about twenty or twenty-five. This Square-house or *Caaba*, is the place to which the Mahometans resort to make their pilgrimages, that is, to change their lives, and to become better. It is called *Haram* or forbidden, because all men are forbidden to approach it, and even to look at it, unless they have undergone certain conditions and purifications; the first of which is, to put on the *Ehram* or winding sheet, to be dead for three days, and then to resuscitate in order to recommence a new life.—But even to enter the outer temple, all these conditions are rigorously required.—It is for that same reason that Seraglios are called *Harams*, and *Haram-seras* all over the Mahometan world. Hence that word is often translated here by that of *Sanctuary*, a place which none can presume to enter, without certain conditions: hence also the small house of *Aishâ* (the messenger's favorite consort) which contains Mahomet's tomb, and is itself surrounded by the great temple of *Medina the illuminated*, is also called *Haram*; and when joined in speech with the temple of *Mecca the glorious*, which last is ten days south of Medina, they are both called by the Arabian *Dual*, famous all over the Mahometan world: *Haremîn-sherifîn*, the two noble and holy places, (or things), forbidden.

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mine, and to discharge from the product, the amount of the debt I had incurred by borrowing from a banker, with injunctions not to leave during my absence, in the tenant's hand, the overplus of my rents, or my growing revenues; but to collect the whole regularly, and to keep it in store against my return. He was also requested to interpose between my banker and me, so far as to afford me time to sell my furniture, and to liquidate his debt before my departure, with the product of the sale. All that would have cost him but one word, and that one word was refused. I was then necessitated to tarry fifteen or twenty days more at Calcutta, in which interval I had frequent opportunities of being in Mahmed-rezá-qhan's company, indeed almost every day; and I always, heard him mention Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's name with the highest encomiums, and the warmest expressions of gratitude. He used often to say in my hearing, "that were he to spend his whole life in serving that beneficent man, he would still fall short of the return he deserved for the animated zeal he had shewn in his disgrace, and the infinite services he had rendered him; but that with God's blessing he would do so and so."—Nor did he address him, or mention his name, without the respectful word *Kybla* (50), and my *Kybla*: and he often added in my presence and that of many others, these very words:—*Those that had gained lacs in my service, and owe me the very bread upon which they now live, have abandoned, and deserted me in the day of need, and have left me alone; nor has any one been of any use to me in the day of trial, nor am I under the least obligation to a single one of them, save to Aly-hibrakim-qhan, my Kybla, that benefactor of mine, who has bought and acquired every once of me: no father, and no brother would have served me with so much zeal, nor done what this man has done.* These were his words, nor did he speak in that strain once or twice; but in every company, and at every turn, he would be rehearsing that worthy

(50) The *Kybla*, is that part of the horizon towards which one prays by law. Hence Mecca is the *Kybla* of Mahometans, and Jerusalem, of Jews, as it has been of the Christians for several hundred years together.

friend's praises, and extoling his services. All this while he was in expectation, that some better prospects would open to his view; when there arrived three men at Calcutta, who had authority to act both on the part of the King, and on the part of the Company, as directors of all the transactions of the Committee, and as enquirers into the Governor's conduct and that of Mr. Barwell's. These were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis. They were to examine what those two men had done, although those two men had been at the same time confirmed in their stations. This happened about the middle of Shaaban, in the year 1189. A. D. 1774.



SECTION XIII.

Of the SEIR MUTAQHERIN, or REVIEW of MODERN TIMES.

Contents of the Thirteenth Section.

THE three new comers seem to have brought great prejudices against Hushtin and Barwell.—A duel between the Latter and the General.—Governor Hushtin's temperate conduct.—Nandecomar, his principal accuser, is himself accused.—He is condemned and executed.—His immense property.—Mahmed-Reza-qhan by the General's influence is appointed Fodjaar-general all over Bengal, that is Supreme criminal magistrate.—Edifying death of Rabiab-begum, the last descendant of Aali-verdi-qhan's family.—A violent earthquake in Bengal.—Divisions in the court of M8rsh8dabad.—Some strictures on Sèyd-Mahmed-qhan, favorite of Mahmed-Reza-qhan's.—Disputes at Calcutta.—The general attempts to seize the government—But retires abashed and confounded.—He dies of a broken heart—Mahmed Reza qhan is disgraced.—An old decrepit man appointed in his stead—The author passes to the affairs of Decan.—Manner by which the English have found their way in most parts of India.—Dark and severe hints against Mahmed-Reza-qhan.—Some account of Yengbi D8nia, Alias America, and of the new Englanders—The French join the Americans—Project of Governor Hushtin's—Colonel Godard, appointed much against his will, to serve under Colonel Lesley.—M. Elliot, a man of merit, appointed Ambassador at the Court of Naigpoor—Dies in the way—Death of Sadr-el-hac-qhan, Supreme Criminal Judge of Bengal, and some account of him.—Aaly kibrakim-qhan declines that office—His reasons for that refusal.—Djan Bristow, obtains for the English the sovereignty of the Province of Banaress.—A coalition between the Governor and M. Francis.—Mahmed-Reza-qhan in office again for the third time.—Death of Mirza-iredj-qhan, and also of Abtiram-ed-dö8la.—Flagitious conduct of the servants of the English at Azimabad. The Members of the Council of Azimabad, accused of enormous infidelities, are all dismissed.—Hyaliram appointed to the management of the finances of Azimabad.—His character, with an affecting little story, that does him a deal of honor.—Lesley suffers a loss for having engaged his army in a tract that had no water—He dies suddenly

suddenly, and is succeeded by Colonel Godard.—The latter cuts his way through all Hindostan, and is going to effect a junction with the army from Bombay; but the latter is defeated.—He retires to Surat.—The Council of Bengal refuses to ratify the treaty made by the Vanquished army.—The English acquire in G8djr4t a Potent ally.—The Radja of Gobud becomes their ally also.—The Marhattas join together to make an end of the English.—Some account of H4ider-n4ic.—He fights the English with advantage, after a variety of success.—Sets up a Cavalry of Persians and other Foreigners which he disciplines after a new method.—Provides a numerous artillery well served and a numerous infantry, well disciplined, after the European manner.—Gives the law to the Marhattas with whom he projects to attack the English.—He invades the Carnatic, and bears down every thing to the very gate of Mendradj (Madras) He beats the English.—And pushes them to the very gates of Mendradj.—Colonel Godard takes Bessi (Bassain).—Governor Hushtin exerts himself in supporting Mendradj, which is going to fall.—Opinion of the English on the interference of the deity in the affairs of this world.—The English of Mendradj beaten again. General Monro beaten again.—Distracted state of the Council of Bengal. The important fortress of G8aliar taken by the English.—Ch4yt-sing, Zemindar of Banaras, being expelled, retires to Scindiah's camp.—Governor Hushtin sends by land another army to succour Mendradj.—Haughty answer of the court of Catec.—The author quits his subject to give an account of Mubarec-ed-dö8lab.—His thoughtless character.—Some account of Babb8-begum, his mother.—And of Menni-begum, his step mother.—And of Mahmed-Reza-qhan's private life and family.—Some account of the English East India Company, and of their servants civil and military.—The author commences a critical examination of the English system of Government.

AS the three new comers were linked and knit together, they formed a compact body which being invested with both the king's and the company's authority, carried a mighty weight, especially when they set up an inquiry into the conduct and principles of the Governor Hushtin : a man against whom they seemed to have formed a confederacy. General Clavering was a man of distinction in that country, and a king's servant : Colonel Monson expected to have the command in chief of all the troops, whenever the general should succeed to the chair of governor; and Mr. Francis aimed at the next rank after the general's :

general's. As these three men acted in concert, they bore a mighty sway, made an immense noise, and caused a great disturbance. It was observed, that in receiving visits, they constantly refused the nuzurs presented them in compliance with a custom peculiar to India, and that they returned untouched, even presents of fruits. Their method in their inquiries was to attach to their interests, people whom they found in opposition to the Governor, or who had some discontent against his person. Amongst these Nandcomar cut a conspicuous figure: he had been this long while out of office, and lived neglected and forgotten, so early as the times of Governor Vansittart and Lord Clive; nor had Governor Hushtins taken greater notice of him. This man went to General Clavering and to the others of his party, by whom he was received with honor and regard; and it was by his management, that numbers of covetous, ambitious men, fond of trouble and dissensions, joined the three members, on the prospect of being put in office; and they commenced informers in the enquiry set up about the Governor's administration and secrets. Such a conduct having produced a rent and disunion amongst the five members that composed that council, the mutual aversion was carried so far, that the partisans of either side became as animated as their principals, and soon extended their principles and animosity throughout the whole kingdom. The fury of both parties rose to such a pitch, that a duel ensued between the General and Mr. Barwell, who fought together with pistols, as is the custom of that nation. One of the two parties consisted of Mr. Barwell, which last continued to have but one mind and one heart with the Governor; whilst on the other hand, the general was closely linked with the two others: but as these last always agreed in opinion, and stood as three to two, the general's party prevailed almost every day, and almost every public business came to be transacted by his dictate. It was in consequence of this prevalence of the general's, that an Englishman named Goran (Goring), was made chief of M8rsh8dabad, as was Mr. Sage of Azim-abad, and Mr. Fouck of Banares.

A duel between the General and Mr. Barwell.

A.D. 1775
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Banares, as well as Mr. Bristow of Aood and Lucknow: these were promoted on the general's recommendation; and it was by the same dictate that Mubarec-cddö8lah, who with his mother Babboo-begum, had fared so hard under Manny-begum's rod, was now emancipated on Mr. Goran's advice, who acted totally under the general's nod. That Prince was left at liberty to dispose of the affairs of the Nizamet, that is of his own household. It was in the year 1189, Thus these two persons got out of Manny-begum's grasp, and out of the reach of her Eunuch, Aitbar-aaly-qhan. But what did they gain by the Eunuch's being turned out of his office? Munny-begum continued to sway every thing: for as she had a great deal of money, a great deal of authority, and a great deal of genius; and Mubarec-eddö8lah, who was used to her sway, expected one day to become heir to her vast wealth, she would sometimes frighten him into compliance, by threatening to squander her riches amongst the poor, or to leave them to strangers and Frenghees (Europeans). In fact Mubarec-eddö8lah's turn of mind, and his particular temper are such, that neither his resentment is an object of fear, nor his good will an object worth seeking; nor does he himself seem to have a turn for the affairs of this world, so as that people should become anxious about his opinion: every one therefore in his house-hold does as he likes; nor is he inclined to meddle with any one's doings: let him have his personal pension, (50) and he cares not for the rest. For these reasons Manny-begum's sway is not likely to be at an end yet; and the affairs of the Nizamet, (and this word signifies now no more than his private household) are in a state of perpetual fluctuation. It was in this same year 1189 that Mir-mahmed-hofféin-fazyl (51,) a man of great subtilty of mind and great extent of knowledge, took a journey to the Country of England in company with Mr. Elliott, an Englishman of much goodness of heart, much up-

(50) The pension payed him by the English treasury is of sixteen lacs, or a hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling. About eight thousand Rupees per month, out of that sum, may be reckoned his personal pension or privy purse.

(51) This word signifies the learned.

rightness, and great liberality of principles. His intention was to acquire knowledge, to see the world, and to inquire into those discoveries which the learned of those parts had made in the science of astronomy, in the choice of simple medicines, and the art of compound ones; in the qualities of plants, and the functions of heavenly bodies. In these studies he spent his time in his sojourn, which was a short one; but in which he found means to acquire a variety of knowledge in some arts, especially in that of translating books relative to those sciences, in dissecting bodies, and in such like acquisitions. On his being returned to M8rsh8dabad in the year 1192 he gave the principal men of that city notice of the acquisitions he had brought with him; but found no favor with a set of grandees, who did not value the opportunity: nor did any one of them think of setting a part a small sum for this business, which would have published their generosity to the world, insured to his character a lasting life with posterity, and handed down their names to the recording page of history: Instead of that, all that store of knowledge has remained shut up from the world for ever. But there is no assistance, and no success but from God Almighty (53). It must be acknowledged however, that men's minds were then engrossed by the dissensions in the council, and by the fate of governor Hushtin. This man who has been endowed by nature with a keen penetrating genius and a superior intelligence; and whose wisdom in matters of state and in politicks, has not been equalled in this age by any one, did not think it consonant to his dignity to dispute upon small matters; and having thought it decent to adopt a system of difference, he resolved first of all to clear himself of the accusations brought against him, and of the infidelities and misdemeanors he was suspected of; and then to expose to publicity the general's ignorance, together with the grossness of his behaviour and the precipitancy and violence of his temper: he intended afterwards to bring to condign punishment those short sighted accusers, that had raised such a disturbance in the country, and especially Nandcomar, that man of a wicked disposition, and an infamous character, who had made himself their lea-

A learned Hindostan travels to Europe.

(53) A passage of the Coran.

der and director: he expected that after having provided for all these matters, and quelled the commotion excited by the general's party, the general himself would become an easy object. With this view he spent a deal of time in confuting the accusations brought against him by that officer on the instigation of Nandcomar and his followers; and he thoroughly justified his own conduct by exposing the falsehoods of his adversaries. But whilst he was exposing to publicity Nandcomar's infamies, and giving proofs of most of them or indeed of all, it came out that this man used to forge bills of exchange under the hands and seals of eminent men; and that after having imitated their seals exactly, he kept them at home, ready at all times for manufacturing, as occasion required, bills of exchange and bonds in any one's name and hand, to be hereafter produced at his pleasure: by which iniquitous practice, he used to keep every one in awe of his displeasure. Amongst these pieces of his manufactory he had forged an obligation bond in favor of Bolakidas, a banker at all times of much credit, but who had acquired a great name in Mir-cassim-qhan's time: he had presented it to the company's cash-keeper, and had received the full amount, which he had kept to himself. To enquire into so heinous an offense, and to discern the punishment due by law, it became necessary to have a grand-jury. A grand jury signifies an assembly of twelve creditable Englishmen, chosen by lot, which the culprit may recuse one after another, so far as to get them changed two different times, if he should object to them all; but at the third time he ceases to exercise the right of recusing any of them; and they remain twelve in number: their duty is to examine what is to be his punishment (54); but till they have found out this punishment, they cannot be spoken to by any one, lest they might be influenced to swerve from the dictates of justice and equity. This grand-jury was made-up over and over, and twice changed (the court of justice at that time being full of people) untill it was proved and determined that Nandcomar

(54) All this translation is very obscure; but so is the text; and I have made it a point in this part especially to adhere strictly to it.

was guilty and deserved death; and that his kind of punishment ought to be hanging. Hewas a man of a wicked disposition and a haughty temper, envious to a high degree, and upon bad terms with the greatest part of mankind, although he had conferred favors on two or three men, and was firm in his attachments. The moment he perceived that any one had ceased to pay him his court for a few days, either out of sickness or because he wanted nothing from him, that instant he became his enemy ; nor did he give himself any rest until he had run him down, and demolished him totally. At last he met with what he deserved; and his supplice took place. It is observable that as the general had given him strong assurances that none should ever hurt him, and that were he even to be carried to the foot of the gallows, he never would have any thing to fear, provided he exerted himself strenuously in bringing to light the governor's misdemeanors, that man predestinated to death, never ceased both out of firmness of temper, and out of hatred to the governor, to accumulate accusations against him, without ever minding how exposed he was himself to an attack. That man advised and instigated by the general, and become bolder and bolder, had of late set up a number of new accusations against the governor; and in the violence of his wickedness and malice he had never minded that he was left alone, and had remained exposed to an attack. The Governor having refuted all his imputations, brought proofs of Nandcomar's great misdemeanors and crimes ; and this affair made so much noise, that the questions and answers of these two men were written down in the English Language and character; and the whole being bound up together in the form of a book, was sent to England, from which such vast number of copies were drawn out, that this subject is become famous, and an object of much curiosity in that nation. Nevertheless the general's protection having proved of no avail against a crime that had been fully ascertained, Nandcomar underwent his sentence in the manner statued; and on the seventeenth of Djemady, of the year one thousand one hundred and eighty nine, he was drawn up and hanged by the neck. His money

Nandcomar
executed.

His immense
property.

money and effects were registered, and then delivered to his son Radja Goordafs. They say that the whole amounted to fifty-two lacs in money, and full as much more in effects and other property in his possession. Amongst other strange things found in his house, there came out a small casket containing the forged seals of a number of persons of distinction: In consequence of this discovery, his malicious arts were dragged to open light, and they met with what they well deserved.

Mahmed-Reza-qhan joins
the general's
party.

Sober and
righteous advice
of Ali-hibrahima-
qhan to him.

THIS trial which occupied the attention of the public, did not divert it intirely from the manoeuvres of Mahmed-reza-qhan. This man who has a great deal of hastiness as well as inconstance in his composition, no sooner observed the prevalence of General Claverings party, than he conceived a desire of joining him. Such a step was vigorously opposed by Aaly-hybrahim-qhan, in whose temper, prudence and foresight, seem to predominate. This nobleman used often to say: "let us go on as we have hitherto been going. The governor has certainly saved your life and honor: without forgetting such benefits, and becoming ungrateful of such favours, let us wait and see what will become of the two parties: if the governor holds out, he shall think himself obliged by your firmness of temper, and the steadiness of your friendship and attachment to him; and he shall find means enough to promote your well-fare in a manner adequate to your rank: and should the general become absolute, he will not for that bear you any grudge: for you have not done him any wrong, nor have you misbehaved to him; nor have you done any thing to render him your enemy: it is even probable, that pleased with the steadiness of your temper, he shall use you in a manner suitable to your rank and station." This discourse was unquestionably full of sense; but it was more than could be digested by the proud mind of Mahmed-reza-qhan, who is naturally opinionated in his temper; and who swelled with the remembrance of that degree of power and authority, which accidents of chance had once thrown into his hands.

hands, looks upon the predictions of provident men as so many reflections upon his own prudence. Mahmed-reza-qhan not chusing to pay a regard to the Qhan's advice, opened a correspondence with the general and with his adherents, and shewed a desire of attaching himself to his party. Such a step could not but displease the governor, who however said nothing, and let him go his ways; mean while the general recommended him to the office of deputy of Mubarec-ed-dö8lah in the Nizamet, that is, in the disposal of that Prince's household; and also to the general Fodjdary: which in these days means the preservation of the country from high-way men and house-breakers, and the power of pronouncing final judgment upon the crimes of house-breaking, thieving, murder, and fornication. He added to this a large salary, and prevailed upon the council to invest him in those offices by a splendid dress of honor, to which were added several others for his children and dependants. After so much success, Mahmed-reza-qhan set out on the 15 of Ramazan 1189; and in a few days he arrived at M8rsh8dabad the second of Shevval, where he applied himself closely to the business of his office: and as it appears that the inhabitants of that great city accustomed to him long ago shewed themselves submissive to his authority, he on his side pleased with a return of good fortune, took care to display broad open the standard of authority and command. On the tenth of Zilhij of that same year he married his eldest daughter to Mahmed-zeky-qhan, son to his elder brother Mahmed-hosséin-qhan; and his eldest son, Behram-djung, to the eldest daughter of Hadjy Ismâil: the two spouses being both children of Rabia-begum's two daughters. But the satisfaction of the two families was damped by the death of Rabia-begum herself, who was daughter to Hadji-ahmed, and consort to Ata-ollah-qhan: she departed this life the 23 of Djemady, in the year 1189; and by her death she deprived Mahmed-reza-qhan of the only remaining stock by which he held to the family of Ali-verdi-qhan, the majestic in war. This princess although famous for her vices and debauches, had likewise

Edifying death
of Rabiabegum,
the last remain-
ing descendant
of Aali-verdi-
qhan's family.

many good qualities. Long ago she had repented of her past life, and in her last sickness she had renewed her repentance, had taken witnesses of it; and in her last moments, she had not ceased in the presence of a number of persons to pronounce the fine words (55), which implied her firm believe in the unity of God, and in the ministry of the seal of prophets, both tenets qualified by a real confession of his successors. She departed her life in full repentance of her past conduct, and in the full invocation of the divine forgiveness. O Lord should you punish her for her misdeeds, you have that right: she is your bond-woman, and your culprit; and should you forgive her, you would not be inconsistent; for you are the most merciful of the merciful (56).

A violent
Earthquake,

It was in the same year that we were frightened in Bengal by an earthquake. It was so violent, that nothing equal to it can be remembered these forty or fifty years past. It happened on the 27th of Shevval, in the same year that Mahmed reza-qhan conferred the Divanship of the Nizamet to Aali-hibrim-qhan who had layed him under such a load of essential services and obligations. At the same time he sent Lieutenants of his Fodjdary office all over Bengal: for instance, Nezer-baki-beg of Balqh, was appointed to the Lieutenancy of Azim-abad: a man who comported himself with so much moderation and benignity, as to render his person equally agreeable to the English gentlemen, and to the nobles and people of those parts. He even acquired such a good character, that no complaint was ever preferred against him: so careful was he, that no injury and no harm should be offered to the people entrusted to his care. It was remarked on this occasion, that Mahmed-reza-qhan, having this year offered some rudeness to many of Mubarrec-eddöslah's

(55) The fine words are these, *There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Messenger.* These words which constitute the Mussulman profession of faith, are revealed in the Coran: To these the Shyabs have added some hundred years after, *And Ali is the holy of God and the heir of the Messenger of God;* and it is this profession of faith, which by engrossing the affections of those men, has introduced that blasphemous saying so common in Persia and that has found its way even into India: *Eghér aali Qhodá n'ist, ez Qhodá bem djoda n'ist.* If Aali be not God he is not very different from God neither. Nay, there is a particular sect amongst the Shyabs that openly attribute Divinity to Aali; and these are called *Nasseries*, and moreover take a pride in that appellation.

(56) An Arabick passage of the Coran, always used in the office of the dead.

favourites,

favourites, and disobliged that Prince greatly; the latter so far from affording them assistance and protection, did not even forbid such an incroachment upon his own independance: the deputy dismissed likewise Qhadum-aali-qhan, a nobleman in many respects resembling his father Qhadum-hoffein-qhan, and who after the Eunuch Aitbar-aali-qhan's dismission, had for some while acted as absolute director of Mubarec-eddölah's household. Mahmed-reza-qhan, who had taken umbrage against his influence, had cavalierly dismissed him from his office, without his master's having even attempted to utter a single word in his behalf: although there were promises enough and conventions, and much attachment between the master and the minister. Mahmed-reza-qhan was likewise guilty of some other stresses of authority, which drew upon him a general blame. It must be observed that the times were now become so corrupt, that every man in Mubarec-eddölah's household was addicted to infidelity and malversation, and had it in custom to reckon as fair booty every rupee which he could embezzle out of his charge. So much liberty could not please Ali-hibrahim-qhan's reserve and strictness, who being a stranger to the family, would neither plunder himself nor suffer any others to plunder. This gave a general offense; and people turned Mahmed-reza-qhan's mind so effectually, that those infinite obligations which he had so often acknowledged, slipped out of his memory; and at last a breach took place between them. And as originally there was but little resemblance or similarity between their respective tempers, the instigations of envy were sown in a favourable soil, and soon grew up to a great head, so as soon to effect a lasting breach.

“The candle where the wick smokes yet will easily catch fire again.”

It was at first a sort of vague insinuations against that honored Qhan, which being often mentioned amongst his dependants, soon took an air of complaint, and at last degenerated into formal reproaches. Mahmed-reza-qhan was often heard to use these, and the like expressions: “Gentlemen, I have

“no

“no genius for making verses; nor do I roll my turbant, or wear my clothes
 “as the Hindostanies, that I may pretend to enter into any comparison with
 “them with regard to genius and taste.” All these expressions glanced at
 Aly-hibrahim-qhan’s way of living. Indeed it must be acknowledged that
 this noble person has received the gift of making his turbant, and of wear-
 ing his clothes with a taste and an elegance (58) peculiar to himself; and
 in that he has been endowed by nature with a felicity of genius, and an
 amenity of manners that render him the admiration of the high as well as
 the low: one of his many talents is the faculty of uttering often extempore
 verses; and as Mahmed-reza-qhan acknowledges himself destitute of those ta-
 lents, it follows of course that the equality of temper and the elegance of
 action and speech, so conspicuous in the Qhan, were taken up as a matter of
 indirect reproach upon himself: he broke forth at last, and dismissed him
 from his office. It happened at that time that Banny-begum, third daughter of
 Rabia-begum, and a woman of a vicious life and shameful inclinations, hav-
 ing in imitation of the great folks of Hindostan, formed into a band, some
 of her slave girls, joined to a number of other loose women, which she had
 taken in her pay, she got them instructed in the arts of dancing and sing-
 ing, and often amused herself with their performances. This woman who
 was of a shrewd and intriguing turn of mind, undertook to seduce Ali-hibra-
 him-qhan; so that she layed a snare to bring him into disrepute. Under pre-
 tence of making him some return for the obligations under which he had
 layed Mahemd-reza-qhan, her brother-in-law, she adopted him for her bro-

(58) Had the author seen his friend at Banares with bracelets at his wrists; his feet, toes, and nails, dyed in
 red, and his hands stained in saffron; his eye-lashes and brows, and his hair and whiskers, painted black; a very
 tight Pây-djama or long drawers, as tight as any worn by women, with intent to express every part of their bo-
 dies; his hair cut in bobri, like a petit maitre: in a word affecting all the little artifices which are objected to
 even a youth of twenty, and which surely must look glaringly odd in a man of seventy; had our author seen
 all that scenery, he would have not taken so many pains to tell us that Mahmed-reza-qhan, in order to turn one
 of his dependants out of office, had betaken himself to the expedient of engaging him first of all into an in-
 trigue with a rich sister-in-law of his, and thereby dishonoring the contriver’s family, as a step unavoidably ne-
 cessary, before he could with safety proceed on the intended dismissal.

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ther; and as she was not restrained by those scruples which always have their weight with women accustomed to live veiled and immured; and she had never made any difficulty of shewing herself to most people, unveiled (59), she commenced giving entertainments to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and appearing always in his presence, and that too unveiled. As there were always in these entertainments some particular favorites of Mahmed-reza-qhan's, as fully envious of that nobleman's reputation, as their master himself, every thing was straight reported to him; and matters went no further for a time; when the princess observing that one of her girls had made an impression on the Qhan's heart, offered her to him, adding that she was a girl of her's, and that she made him a present of her person. The other guests, as well as the favorites of that artful woman, who were all of the complot against the Qhan, having observed scruples in him, made it a point to encourage his timidity: "what harm is in that?" said they. "Is not the girl her property?" "Her mistress transfers it to you: what can be the then cause of so much precaution and so many denials?" It must be observed that in those days M8rsh8dabad wore very much the appearance of one of Loth's towns (60);

D

and

(59) These veils which have eight feet in length and four in breadth, are always of the thinnest malmal or of some gauze-like stuff, elegantly edged with a thin lace, and lined at the edge with a piece of coloured taffety, four fingers broad. Some of them made of silk do not weigh above two ounces. These veils are placed upon the head by the middle of their length, so as that the taffety and gold edging should fall on the forehead; and to prevent the flaps from hanging to the ground, they are carelessly thrown over the shoulder; by which management the whole body as far as below the middle is covered with that thin ornament, as well as part of the face; and were the Ladies in Europe to know what a bewitching effect that thin covering is apt to have upon an elegant shape (and this kind of beauty with a gentle face, is quite common in India) they would never be without it.—However the *appearing*, whether veiled or not, before a man is of more importance than Europeans would be apt to believe: according the Hindostany notions, such a condescendence implies or concedes every other complaisance: hence the Indian expression *Ooffes Rete-be*, she stands to him, does not fly from him; that is, she is upon the most familiar terms with him.

(60) This very severe observation of our author's against the city of M8rsh8dabad, is the more extraordinary, as there is a man of sense and observation who after having lived seventeen years consecutive y in that city, avers, that altho' the crime of non-conformism is neither punished by the Magistrate in that country nor pointed out with that detestation with which it is hooted in Europe; and altho' apparent *rari Nantes in gurgite vasto*, nevertheless the *Rari Nantes* are known and pointed out; which proves that the crime is not so common as some have been apt to think, who have thoughtlessly compared that city to Naples. Indeed excepted amongst foreigners, such as Persians and Tartars, it is hardly heard of amongst Indians in general, and especially amongst Gentoos. But such an apology could not be made for the city of Shah-djehan-abad where the author was born; nor for those

of

and it is still pretty much the same to day, few people caring to look at their honor, or at that of others. Nay, the wealthy and powerful having set a part sums of money for these sorts of amours, used to shew the way, and to entrap and seduce the unwary, the poor, and the feeble; and as the proverb says: *So is the king, so becomes his people*, these amours got into fashion. Doubtless some poor and virtuous people must have preserved vestiges of modesty, and must have resisted the general corruption of manners; but most of the grandees and rich men, on whom you could cast your eyes, were enslaved by this vice:

“ Every hem on which I could thrust my hand, proved soiled with dirt;

“ Do you see that lofty mountain yonder? behind it is a desert plain.

Although the Qhan was a man of great sense, and naturally averse to such kinds of intrigues, yet he lent a willing ear to the devil's suggestions, that enemy of mankind; and on the intreaties of the Princess, he sent (at least so it is reported,) two or three times for the girl, on her mistress's repeated intreaties, or at least, they imputed that foible to him: this was soon known, and soon was layed hold of, as a sufficient cause for a breach. The Navvab parted with him; and in public Derbar or in full court, he drew-up narratives of that proceeding, as having dishonoured his house and family, and rent the veil that covered their chastity; altho' in reality such a publication tended only to dishonour it still further; but he had his motives in that: for he was fearful, lest the English should find fault with him for parting on so easy terms, with a man to whom he confessedly owed the highest obligations. This at least is what occurs to feeble minds like mine: for otherwise such a conduct is incomprehensible. Be it as it will, the Navvab having introduced the subject more than once at his levee, and always with a deal of acrimony, he at last (this was the 16th Sufur in the year 1191) dismissed Aly-hibrahim-qhan from his

of Azimabad, Lucknow, and Patna, where he had spent so much of his time: the former of those cities is notoriously known to have contained Seraglios in the style of that which accompanied Trajan in his expedition in Persia; and the other two cities are known to contain houses of prostitution of such a nature as would make an English man shudder.

office; and the same day he carried his eldest son Behram-djung to the palace, and got him installed in that office by Mubarec-eddö8lah, who honored him with a rich dress of honor, called Qhylaat. Aaly-hibrahim-qhan on this intelligence, which he received with a deal of ease and tranquillity, retired to a corner of his house, and from that time intirely abstained from going to court and making visits. But notwithstanding that retreat, such was the opinion entertained of his probity and disinterestedness, that although his revenue was but small, and his usual temper seemed altered by his disgrace, yet he lived in the utmost honor and estimation; and the public opinion on his account ran so strong, that his house became a rendezvous for the high and low.

It was in those times of Mahmed-reza-qhan's prevalence that his favourite Séyd-mahmed-qhan, a Persian by birth, but a man shrewd and wary to a high degree, who had got such an ascendant over his master, as to govern him intirely, married one of the relicts of Rezy-eddin-mahmed-qhan, and got by that means possession of his estate. The matter came to pass in a pretty strange manner: it appears that Rezy-eddin-mahmed-qhan intending many years ago to perform a pilgrimage to the glorious Mecca, had given him a paper by which he appointed him his executor in his absence; and that altho' the Testator had long ago altered his resolution, and many years had elapsed since that transaction, he had departed this life without minding the paper. He left a great estate in money and jewels, with a very noble palace, and a fine bath. After his decease Séyd-mahmed-qhan armed with that paper, which had been all this while forgotten in his hands, took possession of the deceased's estate, brought his wives and son under his countroul, and some time after, he managed so dexterously, and interposed the mediation of so many proper persons, that he espoused one of the deceased's consorts, but a different one from the lady that had a son (although still the person most beloved of the deceased's three consorts, and likewise the person that was worth the most money and precious effects :) he bound her by the formality of

Some strictures on Séyd-mahmed-qhan, a favorite of Mahmed-reza-qhan's.

a marriage, and took possession of both her charms and wealth. But this marriage became so very odious to the public, and it excited such a detestation in all ranks against the word *executor*, that Sadr-el-hac-qhan, the first magistrate of the Province, being then upon his death-bed; and his physician Afed-ollah-qhan, who had an unlimited influence over his patient's mind, having introduced a certain pretended Arabian, one (Sèyd Mahmed (who by the bye is indeed a strange fellow likewise,) for a very proper man to be made his executor; this word was no sooner pronounced, than the dying man's consort, who actually was at hand behind a veil, fell a crying; and she exclaimed as loud as she could, that she was an old woman, that needed neither an "executor nor a husband;" and that she would suffer none at all. The sick man overcome by her intreaties and tears, retracted his word, although accustomed to obey implicitly his physician's nod; and he died without appointing any executor at all: nor is there any thing so strange in that; what is really very strange, is that the physician, ruffled by this refusal of appointing that man of an ambiguous character for an executor, quitted the house exceeding discontented, and never returned since.

WHILST this singular affair was a subject of general animadversion, Mahmed reza-qhan thought proper to marry Mahmed-aaly-qhan, his brother's relict: a nobleman who had been successively governor of Islam-abad, H8gly, and Pooraniah, at which last place he had departed this life. This lady had two sons from her late husband, who had left her a great fortune in money and jewels; nor would she hear of a second marriage. But by a proper mediation, and the use of proper means, she was after a deal of trouble and intreaties, prevailed upon to yield her consent. It is said that at the period when Mahmed-reza-qhan was a Nàib or Deputy-governor of all Bengal, he had already conceived an attachment to this lady, (which of course must have been of old standing: for he had already had a glimpse of her charms some years before, when in the height of his power.) His house was necessarily

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family resorted to by both the women his relations, and those of many other persons of distinction; at which time he had often opportunities of taking a peep at them, and as often conceived the desire of enjoying their company: for which purpose he used to employ a variety of means to overcome the reluctance of some fair ones that rejected his proposals. Although there was then a great deal of talk about these matters (which somehow never failed to become public) and a great deal of slander, about the answers of some of those women which were always given at length and in the very words (61), yet it would be improper to mention them here; and it would be a pity to spend any time in relating such subjects. It was in those times that Mah-med-aaly-qhan's consort frequenting her brother-in-law's seraglio, on account of her near relation to the family, he found means to see her once, and conceived for her person an inclination which he could not satisfy, but some years after, when the lady becoming a widow, was prevailed upon to consent to a marriage, and was married in all the forms prescribed by law: (62), and let the credit of this story stand upon the faith of the reporters and memorialists.

By this time the disputes between the Governor and the general having risen to the utmost height, each of them used to write his complaints to the King

(61) This lady, which is a tall fair woman of a noble elegant figure, is extremely respected for her modest chaste widowhood, and for her present very modest conduct.

(62) One of those refractory ladies, which by the bye was of a high pedigree, being a grand daughter of the Navab Ser-efraz-qhan, and to which nature had bestowed that pale gold hue so much esteemed in India, (where it is much more valued than the fair or white color,) was actually going to a Rendez-vous: but as chairs used for women are so far close and veiled, that the person sitting, never sees whither she is carried, nor how, nor by whom; her chairmen, who had been bribed, carried her, plump into the middle of Mahmez-reza-qhan's apartment. This nobleman, who had more than once asked alms of that fine lady, and had as often been refused, now made his appearance, intreated her charity, and made use as before, of many intreaties and supplications, to which he added two trays covered with fine stuffs and some jewels. To all that the fair one did not pay the least attention; nor even did she vouchsafe so much as to cast a look at it: instead of that, she constantly kept her eyes aloof, where she was coldly busy in counting over the beams and joisters of the roof; nor did she condescend so much as once to cast a look upon her disconsolate petitioner; instead of that she went on rallying him mercilessly and with the most disdainful look upon that insatiableness of his, which made him covet every fine woman he came to hear of, whilst at the same time, his stock in bank proved so ill furnished with cash, that his desk was full of bills unanswered, and of draughts unhonoured. The brow beaten lord, finding that nothing was to be got from that haughty fair one, but merciless satire, was obliged to dismiss her; and she went away without so much as saluting.

The General
attempts to take
possession of the
Government.

But returns
confounded and
abashed.

of England and to the Company, and each of them received yearly answers. The third year after the general's arrival, by which time Colonel Monson was already dead, there came a letter from home, mentioning the governor's intended departure, and that in that case, he must place the general in his stead: the general was likewise wrote to by his friends, that as the governor was coming home, he, the general, had been appointed to the government of Bengal. On this surmise the general without waiting for the opening of the dispatches to the Governor, concluded that he had been in fact appointed to that high office; and coming into the Council-room, he took his seat where the governor used to sit, as president of the assembly. The latter reprimanded him for such a precipitation and want of sense; but the general, naturally violent, becoming still more violent on what was just passing, uttered a number of inconsiderate words, and a quantity of unworthy expressions: on which the governor according to the custom of his nation, submitted the whole of the dispute with it's questions and answers, to the decision of the Supreme-royal-court-of justice; and those Magistrates on mature examination adjudged the cause to the governor: moreover they reprimanded the general for his hastiness in such terms, as affected the credit of his assertion. In this manner the governor kept his station and rank; but the general, unable to digest the shame he had undergone, retired extremely ruffled to his house: and a sense of his disgrace pressing incessantly upon his lofty mind, he became so deeply affected, as to fall sick: he was an old-man; and his sorrow and resentment preyed so much upon his constitution, that he soon appeared to be quite dispirited and sunk. It happened that in those very letters from home, that had caused so much ill blood, the governor had received a licence to marry a Lady to which he was greatly attached; (63) and having on that account given a
great

(63) The story reported of this Lady is singular enough. Born at Archangel in the very north of that very northern country, Russia, she married a german officer, who was reformed, and who finding that matters went ill with him, repaired to England to seek a livelyhood, and from thence to India, where he lived by pencilling miniatures, for which he had some small talent. But the governor having put it in his power to purchase an e-

great entertainment, he first of all others invited the general to honor it with his presence: the latter excused himself on his sickness, and on the weakness of his body; but the governor himself having repaired to his house, and by dint of entreaties prevailed upon him to come with him to the assembly, the general made such a long stay there, that on his return home, he found himself much worse. Unhappily the Physician whom out of precaution, he had brought from home, and who was particularly attached to him, having mistaken his case, so as to order a clyster against the general's intreaties and inclination, the remedy as soon as it was received, brought on a Syncope; and the general surrendered his soul to his maker.

The General
dies of a broken
heart.

FROM this time Mr. Francis suffered a diminution in his influence, whilst there accrued to the governor an accession of power; and although Mr. Wheeler, who had succeeded Colonel Monson, sided with Mr. Francis, and became his friend, yet the latter's party benefited nothing by it: being overborne by the governor's high station, and overawed by his superior genius and superior knowledge. The fact is that the governor's influence had already taken the upper hand; and soon after Colonel Monson's death, the general's party had lost much of its energy, in so much that those English rulers and others, who had been appointed by his interest against the governor's mind, now lost their usual support: but after the demise of the general himself, their fate could not long remain in suspense. Mr. Bristow was recalled from Lucknow; Mr. Sage from Azim-abad; Mr. Fouk, from Banares, as well as Mr. Goran from Mrsh8rdabad: and others were appointed in their stead, that is Mr. Middleton and Mr. Law, and Mr. Gram; but Mr. Baber was sent to Mrsh8rdabad, to be the hinge and center of all business there. As to Radja-goordass, son of the deceased Nandecomar, the governor both to condole with him, and likewise to oblige the general, promoted him to the Divanship of Mubarec-eddöulah's

state in Saxony, he divorced his wife, which was espoused by the former; and indeed she must have been a woman of uncommon merit, to have made so lasting an impression on so sublime a genius as Hastings. At the same time it must be acknowledged that she did him some little harm, by unseasonably parading in jewels, after landing in England, although there are now Ladies in England that must have imported from India a great deal more of that glittering kind of property than herself.

house

house; and after that, still out of regard to the general, he appointed him to the Divanship of the Khalissah of Bengal, although he was little capable of such an office; but he did not enjoy it long, and on the general's demise, or even after Colonel Monson's demise, he lost that appointment and remained shut up in his house for a long time; when by Manny-begum's interest, he was appointed a second time to the Superintendence of Mubarec-eddö8lah's house; and he arrived at the city about the middle of the second Djemady of the year 1192. As to Mahmed-reza-qhan, he lost by the General's demise much of his strength: his influence grew daily feebler; and at last it was reduced to nothing: they add that the governor struck with some particulars of his conduct, did not trust him altogether; so that he was dismissed from the office of General Fodjdar and principal Magistrate of Bengal; and he lost also his appointment of deputy to Mubarec-eddö8ah. Sadr-el-hac-qhan was appointed to succeed him in those two offices, although the governor himself must have been sensible, that so much business was by all means above the old man's capacity and strength: nevertheless as he had become one of the governor's acquaintances so early as the latter's first appearance in Bengal; and at his second coming he had proved himself an assiduous worshiper at the altar of his power, without ever relaxing in the revolutions that had followed; and as great men with much tenderness of heart, are apt to prefer a personal attachment to any public qualification; the governor devised those two offices for him as a reward for his attachment, although they seemed to be so much above his desert: The man was at once raised to the summit of honour and power. Radja Goordals who had preceded him by some time, brought an order for Mahmed-reza-qhan's dismissal, and a letter to Mubarec-eddö8lah, requesting that until Sadr-el-hac-qhan's arrival, he should continue all the officers of the Fodjdary as they stood with Mahmed-reza-qhan, but under his own order. Such a revolution could not but please Manny-begum, who had been all this while putting up fervent prayers for such a return of happy days as these: she assumed

Mahmed-reza-qhan disgraced and dismissed.

Sadr-el-hac-qhan, an old decrepit man, appointed Fodjdary General.

ried a new life, but became desirous of keeping from the old man the office of Mubarec-eddó8lah's deputy; and she even carried her views so far as to endeavour to wrest also the Fodjdary and the Divanship from his hands, if possible. Full of this scheme, she dispatched her household Divan to Calcutta, to lay her requests before the governor, especially about wresting the deputy-ship from the old man's hands. The Governor to humour her, promised wonders; and some days were spent in conference with the two parties: but at last the matter ended just as the Governor had determined at first, with some slight alterations however, to oblige Mubarec-eddó8lah and Manny-begum. At last on the second of Djemady, Sadr-el-hac-qhan arrived at Mísh8dabad. As he was a man of much simplicity of manners, and had become decrepit with old age, it happened that in transacting business, and even in going to or coming from Court, and in presenting himself before Mubarec-edó8lah he was unadvertently guilty of some actions that discovered the debility of his body, and not only detracted much from his weight, but also rendered his person ridiculous. He had appointed (for a sum of money, they say) one Agamammed-ally, a Persian born, to the Fodjdary of Azim-abad, the magistrature of which city, he gave at the same time to Aga-abdol-raheem. But as this Mahmed-ally, who was a man of narrow principles, came soon to behave very ill, he soon lost his command, which lasted but little, and he acquired the aversion of all the inhabitants of that city, which he filled with discontents and heart-burnings. But it is time for us now to take our leave of these transactions of interior police all over Bengal, in order to turn our eyes upon those events in which that country has cut so great a figure in the Indian world, and especially in those southern parts of it known under the name of Decan.

THE Marhatta Empire which has still its two seats or Capitals in those southern regions, had been for a length of time governed by

The author takes his leave of the interior parts of Bengal, in order to speak of the Decan, and especially of the Marhatta Empire.

Baladji-räo, who on the demise of Saho-radja (64), had assumed the administration, and become sovereign of the Marhatta dominions, where he cut so great a figure, that we shall be obliged to make full mention of him in the sections relative to Decan, as much at least, as his affairs are come to our knowledge. On his demise, his son succeeded him of course. But the deceased had also a brother, and it was Ragonat-räo; who thinking his pretensions much superior to those of the young prince, his nephew, undertook to support them. This produced some civil dissensions which ended by putting the uncle under some confinement; and he was thought well secured, when he found means to gain his guards, and by treason and artifice, to kill his nephew, after which he took possession of the administration, and sat in his stead. But as a great difference of sentiments prevailed amongst the grandees of that Empire, whilst several of them took party with Ragonat-räo, the greatest number however sided with the relict of Baladji-räo's son, who was left pregnant. Her party raised the princess to the supreme command, displayed the standard of contention, and having vanquished Ragonat-räo in battle, they confined him again: nevertheless after some time they concluded a treaty of friendship and union between the princess and the uncle; but the latter dissatisfied with the terms imposed upon him, found an opportunity of escaping again; and he fled to the English of the factory of Bombay, where he entered into an agreement with them, and was received under their protection. Nor is this a novel event: it is in consequence of such and the like divisions that most of the strong holds, nay, almost the whole of Hindostan, have come into the possession of the English. For instance, two princes contend for the same country, and one of them applies to the English, and informs them of the way and method of becoming masters of it: By his insinuations and by their assistance, he draws

Manner by which the English have found their way into most parts of India.

(64) The words Saho-radja ^{and} having been a proper name of one of the first Marhatta founders, are now become an appellative title of the Emperor of that nation, a prince of the Radjpoot or military race, who always resides at Satara; whilst the acting and real Emperor, who is of the Brahman or sacerdotal tribe, and resides at Poona, two days N. N. East of Satara, is called his *Nana*, or maternal uncle, and as often the *Pishva* or the agent (or precursor.)

to himself some of the leading men of the country, who being his friends, are already fast attached to his person; and mean while the English having concluded to their own mind some treaty and agreement with him, they for some time abide by those terms, until they have acquired a good insight into the government and customs of the country, as well as a thorough acquaintance with the several parties in it: and then they discipline an army, and getting themselves supported by one party, they soon overcome the other, and little by little introduce themselves into the country, and make a conquest of it: and although their introducer should prove too shrewd for them, and should give them the slip, still they never dispute with him; but being a set of men always wise and always in temper, they patiently wait until by his death some unworthy son comes to succeed him: at which time under his name and without opening any dispute with him, or creating any ill renown to themselves, they compleat the conquest, and have the art to finish their business in such a sly manner, that no reproach can be made to them: by which means the downfall of the people of those parts, especially of the great and powerful ones, is soon obtained by the hands of one another; and all this is brought about so artfully, that the idiots set up by them, unaware of the above management, do of their own accord and motion work at the ruin of their equals: and mean while the English who seem quite passive, as if suffering themselves to be lead, are in fact giving motion to the machine, and turning those sots into so many objects of endless contempt and raillery, both in Hindostan and in Europe. Mean while those fools fancying themselves shrewd in business, plume themselves and strut about, until the seeds of mischief planted by them, coming to shoot-up, the day of retribution and vengeance comes with them, and they pay and smart in their turn for having squandered away the little money they had scraped together in working themselves into those honors and those stations they so little deserved. They seem to be the center of a mighty bustle, but in fact do nothing more than

ruin

Dark and
severe hints a-
gainst Mahmed-
reza-qhan.

ruin still more, a country already ruined; fall at last under the lash of outstanding ballances; and after paying into the treasury of the English as an equivalent, all the money they have before hoarded, they are now obliged to sit down with the odious character of having been the carriers and porters of exaction and tyranny: So that those glorious rulers, after ruining all the world, and burning their own feathers, now become sensible of their losses, turn repentants; but it is only at a time when repentance cannot mend their circumstances, and when they have become already so infamous and so odious, that this dytich becomes quite applicable to their case:

(65) "Have you seen what has done that jack ass of a little man?"

"He has borne all the odium of the exaction, and another has run away with all the profit."

To return to our narrative, the Governor of Bombay gave notice of all these troubles to Governor Hushtin; and it was at a time when the disputes between the French and English, disputes which were of old standing, were revived again on account of the assistance which the former had given to the men of America. These men, who are of the same race with the English, had these two or three hundred years past settled in America, which is a New-found-land called Yenghi-D8nia (66), much resembling England, and where those men lived, bred children, spent their lives, and died: Only they were under the jurisdiction of the King of England, and yielded obedience to his orders. These men since some time, (which cannot be more than four or five years ago,) had revolted from their king, on account of his demanding more of them than was customary: they had fought his troops;

(65) These vers's were made about the year 1720, when Eschreff, the last of the Afghan princes, obliged to quit Isfahan, on the approach of Nadyr cooly-qhan, Alias Tahmasp-cooly-qhan, plundered and sacked the city as well as the royal treasury, loaded his booty upon some hundred mules, and in his flight to Sheeraz, was beaten and obliged to run farther, after having lost his treasure: he was slain at last in endeavouring to make his escape through the country of the Ballooches, where these ferocious people put an end to his life.

(66) These words which in Turkish signify *new world* have passed together with the news of the discovery, from Turkey to Persia, and then to India; just as the *Lucs* called by the Turks *Frenc Zabm-ti* or the European tortmens now known in Persia by that name, and in Hindostan by a translate of those words.

and

and having killed the people that had exercised in the King's name the power of binding and loosing, that is the members of the Council of that land, they had set-up of themselves a government like a Council: not content with all that, they had more than once given battle to the king's troops, had come off victorious, and had occasioned to the king and company losses to the amount of corors. The French, at all times sworn enemies to the English, resolved to ingratiate themselves with the Americans, and to turn their revolt to some account for themselves; and with that view they furnished them with cannon, muskets, powder and ball, and all the necessaries for war-fare. The King of England incensed at such an assistance given at a time, when the term of peace between two nations was not yet expired, declared war against the king of the French also.

It was at a time when the English nation secure on every side in Hindostan, felt some inquietude on the side of the Marhattas and from Häider-näik. This Häider-näik, had ten or twelve years ago waged war with the English in such a manner as to come off victorious, and to make some advantage of it. The Marhattas were full as dangerous: as they have a way of fighting of their own, and will ten times a day attack, and as many times again retreat or take to flight; and they are accustomed to reduce to great straits, for want of water and necessaries, such troops as are less handy than themselves at this work of plundering and running away; the English on those accounts reckoned a war with them to be a difficult piece of work; and they knew very well that Häider-näik was in correspondence with the French. On those two considerations Governor Hushing who is by excellence the man of genius of his nation, and who displays every where a consummate skill and wisdom, thought it expedient to close with Ragonat-räo's proposals: an ally that put in his hands the great advantage of fighting the Marhattas in their own country; so great was his foresight. His project was to send an army into Decan, on pretence of assisting Ragonat-räo

Governor
Hushtin's project

whom the English were to bring over to their camp ; and by his means to engage the Marhatta nation to a peace and an alliance with them: which alliance would have put it in his power to grant Ragonát-rão the completion of his fondest wishes. After having brought the Marhatta rulers to submit and agree, he intended to draw both Ragonát-rão and his adversaries into such an alliance, as should bind them to a pact of never joining the French: and such a treaty he intended to strengthen by a paper signed and sealed by both Ragonát-rão and the Marhatta Rulers, who were to secure it under their most solemn oaths. All that was intended to be done by art and persuasion. But in case the matter did not succeed to his wishes, then he hoped that so soon as he should have effected a junction with Ragonat-rão, he might force the Marhatta Rulers to a compliance with his views : for he knew that this Prince being himself a man of importance, and the son of a man of importance in that nation, there was no doubt but some great men would join him of themselves, and that some others would easily be brought to do the same, whether by persuasion or by force ; and as the English led by a destiny, (that designed to make use of that nation for punishing a wicked thoughtless race of men, unmindful of their God,) had so successfully fought battles, made such amazing conquests, and with a deal of ease pushed their victories as far as almost within sight of Shah d'jehan-abad, the Capital of Hindostan ; so the governor thought that the war in Decan would prove full as easy ; and that after beating and dispersing the Marhatta armies, it would prove an easy task to reduce Häider-näic to straights: after which operation he might without any anxiety from the French, or other European powers, and without much hindrance from the princes, of India, bring in a certain number of years, and with proper management, all Hindostan into submission; and then sit down in ease and content to enjoy his prosperity. All this scheme was founded upon much foresight and much knowledge of India; for the enmity of the French is of old standing; and that nation by joining the Americans had acquired so mighty an accession of hatred

tered and power, that were they now to listen so far to their jealousy against the prosperity of the English in these countries ; as to land in India with some thousand Europeans to the assistance of Häider-näic and the Marhattas, they would raise such commotions, as would be very difficult to quell; and there is no doubt but in such a case not a man from the Marhattas, and not a man of consequence from Hindostan, would side with the English : whereas now Ragonát-räo himself, the pretender to the Marhatta Empire, was ready to join them of his own accord; and it was probable that those schemes of the governor's would take place of themselves, and would be followed by further victories and by the subjection of all Hindostan, without much expence or trouble. In fact the governor's piercing genius having beheld as present all those contingencies, which were yet in the womb of time, had resolved to sow dissentions, and to encourage and nurse them by sending successively numerous troops towards Decan. It was reported that this scheme of the governor's not having met with Mr. Francis's and Mr. Wheeler's approbation, two members of the Committee, they contended that they ought to remain satisfied with so much dominion as they had already acquired, without stretching their feet out of their frontiers ; and it may be that such likewise were the orders from the Council of Europe, and such the safest party. But the Governor disapproving of such timid opinions, took upon himself singly all the risks of this business, and set out in earnest with this war.

It was at this time, that is about the end of the year 1192, of the Hedjrah, that Colonel Goddard, who had always shewn me a deal of friendship and attachment, having set out from Lucknow for Calcutta, to put an end to some questions and answers of his own, I availed myself of that opportunity and of the Colonel's countenance, to repair from Azim-abad to Calcutta, in order to push an affair that concerned me greatly : and great were the hopes I had conceived; when the poor Colonel by a sudden stroke of chance, was obliged to give up his own schemes for returning towards Lucknow, and to pre-

A. D. 1790-80.

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pare himself for an expedition in Decan. For he was appointed to a command in the army, which was to march from Lucknow and Ilah-abad: a disappointment that affected already his affairs as well as his spirits. This departure of the Colonel's having left me alone and without support, I lost all hopes of succeeding in my own business, especially as the English immersed in disputes amongst themselves, and in preparatives of war, did not pay any attention to the affairs of Hindostanies. To mention such matters in these historical sheets, would be improper: What for to go on singing dirges upon my destiny, and uttering complaints against the world? Whatever is predestinated to happen in a certain time and in certain circumstances, will certainly come to pass.

"Let us will or not will, what is in our destiny shall come to pass assuredly."

Colonel Goddard appointed to serve under Colonel Lesley, much against his will.

THE cause of Colonel Goddard's discontent was the appointment of Colonel Lesley to the command of the above army, in consequence of his superior rank in the service, to whom of course he would be obliged to obey. Now Colonel Goddard was upon very bad terms with him; nor had Lesley the least capacity or fitness for such a command: but according to the rules of seniority, customary amongst the military of that nation, Colonel Goddard had been obliged either to resign entirely the service, or to submit to him. As I had long conceived an attachment for that officer, I used to tell him that the expedition in which he was embarked, was an object of the utmost importance; But he was so proud of the easy conquests and the repeated victories of his nation, that he thought the whole an easy matter; and he would often answer that two regiments of their Talingas were enough to beat all the Hindostanies put together. Such high flown notions of his, rendering it improper and useless in me to insist upon my admonition, I chose to be silent.

As for Colonel Lesley, that officer in consequence of his appointment by the Council, set out from Ilah-abad to repair to Calpy, from whence he was to begin his march through the Bundul-cund, and the dependencies of Barar, quite

quite to Aoreng-abad, and so on to Decan : his orders were to take Ragonat-rão with him and to effect a junction with the army from Bombay at the appointed place; after which he was to proceed jointly with him in the business of bringing the Marhatta rulers to a submission in the manner projected by the Council of Calcutta. The Governor had taken care to facilitate the success of this expedition, by dispatching to great Naigpoor (67), Mr. Elliot, a man who in sincerity of speech, and propriety of conduct, has few equals amongst his own countrymen, as well as amongst the Hindostanies. His orders were to renew the treaties, and to pay slowly the balances of money due by the Revenue of Bengal to Moodda-dji and to the posterity of Rago-dji-bhoffla: and he was to return after having put that court in good humour. Náigpoor is the capital of the country held by Rago-bhoffla, as Mucasdár (68) of the province of Barar. This Rago is the same who after a twelve years bloody war with Aaly-verdi-qhan, whom he had fought with a variety of successes, had at last made an accommodation with him, by which the English his successors have abided inviolably, avoiding all disputes on that subject with the Marhatta's posterity: trusting nevertheless so far to their own power and prevalence as never to pay regularly the pension stipulated by that Viceroy: they act in that business in a languid, ambiguous manner, giving little at a time, and with holding much: Not but that messages and letters were going-on constantly from Náig-poor to Calcutta, demanding the outstanding balances; but yet it was in a soft moderate style: in short the intent of Mr. Elliot's embassy was to renew the treaty, and to manage so, as that Rago's sons and dependants should not offer any opposition to the English army, then marching towards the Decan; nor mean while avail themselves of the opportunity to make an irruption into Bengal and Bahar. Now it must be obser-

Mr. Elliot, a man of singular merit, appointed ambassador at the court of Poonah.

(67) A city the capital of the Marhattas of Barar. It is called the great to distinguish it from another Náigpoor called the lesser, which is the Capital of a Zemindary or Principality in the western parts of Bengal, from which it depends.

By the treaties alluded-to by the author, Bengal was indebted to the Court of Nagpoor into a yearly pension of twelve lacs.

(68) Collector of the revenue in behalf of the Marhatta Government; the word is also meant for Feudatory.

ved that as Rago's posterity on one hand were nephews to the Sahoo Radja, and pretenders to his dignity and station; and on the other Baladji-rao after the said Radjah's demise, had availed himself of the power and authority of his office of generalissimo of the forces, to take possession of the dominions and treasures of the deceased, and had set aside the right of Rago's posterity to the throne; the Court of Naigpoor, therefore did not live upon good terms with the Court of Poona; and neither Moda-dji, nor his ministers, made any difficulty to renew the pact and agreement with the English: so that the Colonel's army marched on without opposition, and the provinces of Bengal and Bahar meanwhile remained free from their ravages. Unluckily as Mr. Elliott was cutting his way thro' a mountainous tract in the height of the rains, he was suddenly over taken by his last hour, and having layed his foot in the valley of death, he departed for eternity. His embassy was taken-up, and it's intent fulfilled, by the younger Mr. Anderson, who returned to Calcutta by the way of Azimabad and Bahar.

As for me who had conceived such mighty hopes on my coming to that city in Colonel Godard's company, with whose assistance I was to carry a point in the council, and who besides had an old acquaintance with the Governor, I could obtain only two or three interviews with him, in one of which, he asked me whether at any time I had been in Decan? I answered that I had never been there, but that I had some little knowledge of the affairs of those parts, and I continued the discourse in these words: Colonel Godard" who wanted to carry
 " this poor man with him, as a friend and companion, proposed two conditions to
 " me: the first, that the office of Monthly should be under the sole direction of
 " this most inconsiderable of men, without whose inspection and correction no
 " letter should be dispatched: the second, that the poor man should also undertake the voyage and embassy into Decan; the second condition I declined
 " on account of old age and the fear of remaining a long while parted from my
 " children and family, but especially of being deprived of the happiness of
 " keeping

“ keeping prostrated at the feet of a mother, who had an affection for me: in
 “ short as my destiny had not set a part any grain or water or air for me in
 “ Decan, the voyage did not take place.” As to the affair for which I had
 come with Colonel Godard, that gentleman on setting out for camp recom-
 mended it to Mr. Elliott; and this best and most obliging of men, obtained in
 fifteen days a letter from the governor to the council of Azim-abad which he
 backed by another very strong of his own, and also by another to Mr. Ander-
 son, who was then a member of that council and an intimate friend of his. My
 business was in a fair way, when Mr. Anderson was recalled to preside at the
 board of revenue in Calcutta, and Mr. Golding set out for Europe: so that my
 affair which was already in a fair way, remained spoiled, and is at a stand, until
 my destiny shall produce some favourable event. But it is time for us now
 to leave my private affairs, and even the English army with what adventures
 it shall chance to have in Decan; it being my attention to postpone that
 narrative to a view of the state of affairs in Calcutta and in Bengal.

WE have some time ago left Rabiah-begum, departing for the other world
 with all the tokens of the sincerest repentance. Her daughter Banni-begum
 followed her a few years after, and departed this life in the year 1193, when
 Mahmed-reza-qhan was already out of office. Her distemper was a loss
 of blood (69), for which some body having given her an astringent remedy to
 repress the surabundance of blood, it stopped likewise all the customary eva-
 culations of every kind, until it struck into her heart and brain. Mahmed-
 reza-qhan sent her a remedy intended to strengthen both: it availed nothing:
 and she departed for her long pilgrimage. Her wealth, which was great,
 was taken possession of by that minister, in appearance to guard it against
 accidents: and it was reported that it had been received by her heir; but
 no one has ever been able to say, that he had seen that heir, or heard of
 the division of that money and of those jewels which she was known to be pos-

(69) That loss of blood had been brought by an abortion forced some years before.

Jeſſed of. Doubtleſs that piece of knowledge is reſerved for the glorious one, who knows all things.

It was about this time likewise that Sadr-el-hac-qhan, the new Supreme Magiſtrate, a man well ſtricken in years, always ſickly, and who moſt of his time was out of order, departed toward the regions of eternity, after having answered his creator's call, with the words: *I am ready, O Lord* (70). It was the 19th of Zilhidge of the year 1194, after having lived for one year four months, and about twenty-five or twenty-fix days, with the name of Fodjdar-general. It is not improper to give ſome account of him. He was born in Gudjrat; and upon ſome emergency, came to Shah-djehan-abad with his father, where the old man died; and the ſon not finding any proſpect of advancement in that capital, he repaired to Bengal and to M8r-ſh8dabad, where he was introduced into Aali-verdi-qhan's ſervice: This prince gave him a penſion, and after the demife of Cazy-muzaſſer-aaly-qhan he appointed him Darogaa, or Auditor of the court of juſtice. In the ſequel, that is at the time of the Marhatta irruption, he was ſent Embaſſador to their rulers in Decan, where he acquired the eſteem and good will of both ſides, and was honored with preſents by both. Being now a man of ſome character as well as of ſome money, he came to have a regiment of his own, and to be reputed a man of diſtinction: and this was his rank under Aali-verdi-qhan's reign, and under that of his ſucceſſors and relations; until Mahmed-reza-qhan came into power, and then he was appointed to the go-

(70) Arabic words which every man is obliged to pronounce with a loud voice, or which are pronounced by him by the by-ſtanders. This is the ſome princeſs, who frightened beyond her wits by one of the Moluvies or judges of the Fodjdary or criminal court of thoſe times, who made her believe that fornication was ſtill more puniſhable by the Engliſh than by the Mahometans, ranſomed herſelf with a ſum of fifty thouſand rupees, ſqueezed from her under the name of the Engliſh chief, (it was Mr. Samuel Middleton.) The money was paid down, but two days after ſome one having ſent her word that ſhe had better apply to the Engliſhman himſelf, ſhe went to him, was perfectly well received, and obtained full redreſs. The money, that is the greateſt part of it was recovered out of the hands of Moluvi Hoſſeiny by the Engliſhman's Banyan, Santyram, who kept it to himſelf. This Santyram is the ſame who made a fortune of fifty-nine lacs under his kind, but too ſupine maſter in 1773, and 1774, and 1775; and in 1776 ſuffered him to be carried to a jail for a ſum of forty thouſand rupees.

ernment of Baghalpoor, where he remained but little, being soon turned out of his office. On Governor Hushtin's arrival in Bengal, he attached himself to him, and remained so steadfast in his attachment, that he was rewarded for it by being appointed to the office of Fodjdar-general, as well as by being decorated with a title of honor. But he enjoyed little so lucrative an office; and having said farewell to this fragile world, he took his journey towards the regions of eternity. This death occasioned a change in the affairs of M8rsh8dabad.

As the Governor General disapproved of Mahmed-reza-qhan's conduct, and Manny-begum was not pleased with that minister's disposing of the Nizamut, and spending the young prince's money as freely as he pleased; and on the other hand Mubarec-edd8lah himself was sometimes on this side and sometimes on the other; there arose differences about the appointment and distribution of those offices, which Sadr-el-hac-qhan had left vacant. The governor who is the first man in the world for appreciating any one's merit and capacity, wanted to found Aly-hybrahim-qhan, who is really capable of putting in order affairs of the utmost importance, as well as of unravelling their utmost intricacies and subtilities: The governor esteemed the Qhan a fit man for such an high office; and with that view he wrote to Mr. Barber chief of M8rsh8dabad, and an intimate friend of the governor's, including a letter to Aly-hybrahim-qhan, in which he requested to know whether he would accept of those offices. The Qhan apprised of the dissensions then existing in the Committee, and sensible how unlike he was in his own temper to the great men then in office; and how difficult it would prove to keep in good humour such a set of discontented masters; felt likewise a certain disinclination against the office of Fodjdary, as it stood then, and which in fact consisted of little else than a discharge of a Cutval's office, that is, in fining and killing, and hanging and maiming, and in imprisoning and confining people. He concluded it highly improbable that such an office could be at all times exercised without

Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, to the surprise of all, refuses to succeed Sadr-el-hac-qhan in all the offices he had left vacant.

sometimes injuring and wronging mankind, and without rendering one's self responsible in a high degree both in this world and the other; and he excused himself from accepting such a charge. He was likewise sensible that it would be difficult in such an office, nay, out of his power intirely, to keep fair, and to live upon good terms, with a number of English gentlemen, who governed absolutely in every district and every department: he therefore excused himself in a handsome manner, that did not disoblige either Mr. Baber or the governor; and he disengaged himself from the proposal. He knew that in consequence of the necessity of keeping fair with some persons who did not agree amongst themselves, the exercise of his office would have very little solidity: for that in every business and in every transaction he must of all necessity manage so, as to oblige five persons that have absolute power in the Committee, and ten or twenty more that are attached to them, and expect equal regard: and how long would a man be able to keep fair with them all, and to pay some small regard to his duty and character at the same time? In reality these dissentions, that have now spread in every branch of the administration, and the spirit of party that has now taken possession of the principal English, so as to become a second nature, are of such a species, as will always afford a sensible man many valuable reasons for declining any office at all under them; nor can a man dependent on them, but jealous of his own conscience and character, pretend to keep himself harmless from the consequences of that spirit of party and dissention which runs so high amongst his masters: even waving all regard for his honour and character, such a man cannot avoid running a great risk: what, if when striving to oblige one of those choleric men, his enemy at some unlucky day finds it in his power to make me feel his resentment, and out of a spirit of revenge, is soon up with me by suscitng upon me a variety of troubles and distresses? One of the main causes of the ruin of this country, and one of the main hinges upon which turn the distresses and miseries of it's inhabitants, is this very spirit of dissention, that has become

become customary and current amongst the English, who are now the masters and rulers of these kingdoms: a spirit that runs away with their faculties to the utter neglect of many duties. There are some other reasons likewise, which shall be explained in a short time at the close of this book, when mention shall be made of the conduct of the English rulers, and of their principal men in these regions.

LET us now return to the intrigues set-up by Manny-begum. It is very probable that this haughty Princess, who does not love to see Mahmed-reza-qhan in power, and could not bear his meddling with the affairs of the Nizamut, did write to the governor to insinuate, that if he intended to keep that department in his own power, he must prevail on Aaly-hybrahim-qhan to accept the above office, as the only method for keeping it under his own controul. The governor for these reasons engaged both Manny-begum and Mubarec-eddöslah to renew their solicitations to that nobleman, and to say to him: “if you be apt to mistrust our sincerity, we shall give you an obligatory paper under our hands, by which we shall bind ourselves to do nothing without your consent and permission; nay that we shall not meddle with any thing at all, if you will have it so: or, if you feel any inquietude about the expenditure of the money which may come to take place upon some particular emergencies, for which Mahmed-reza-qhan, in consequence of the power which he enjoys, might bring you into trouble; and you should find yourself at a loss how either to account for it or to refund the same; then we take that case upon ourselves, and will give you a writing under our hands, by which we shall acknowledge, that whenever such a case shall happen, we shall account for it ourselves, and shall bear you harmless.” But all these solicitations availed nothing, nor would the Qhan lend an ear to them.

THESE divisions in the council, which had deterred Aaly-hybrahim-qhan, had not produced less considerable effects elsewhere, and especially at Luck-

John Bristow
transfers the
Province of Ba-
nares to the
English.

now. Two or three years after Shudjah-eddö8lah's demise, that is in the height of General Clavering's influence, Mr Djan Brishtoo a very sensible young man, had been appointed to the residency at Lucknow: a modest word which implies no less than the absolute disposal of every thing in the provinces of Aood and Ilahbad. That young man availed himself so well of his own talents, as well of Affuf-eddö8lah's ignorance, and of Moqhtar-eddö8lah his minister's supineness, that he transferred to the immediate dominion of the company, the country of Banares, which was part of the lease of the son of Radja Balvent-sing's. But the General being now dead, this service of his availed but little, and he was turned out of his office. Brishtoo, who had made money, and likewise done very well the company's business, set out for his country, with intention to come back after having established his interest in England. But as long before his departure, the general and the others had wrote home to recommend him as a man of merit, that had rendered eminent services, there came after his departure, an order from Europe to continue him in his office with many commendations and encomiums upon his conduct. Whilst that order was coming, Brishtoo himself arrived in England; and he availed himself so well of the services he had rendered and of the general's recommendation, as well as of the joint efforts of that officer's friends, that he obtained a new order for himself, and an other for reinstating Mahmed-reza-qhan in the Fodjdary: which two orders he brought himself to Calcutta. It was at a time when some appearance of a reconciliation was taking place betwixt the two parries: the defeat of two English armies in Decan had induced Mr. Doocreel, (Mr. Ducarell), heretofore governor of Pooraniah, and who now was at the head of the Qhaliffa or Finance-office, to become mediator between the Governor and Mr. Francis, to whom he was a common-friend. He made them understand, that this was not a time for them to dispute and to wrangle between themselves; and that they had better postpone their differents for such times as would follow afterwards.

*Suppose the Bombay
Army under Col. Egerton
to be sent to the
Matter Army under
Col. Baillie.*

on a cessation of troubles : and as on the other hand Mr. Barwell, who had hitherto had but one heart and one mind with the Governor, to whom he had shewed a constant attachment, was now resolved, either out of some discontent against him, or for some purposes of his own, to repair to England ; of course some union and friendship between the Governor and Mr. Francis had become the more necessary ; and it took place accordingly ; after some stipulations in favor of the latter, amongst which, the appointing of Mahmed-reza-qhan to the Fodjdary, was a principal one. The Governor who wished to oblige him, agreed to it ; and on the twentieth of Sefer of the year 1194, that minister retook possession of that office : so that the water that had quitted his shore, commenced flowing again. They report on that occasion a very strange anecdote : a man well acquainted with Sèyd-mahmed-qhan himself, (who is the same person to whom the minister is so much attached, as to admit him to every one of his secrets, and to undertake nothing without his advice and approbation) averred, as holding it from his own mouth, that Mahmed-reza-qhan had vowed and promised to the divine author of all gifts, and had written with his own hand upon a Coran of one of his friend's, " that if he ever recovered his offices and dignities, he would, as an offering to God, distribute twelve thousand rupees to the poor." What is strange, is that to this day, which is the end of the year 1195, and a full twelve month after the completion of his wish, the promise has not been fulfilled yet. Sèyd-mahmed-qhan likewise had a positive order to execute, as delivered in these words. " And if you observe any tergiversation or neglect in me, after I shall have obtained the full of my wishes, then be sure to seize me by the throat, and to hold it fast squeezed, until I have paid down the money, which you may then distribute yourself." Accordingly at the appointed time, the Qhan made serious instances, but to no purpose. The minister brought forth a variety of apologies, such " as that Mubarec-eddöglah had already distributed so much money in alms, in his intention ; the necessity of putting in repair his palaces

A. D. 1780. 22

Mahmed-reza-qhan in office again, for the third time.

of Now-Saht and Nyshat-baqh: the urgency of some expenditures, and such other matters: all which he thought sufficient excuses." What looks singular is, that in order to tranquilize the Qhan's conscience, he added "that he (Seyd-mahmud-qhan) had got out of his promise, but that himself was still entangled in it: and that he hoped to see the day when the Divine Providence would put it in his power to disburse and distribute that money." Wonderful God! may I admire that variety of traces every where discernible of your divine dispensations! by which you have spread amongst a single species of your creatures so much difference of tempers, and such a diversity of dispositions, that one individual shall spend so much of his consequence and time in covetously hunting after a dignity, which another individual, a thousand times inferior to him in wealth, shall have spurned at and rejected, although offered to him with solicitations and intreaties, by the reigning powers, and by the lords of the land. Ali-hybrahim-qhan struck the feet of contentment and resignation into the head and breast of that office, (71) and remained unmoved by all its temptations, and all their prayers. But you are so, O worthy man, by a particular gift of the author of all love!

Death of Mir-
za-iredj qhan,
and of Ahtiram-
ed-döslah.

About forty-two days before this event, Mahmed-iredj-qhan, son to Acbar-c8ly-qhan, and father-in-law to Seradj-eddöslah, an illustrious nobleman of whom we have spoke in the history of Aly-verdy-qhan, departed towards the regions of divine mercy. It was the ninth of Muharrem about the beginning of the year ninety-fourth of the Hedjra: and the fourteenth of the second Reby of the same year, Ahtiram-ed-döslah-mir-cazem-qhan, brother to Mir-djaffer-qhan, and uncle to Mubarec-eddöslah, set out likewise for the mansions of the divine forgiver: he fell sick at Radj-mahal, where he lived, and finding himself ill, he was repairing to M8rsh8dabad, to get himself treated: but the angel of death intercepted him on his way, and conducted him towards the road that leads to eternity. He was entombed in the monument of his family with his father and brothers. He bore the character of a good

(71) A literal translation.

natured man, but not without a mixture of indolence and supineness in his composition: as if to verify that sentence of the Coran, *that most of the inhabitants of the Paradise are simple of heart*. May God's forgiveness and mercy rest upon him for ever! the changes happened at M8rh8dabad and Lucknow were followed by some farther alterations at Azim-abad.

ABOUT the middle of the year ninety-third of the Hedjra, Mr. Ayoon-law chief at that city, was for some particular reasons dismissed from his dignity and office; and he thought proper to repair to Mendradj, from whence he went to England. He was succeeded by Mr. Macfool (Maxwell) second to him in rank, who in conjunction with the other counsellors, conducted the business of that province. Mr. Neeo, one of them, was a man of a violent passionate temper, although full of sense; as well as vigorous and stiff in his attachments; But his Divan Ram-luchun, a Bengaly of a strange savageness of temper, was narrow-minded, and of a very uncommon cast of mind: yet such as he was, he had gained a thorough ascendant over his master's mind. This gentleman was much displeased with Radja-hyaliram and some others, who being supported by, and connected with, Mr. Law, thought proper to keep at some distance from Mr. Neeo and his savage of a Divan; But as on the other hand, the latter drew a mighty credit and much countenance from his connections with Mr. Barwell, a leading member of the Committee, to whom the governor paid great deference, he had on those two accounts risen to so much power and influence in the council of Azim-abad, that he did as he pleased. Radja-hyaliram after Mr. Law's departure found it necessary to join Mr. Neeo; and under a promise of presenting him with a large sum of money, should he obtain the lease of some of the public revenues, he made his peace with him, and became the disposer of all matters and transactions in the districts of Chäyn-poor, Sarferam and Serefs-cotumbah: to which places he repaired to hasten the collection with all his might. But as the money did not come in as fast as promised, Mr. Neeo came forward and let loose his Divan Ram-luchun; a

Disturbances
and intrigues at
Azim-abad.

The Council
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man who bearing already a cordial hatred to Hyalyram, plunged him into so much chicanery and trouble, that the Radja fearful for his honour as well as for his life, resolved to repair to Calcutta and to refer every thing to the governor. But the difficulty was how to get out of Azimabad, and how to elude Ram-luchun's clutches and watchfulness. He therefore applied by several petitions to the governor, and represented, that should he (Hyalyram) be sent for to the presence, and rescued from the danger that hung over his head, he would demonstrate his own zeal and gratitude, by making many important discoveries. Maha-radja-calyan-sing son to the late Shitabriá, was so slothful and so supine a nobleman, as to have lost all power and influence at the council board of Azimabad, where he was looked-upon as a cypher: But as he was much discontented with all the members, he came to Hyalyram's assistance, and wrote respectful letters to the governor, setting forth the other's good conduct, and his punctuality in business. The governor, who at once comprehended that administration might draw some benefit from these disputes, commanded Radja-hyalyram's attendance; and the latter thinking it a piece of good fortune to escape from the paws of Ram-lochun, repaired to Calcutta, where he soon found admittance: For although he is not always well-intentioned, yet being, as he is, full of sense and wit; and the times admitting, and even requiring men of such active characters; he was handsomely received by the governor, to whom he gave an account of the real causes of the endless failures and outstanding balances in the collections of the province of Azimabad: he informed him of the numberless infidelities of Ram-lochun's, and of the endless oppressions and exactions, which he had been guilty of on the inhabitants of that unhappy country, and which he was still committing by himself and his dependants, as well as by the officers of the Fodjdary-office at the head of which he was in his master's right. The governor on hearing such a dismal account of that country, could not be brought to believe that men of his nation could be guilty of such excesses, nor would he on Hyalyram's suggestions

The Council of Azimabad accused of enormous infidelities in the management of finances.

gessions dismiss the whole council of Azim-abad : a necessary measure however, and in consequence of which the people of God might have been rescued from the miseries of yeilding obedience to such a set of rulers, and the necessity of depending on their nod and pleasure. Nevertheless impressed by Hyalyram's sense and wit, and by the flowing easiness of his delivery, the governor granted him most of his demands, and left the disposal of the collections of those parts to his discretion and knowledge, although Hyalyram had no money of his own, and he was supported by no one protector : thus in consequence of his representations and good management, all the former collectors of revenue were dismissed, and himself was invested with full powers, and a decisive authority, over the affairs of that resort. Hyalyram out of attachment and gratitude for former benefits received from Calian-sing, set a part for his account some districts of that province, and kept only some others for himself; and thus after having performed a voyage that did him a deal of honour and credit, he returned to Azim-abad, about the beginning of the year 95 of the Hedjra. A little after, all the members of the council were dismissed from their shares in the revenue office ; and the two Radjahs addicted themselves jointly to the care of putting the finances in order. On the other hand the people of the province, glad to return to the sway of their own countrymen, trusted to the appearance of unanimity and unity of command, which seemed to reign between them ; and they imagined that the oppressed public would soon be released from the miseries of it's former situation. But such are the revolutions of heavenly bodies, and such the instability which they impress on human affairs and dispositions, that hardly was Hyalyram arrived from Calcutta, hardly was he recovered from the bodily labour he had undertaken partly on Radja Calian-sing's account, that the latter, notwithstanding all the obligations he owed to his colleague, became altered at once: at the instigation of some foolish proud young men, he had the impudence to write complaints against him to the governor, and to accuse him openly in Mr. Macfool's presence who

All the members of that Council dismissed from the management of finances.

was chief of Azim-abad. But the governor who is the first man of his age for knowledge of the world, and who to form an estimate of a man's character and abilities, needs only to see and to hear him once; the governor, I say, who in a few conferences with Hyalyram had already with his eagle-like keenness of sight, made himself master of the degree of that man's abilities and genius, and was likewise thoroughly apprised of the soft and ductile character of Calian-sing's, payed no attention to the latter's imputations; but sent to the other, the investiture and honorary dress of deputy to Calian-sing: making him the sole disposer of all revenue-matters. May God Almighty turn the dissensions and jealousies of the people of this country into union and love, so that all it's inhabitants may enjoy rest and comfort! and may they exchange evil for good!

Strange and yet valuable character of Hyalyram, with an effecting little story that does a him great deal of honour.

It is not improper to observe on Hyalyram's subject, that although he is so determined a liar, that there is no trusting to his word, yet such as he is, he must be endowed, and he is really endowed with so many laudable qualifications, that it would be difficult to find his equal in this present time, as characters go now; nor would I be surpris'd at all to see him turn better than he is, and improve his character essentially, on being favoured with an accession of power, and a more extensive office; nor would it be at all improbable, but that in such a case, the people of this province, should come to better their unhappy condition, and to enjoy a release from the pains and miseries they endure: for there are some particulars in that man's odd character, that do him an infinite deal of honour.

A few days before our writing these lines, there came from Bengal to Azimabad a venerable gentleman, with a flowing white-beard: he was a Persian born, and a stranger. The day of his arrival, after having fatigued himself in setting his little things in his new lodgings, he was suddenly taken ill, and died about midnight. At day-break the officers of the Fodjdary office rushed head long into his lodgings, with an intention to take possession of his effects. He

had

had four small children, all motherless: the poor fellows waking suddenly at the noise, and seeing their father motionless, and so many strange faces in the house, took fright, and clinging as close as they could to the dead body, as if for protection, they fell a weeping and a trembling. The man's servant waking at last, and being at once overwhelmed by a number of questions and by the threats of those oppressors, wanted to part the children from the corpse; and these arguing nothing but ill from that violence, fell a screaming all together with all their might; so as to fill the whole quarter with an uproar, which people compared to that of the day of judgment. Radja-hyalyram, came to hear of this matter; but his chairmen not being at hand, he ran on foot out of his house; and going into the lodging in question, he exerted himself in soothing and pacifying the affrighted children: sending at the same time for a minister of the Mussulman religion, and for a winding sheet, with some other necessaries, he ordered the prayers directed by law to be pronounced over the deceased, his body to be washed according to those rites, and then to be buried in a particular spot, which he had bought a few days before for his own burial, and which he from that moment bequeathed as a burying ground for poor faithful travellers (72). This done, he took by the hand those children, who were now orphans indeed, and carried them to his house, where he desired his consort to bring them up as his own, with no difference at all in the treatment; and that very day, he settled a pension upon them, appointed a servant to their service, and found out a tutor to teach them their letters, and to bring them up in their father's religion: lastly, he appointed a retired part of his lodgings for their habitation; and now they are carefully educated, until some relation or other, comes over to claim them: otherwise, he intends to adopt them himself, and to marry them amongst the Mussulmen. May the most high God by his favour and grace, augment

(72) By faithful the author understands no others than those of his own sect, that is the Shyah sect, to which Hyalyram as well as his master Shytab-räy were so strongly byassed.

that man's inclination to perform such meritorious actions! and may he turn other people's hearts towards practices of benevolence and charity! Amen.

It is to be wished we could speak with as much fullness of the affairs and campaigns in Decan; but the detail of the battles and transactions in that country cannot be well known to any, but to those commanders, who having been in battle against one another, have made trials of each other's valor and strength: as for me, I know only as much of them as has been published by common report, or has been written by Indians constituted in power and dignity; and it is these reports and relations which I am putting in order throughout these sheets. I was at Azimabad, when I heard of the expedition and achievements of Colonel Godard's: that commander being arrived at Illahabad, heard that the army in which he had been appointed to serve, was gone to Calpy; on which he made haste and soon joined it at that spot, where he found that the English commander had opened a correspondence, and a commerce of friendship with some Zemindars of those parts, and with some of the enemies of the Princes and Radjahs of the Bondelcand, with whom he had concluded treaties, with a view to open a passage through their countries, and to conciliate their good will to the expedition. But on advancing a little beyond Calpy, Lesley who commanded in chief, and to whom Goddard obeyed against his inclination, had the imprudence and thoughtlessness to engage himself in a parched country, where for some leagues together in every direction, no water at all was to be found, and no habitation to be seen: and this too at a season of the year, when the heats are intolerable, as it is always the case in India, just before the setting in of the rains; so that this imprudence cost him in that single day, three or four English officers, ten or twelve or even more English soldiers, and above a hundred of those native soldiers that go by the name of Talingas; all which dropped dead for want of water to quench their thirst. The remaining officers shocked at this enormous thoughtlessness

Colonel Lesley engages his army in a tract destitute of water, where he suffers a loss for want of that refreshment.

thoughtlessness of Colonel Lesley's, as well as at the covetousness of his temper, and the supineness of his conduct, became discontented against him, and wrote an infinity of complaints to the Committee of Calcutta. Colonel Goddard himself wrote in the same style: he exposed his reasons of discontent; and observed, that as no union and concert could take place between Lesley and him, he requested either to be excused from so disagreeable a service, or that some other officer should be appointed to the supreme command. The other officers did not fall short of such a style in their letters; and even some of them wrote in common, "that if the Committee intended the safety of this army, and to see it victorious, they must appoint Colonel Goddard to the command of it." The Governor and Council on these universal complaints, thought proper to reprimand Lesley, and then to recall him from the army; and having raised Colonel Goddard's station and rank, they appointed him to the sole command of that army. A brevet drawn-up in very honorable terms was sent him at the same time. But by a singular good luck it happened, that before the order could come up, the ministers of destiny and fate had dismissed Lesley's spirit from the command and government of his body, and had forbidden the latter to obey any more the directions of the other: so that Goddard was already in the full command of the army, when the order arrived. This officer who in good manners, and in the art of commanding, has not his equal in the world, gained so much upon the hearts of his soldiers, and even of those of the Zemindars on his passage; and he kept so strict a discipline over his people, that he made great progresses in his journey: having given two shameful defeats to the troops of Bundul-cund, which at two different times attempted to oppose his passage, he marched on boldly through an enemy's country, and over an unknown tract of land; and with no more than five or six thousand men, and ten or eleven pieces of cannon and mortars, he cut his way with great vigor and conduct for three months together, until he arrived very near to the spot destined for the junction of his troops

Death of Colonel Lesley, by which accident the command devolves on Colonel Goddard.

Colonel Goddard cuts his with great vigour for three months together, and is on the point of effecting a junction with the army of Bombay, when the latter is totally defeated.

with the other English army that had set out from Bombay; but here he found matters very much altered: General Carnac commander of the army from Bombay, proud of his command and anxious to acquire a great name before Godard's arrival, had hastened forward; and with an army under his command, which both in numbers and in artillery, was ^{far inferior} superior to Colonel Goddard's (73), he attacked the Marhattas, and was completely vanquished: he was even besieged and enclosed in such a manner, as to suffer a total defeat, and to bring a compleat disgrace upon the English arms. Those that survived that defeat, joined general Carnac, and were obliged to enter into some shameful articles with the victorious; and after having exchanged some stipulations, they returned to their fortresses and homes at Bombay. Colonel Goddard being apprised of that event, concluded that as his army had greatly suffered from the length of his march, and from the very numerous engagements in which he had been victorious, his troops to all appearance would prove unequal to the task of facing an enemy flushed with victory; he therefore thought it expedient to strike to the right, and to march on to Surat, which was a city and port in the power of the English. As soon as he arrived, and he had put his troops into quarters of refreshment, he wrote to the council of Calcutta, which of late had been invested with a dictatorial power over all the English factories on the Indian coast, and with the absolute direction of all the English armies and officers in India. The governor and Council, together with the Council of Bombay, refused to ratify the treaty made by general Carnac, and they commanded General Goddard to fight the Marhattas.

WHILST that commander was in cantonments, Umad-el-mulk, alias Mir-sheàbeddin, the same who had sown so many troubles in Hindostan by his endless infidelities, and eternal intrigues; and had brought on the ruin of the Empire and even of these very kingdoms, by the revolutions he had caused; at once made his appearance in that city. That wretched, who had projected to ruin the sons

(73) This is a mistake of our author's: Carnac's army did not amount to more than four thousand men: Goddard's troops exceeded six thousand.

of his own uncle, that is, the posterity of Nizam-el-mulk (74), and to complete the downfall of the remainder of that family (which to this day enjoys great power and great dominions in Decan) was gone into those southern parts with sinister intentions. But the grantees and commanders of those countries, who luckily had still in their hearts some respect for their master's welfare, as subjects, and some regard for their own reputation and characters, as soldiers, refused to pay any attention to his intrigues and suggestions; and the man now reduced to straits, as well as unable to find throughout all the cities of Hindostan, or even in all those of Decan, a single spot, where on he might tread in safety, repaired to Surat, under pretence of a pilgrimage to the glorious Mecca; and he kept himself concealed for a length of time, nor was he discovered but by some jewels of value which he got out for sale. Col. Goddard was obliged to write to the Governor and Council to know their pleasure with respect to this man; and he was at first forbidden to have any connections with him; but in the sequel, they concluded that an intriguing man is always a shrewd man; and that being acquainted with all the chief men of Decan, as well as allied to the family of Nizam-el-mulk, he might be of great use: accordingly they ordered the Colonel to have connections with him, in hopes that at some future emergencies, his abilities and knowledge might answer some purpose in their cause. The general upon this letter, admitted him to his friendship, and gave him a pension for his subsistence.

WHILST the Bengal army was yet in Surat, the English interest had been recruited by a new ally: this was Rāo-fateh-sing-Caivar, one of the principal feudatories of the Marhatta Empire. He had been invited over by Ragonat-rāo, who had engaged him to conclude a written engagement with that nation, in which he was promised to have the whole Gudjrat (75) himself, under condition

Mir-Sheabbedin, alias, U-med el mulk, suddenly appears in Decan.

The English acquire in Gudjrat a potent ally.

by Ragonat

(74) He was son to Ghazi-eddin-qhan, elder brother to Selabet-djung, to Nizam-ali, to Bessalet-djung, and to Mir-mushreff, all sons to Nizam-el-mulk.

(75) The Marhatta Empire consists of several feudatories, the principal of which are, the Bhoisselabs, who possess a country almost as extensive as Bengal, to the southwest of it, but more warlike; the Singhas, who possess the Malva; the Caivars who possess about fifty lacs of revenue in Gudjrat; and the Holcars, who are masters

He himself took the name of Ghazidien

A. D. 1780.

Ahmedabad-Gudjrat taken by assault, and sacked and plundered.

The English acquire a new ally, the Radja of Gohud.

condition of his joining the troops to his English, and of his being assisting in their expedition. The Colonel after that junction conceived the scheme of taking the city of Ahmedabad-Gudjrat; and about the end of the year 1190 of the Hedjra, he marched out of Surat, and presenting himself before that city, he at first offered the Marhatta commanders terms of capitulation for surrendering the place: but this being rejected, he in a little time ruined the walls, and took the place by mere force and by assault; and although it is not customary with the English troops to plunder or to kill after a victory, nevertheless at the capture of this place, there was some plunder made, and some blood shed, whether because the Gáicvar, with his Marhattahs was in their company, or for some other reason that has not transpired. This much is certain that some plunder was committed; and possibly some blood was shed. The Colonel having delivered the city and fortresses to Fateh-sing-Cáicvar, and established that prince's government over it, came out and marched forward, resolved to fight another Marhatta, army that had come to the assistance of the garrison. But such brilliant success having spread the renown of the English far and near, did not fail to suscite in their favor a new Ally: and this was a prince called the Rana of Gohud. In a few days his agents arrived at Calcutta, and offered to join the English, but requested at present a small number of troops. The reason of this negotiation was, that the Rana of Gohud, who had this long while disputes with the Marhattas, and was always at variance with them, hoped that as the English were now waging war against that nation, he might avail himself of that new power, to snatch from his enemies some districts and fortresses of his which they detained this long while: after

masters of the country round B8rhanp8r. They are obliged to appear in the field, whenever called upon; and their quota is from twenty to thirty thousand horse, all payed and maintained by them: but whoever should imagine that this Vassalage amounts to little more than that of the Princes of Germany to the Emperor, would be much mistaken; and here is a proof of it: so long as the Marhatta arms were kept at bay by the success of the English in Decan, the Court of Poonah put up with Modadji-bhosselah's tergiversing conduct, and with his ambiguous connections with that nation; but as soon as peace had taken place, he was sent for at Poonah, threatened with a resumption, and obliged to redeem himself of the corors by which his dominions were in arrears to the treasury, by making concessions, and paying down one coror of rupees, or a million and a quarter sterling.

which

which, he would be ready to shew his gratitude to his new Allies, by proving his zeal for their cause. The governor had too much wisdom and knowledge, not to perceive the utility of an alliance with a great prince who had money, troops and dominions: who could afford so much local knowledge of the countries and affairs of the Marhattas upon whom his dominions bordered; and who offered himself to the English as a guide: for his country became of course a new conquest, that cost him nothing; so that the governor looking upon such an event as a favor from above, sent to his assistance Captain Palmer, with three regiments of Talingas. This officer was accompanied by Tefez-zul-husséin-qhan, who had once been tutor to Mirza-saadet-aaly, second son to Shudjah-eddöslah, (76), and was now sent in quality of an agent from the Governor, to gain the Ranna's heart. The two Envoys being arrived at Gohd, took possession of the castle under pretence of lodging themselves; and under the mask of friendship and a visit, they kept him prisoner and surrounded by their forces.

Popham

The English
take possession
of Gohd.

BUT before we continue the history of that expedition, we must take a view of some other parts of Decan. In consequence of the necessity of some affairs of my own, and of the tyranny exercised by destiny, I was obliged to make an application to Calcutta, and of course to take a journey to Bengal, and it was in the year 1194. On my arrival at M8rsh8dabad and at Calcutta, I learned with a little more detail what concerned the Decan, from the principal men of those cities; and as I was, actually writing the rough draught of this book in that journey, I used to insert occasionally in it, whatever I heard worth notice and credit: it amounts to this; that the grandees of the court of Poonah and Sata-ra, who now govern the dominions of the Sahoo Radja and of Ram Radja (77), finding the English bent on the destruction of their Empire had united

A. D. 1780-81

(76) This Saadet-ali lives now at Banarefs, where the English, after having recommended him to a pension of four lacs a year, from Affef-ed-döslah, Navvab or King of A8d, keep him there as a Bug-bear to frighten occasionally his elder Brother into good manners.

(77) These are two of the first Emperors of the Marhatta Empire.

The Marhat-
tas join together,
to make an ef-
fort against the
English.

together, and had invited over on one hand, Fatch-sing-cáicvar, who had already joined the English; and on the other, the sons of Rago-bhósá, who from Aly-verdy-qhan's time, had ever been at peace with the rulers of Bengal, and had now by the means of Mr. Elliot's and Mr. Anderson's embassy and negotiation, renewed that peace and entered into a new treaty of friendship and amity with Governor Hushin. These were now called upon by dint of threats to unite with the others; and they agreed to a union of concerns at last. It was about the middle of the year 1104, at which time Colonel Goddard had already discovered Fatch-sing cáicvar's defection; and as he found on the other hand, that the rainy season was coming, he became tired of a kind of warfare that had no end, and served only to render the difficulties and necessities of his army greater and greater: with this view he returned to Surat. That city was only a few days journey: but the enemy eternally hanging on his rear, it cost him full forty or fifty days fighting, to cut his way through an hostile country: and this he did with a deal of steadiness and activity; at last he arrived in that city, where he put his troops into quarters of refreshment. But whilst he was preparing all the necessaries for commencing early another campaign, Fatch-sing-cáicvar, who had got so easily and so cheaply possession of the G8djrat, but had now become envious of Colonel Goddard's prosperity, put himself at the head of his own forces, and took his station in the districts which originally had been in his possession. Whilst such a change was taking place in G8djrat, Chimnadji, another Marhatta General, who was nephew to Rago-dji-bhósá, having listened to the instigations and menaces of the ministers of Poona (78), set out with a good army from the great Naigpoor, his

(78) To give some Idea of those ministers, which many might be apt to call Barbarians, it must be remembered that they consented to let go from Vargam, an army of English, which they had beaten and defeated, and which they might have kept besieged until it should have perished to the last man: instead of that, they gave it a pass, and an escorte. We must likewise read some of those letters written by people which are called Idolaters in Europe: here is the beginning of a long one written to Governor Hastings, the first April 1776, by Sircaram-baboo, prime minister of the Court of Poona, It is a Brahman that speaks:

his Capital, and marched towards Djagennat and Cateck. There he took up his winter quarters, whilst his agents were now repairing to Calcutta, and professing amity and friendship to the English cause. The Governor who did not trust altogether to their professions, opposed an army of English to the Marhatta army in Cateck; and stationed troops besides at all the passes in the mountains, where those enemies had used to pour into the provinces of Bengal and Bahar: these troops had orders to oppose force by force, should they make any motion that way (79).

BUT as Haider-naïc is now going to cut so great a figure in our history, it is proper to part with our subject for a while, in order to give some account of that extraordinary man. Haider-naïc originally was a commander in the service of the French in Decan, in which he commenced by serving as a Nàic, which signifies a commander of ten or fifteen men. By degrees he rose to the offices of Djemaat-dar, Soobadar and Comidan (commandant,) which last is the highest title of command to which one can attain amongst the nations of hat-wearers. What appears very singular, is that notwithstanding that superior station, the surname of Nàic stuck to him ever after: In the sequel he served the Radjahs of Decan, made himself a character, and

Some account
of Haider-naïc.

" The all-wise Creator and protector of the universe, formed man superior to all other of his creatures, and
" endowing him with reason, made him lord over all; and by the gift of speech, adorned by the gem of veracity, put into his hands the authority over all the terrestrial world: It is consequently the duty of all Magistrates, and all those invested with authority to provide for and protect the people of God entrusted to their care: as this is not to be affected without apparent means, wise men have established the mode of corresponding with each other by letters and messengers. It was therefore my earnest desire to establish such a correspondence with you; and although certain weak and little minds considered this design as the effect of timorousness, yet in the sight of wisdom it will be regarded as a proof of a great soul.

(79) Madaji-bhoffelah, who would not fall out with the Court of Poona, whose feudatory he was, sent an army of twenty-five thousand horse upon the frontiers of Bengal; And as he would not fall out with the English, neither, from whom he received a pension, he sent that army by so circuitous a road, that instead of two months and a half, it did not arrive upon the frontiers of Bengal, but after a seven months journey, that is, just at the very beginning of the rains, which always last with violence for six full months. On the other hand, as he had a much greater liking to English Rupees, than to English Canon-balls, he availed himself of their fears and anxieties, to squeeze from them under two or three plausible pretences a contribution of about two and thirty lacs: a sum which the English had the wisdom to think very inferior to two or three hundred lacs of damage, which those merciless free-booters might have easily done.

acquired much power; and becoming famous little by little, he was taken into the service of the Radja of Malavar, (80) where in a little time, he fell out with that Prince's Divan, who according to the custom of that country, disposed of the revenues and expenditures of that prince, and directed all his councils absolutely. Häider-nâic, who despised that minister's pusillanimity, as much as he confided on his own valour and talents, had the boldness to fall upon him in broad day light, and to kill his rival; after which he took possession of his office. From that day he acted with an absolute sway in every thing, but still with the policy of leaving the Radja alive, and in his usual employment: that prince is still alive; and whenever his keeper thinks it proper, he is produced in publick as an antient relick: at which time he never fails to pay him every mark of respect and veneration. After his establishing in this manner his authority over the Malavar, he thought proper to march to the assistance of Nizam-aly-qhan, son to Nizam-el-mulk, sovereign of the Decan, who having fallen out with the English and with Mahmed-aaly-qhan, Viceroy of Arcat, had marched at the head of an army, and given them a great battle, in which he was assisted by Häider-nâic, with his person and a body of troops. But the English having obtained the victory, Nizam-aly-qhan in despair of his defeat, obstinately remained on the field of battle, resolved rather to perish in the field than to survive his defeat. It was at this moment he was descried by Häider-nâic from a far, who being informed of his despair and resolution, galloped-up to him and made use of force and violence to turn his elephant about, and to make him quit the field of battle. Nizam-aly-qhan consented at last, but told him that it was under condition that he (Häider-nâic) would provide for his obtaining his revenge of that defeat. The other promised it: and really after having spent some time in making his prepara-

(80) The author who had no better memoirs upon the affairs of Decan than hear-says, has mistaken the case: Häider-nâic did not take service with the Radjas of Malabar, but with the Radja or King of Máyssor, whose little country, exceedingly well peopled and cultivated, as are all Hindoo countries, yields no less than a Coror of Rupees a year, or a million and a quart sterling. The truth is that all Hindostanies have but confused notions of any difference betwixt the Malabar and the Máysoor.

tives, he turned about, and fell on the English; or else, he let Nizam-aaly-qhan depart, and then in a few days he turned about, faced the English again; but was defeated and obliged to fly for his life. Either from some particular emergency, or from the concurrence of destiny, he was obliged to turn his back, and to return to his own country. But the English bent on his pursuit, arrive in his dominions, where they took one after another whatever fortrefs opposed their passage; and after having established contributions in the country, they used to proceed forward. These many sieges having given him time to collect his resources, he quickly repaired to a strong fortrefs of his, deposited there most of his baggage, and having taken out of it as much provisions and ammunition as would serve for some days all his troops, he turned about, and by rapid marches, he fell suddenly upon the English, and gave them a great defeat. But as the vainquished army continued in a body, and after having been drawn up in battle array, wanted to renew the combat, he at once disappeared from before them, without their being able to know any thing of his motions; and having marched by roads which nobody suspected, he suddenly made his appearance before Mendradj (Madras), which was empty of troops, and where there were no preparatives made against his coming; and he surrounded it on all sides. The governor and principal men seeing no resource at hand, set open the gate of amity, went to meet him, and made a treaty with him, by which the troubles ended by a peace. But this peace having afforded some repose to Háider-naic, he returned to his own country, and diligently employed himself in disciplining his troops, and in providing every implement necessary for war and conquest. After a length of time had elapsed, a dispute arose between the Marhattas and himself, in which he was shamefully beaten, and obliged to fly to his country: where he soon repaired his losses. The Marhattas mean while overawed by his superiority of genius, and intimidated by his art of finding resources, united with Nizam-aaly-qhan, and undertook to demolish his power, and to ruin him totally: for this pur-

He fights the English with a variety of successes, but in general with advantage.

pose they joined twenty-five thousand horse of their own to some thousand more; which Nizam-aaly-qhan had sent them under the command of Cala-qhan-dhonfa; and they made an irruption into his dominions. Haider-naic finding that he could not stand against such a force, abstained for a whole year from encountering the enemy; But yet he constantly kept at the distance of some miles, without losing sight of him, unless he sometimes chose to make a stay; and then he was always provided with such a numerous body of pioneers, and such an immense artillery, as enabled him at any time to fortify a good post, and to tarry there; nor did his enemies dare to attack him in such a fortified camp. Nevertheless with all this good countenance, he wisely concluded that in time, his country would be ruined by such a warfare; and he sought his safety in a treaty of peace, by which he gave a deal of money to the Marhattas, to Nizam-aaly-qhan, and to the latter's general Cala-qhan: and in this manner he extricated himself from his difficulties.

Sets up a cavalry of Persians and other foreigners, which he disciplines after a method of his own.

AFTER this peace, he passed ten or twelve years in rest and tranquility; but spent this interval in making mighty preparatives: he sent Embassadors with rich and curious presents to Kerim-qhan-zendi (81), then master absolute of all Iran; and these in their masters name requested leave to raise in his dominions some thousand men of cavalry: the permission being soon granted, the Envoy's who were furnished with large sums of money, soon brought from thence some thousand Persian Moguls, all young vigorous men, commanded by proper officers of their own. On the other hand he opened a correspondence with the French of Mauris, an Island over against his country; and by their means he opened another correspondence with the Ministers of the French

(81) Kerim-qhan, was his name: Zendi, that of his tribe, which was a tribe originally Iranian, living in the Lorestan, a mountainous tract, in the north of Pars. There are other tribes of Iranian origin, settled in the middle and southern parts of Iran or Persia: whereas the Turkish tribes, that furnish almost all the Soldiers of that Empire, dwell in the Northern parts of it, from West to East. The Sefi family, that has just become extinct in our days, was of a Turkish tribe settled in Ader-bây-djan or Media; and Nadyr-shah (Alias Tahmasp-cooly-qhan) who put an end to it, was an Affhar, of that division of that tribe, which is settled in Qhorassan. It was remarked of Kerim-qhan, that although a Monarch absolute, and a conqueror, he never struck money in his own name, but only under that general one, of *Sakab-zaman*, the reigning Prince.

kingdom: thither also he sent curious and rich presents. Mean while he imported into his country a number of excellent horses, which he got mounted by Barghirs, or men which he payed (82) a part, as it is customary in India: these he disciplined in a manner particular to himself, teaching some thousands of them to form their ranks, and without breaking them, to face about and attack on a full gallop some thousands of others opposite them; he also obliged the Mogul and Indian troopers that were in his service, to be exercised every day for nine hours together, in the evolutions and rules of moving and fighting in order; in so much that he rendered them expert in their business, and capable of any service. To this numerous body of cavalry he added seventy thousand musqueteers, armed with flint locks, and which he disciplined in the European manner. This mighty army was followed by a train of seven hundred pieces of artillery, mounted and served exactly in the English and French manner. After spending some years in these preparations, he became so conscious of his own strength, that he sallied forth, and conquered both from the Malabar Princes, and from the Marhattas, an extent of ground that yielded a revenue of about four Corors a year (83). His army accoutred and furnished abundantly with every necessary, exactly as in Europe, is kept under the strictest order and discipline. They say that his eldest son, who is now his best General, does not dare to deviate a hair's breadth from any of his orders, so far are any others from daring it themselves. One day he commanded him to be on horseback seven hours after sun set, and to go to such a spot; it happened that although he mounted at the proper time, it was however after a short delay: but that short delay was taken up: that very moment he sent for him back, and made him undergo the punishment of the whip. Nor was he less exact in other respects: on observing that the Mogul and Persian Officers in his army, were perpetually fighting amongst themselves,

Provides a numerous infantry, disciplined after the European manner; and an immense artillery mounted and served model.

His severity to his own son, considered as a military officer.

(82) In India the trooper finds himself in horse, arms, and accoutrements. The Bar-ghris or burthen-bearers, find themselves in arms, but are found in horse and accoutrements by the state.

(83) Five millions sterling.

he sent for them and represented to them in a moderate tone of voice, and in a friendly manner, "that as he had procured them from a far, and they had cost him already an immense sum of money, they ought to reserve themselves for his service, instead of killing and slaughtering each other, as they did every day: he added, that as they were strangers in this country, they ought to live upon good terms with the Indians, and by all means upon terms of tenderness and love with their own countrymen." But this friendly reprimand had no effect; and they went on in their usual way, above all making no account of the Indians, and endlessly quarrelling and fighting amongst themselves, and against the others: two or three times he repeated his reprimand, and two or three times he repeated it in vain: at last he grew tired, and one day he ordered two or three of those disobedient officers, to be seized and made fast to an elephant's feet, where they were trampled to death. From that day they returned to order and obedience; and having tacked-up the hem of obedience into the sash of zeal and submission, they are now brought under a strict discipline, and are at all times ready for immediate action. To defray such expences, he has got possession of immense treasures, amassed from ancient times by the princes of Decan for several ages past: nor is there in all Hindostan a power comparable to his in wealth, strength, splendor, discipline, and number of good troops. However all this I mention upon general report: for after all, God only knows whether I am mistaken in that assertion. Haider-
nàic finding himself able to assert his rights, conceived now the design of recovering several territories which the Marhattas had wrested some years before from him; and he sent them word, that if they returned quietly those countries, and made a treaty with him, he would assist them with all his forces in their quarrell with the English; else, they must prepare for war. The court of Poona which was now sensible of the importance of such an ally at such a critical time, concluded that it was as happy an offer as they might wish for; and having soon agreed to his demands, they proposed a treaty with him on these

Gives the law
to the Marhat-
tas, with whom
he make a trea-
ty.

two conditions: the first, that he should himself come over to their assistance, and fight by their side: the second, that if his affairs did not permit him to come so far, then that he should invade the province of Arcat, carry ruin and devastation in every part of it, and keep in continual alarms, the armies and power of the English. Haidar-naic finding it impossible and inexpedient to join the Marhattas, accepted the second condition.

As soon as this treaty had been concluded and executed, he prepared to fulfil it on his part: in the middle of the year 1194 of the Hedjra, he invaded the province of Arcat with an army that covered the plains, like the waves of an angry Sea, and with a train of artillery that had no end. Being arrived at about forty or fifty cosses from the territory of Mendradj, he stopped there, and suddenly dispatched a strong body of troops under his son, with orders to push hastily to the capital: this general arriving unexpectedly, made himself master of that city, as well as of the palace of Mahmed-aaly-qhan, the Viceroy of the province, together with whatever they contained: they say that he did not offer much injury or damage to the inhabitants of the city, but that he ruined the gardens and country houses belonging to the English, and made prisoners those he found there. Gen. Monro, the same who had heretofore beaten the Vezir of Hindostan at Bacfar, when he was only a Major, was now General, and appointed to the defence of the factory and fortrefs of Mendradj. He came out of the walls with ten battalions of Talingas, and sixteen pieces of cannon, furnished with every necessary, such as ball and powder; and he intended to fight. But Haidar-naic hearing of this, wrote to his son to retreat from thence, and to draw the English army into the plain, and mean while to retrograde himself gradually towards his father. The son having obeyed punctually, Gen. Monro put his army in battle array, and having ordered a regiment with some Captains, and Lieutenants, and Ensigns, and some sergeants, with two pieces of Cannon, and necessities to advance forward as usual, at two or three cosses distance from the main body; he followed himself with his whole army,

A. D, 1780 81

He invades
the Carnatec,
and pushes to
the very gates
of Menradj.

and in this manner he advanced ten or twelve coſes farther from the fortrefs. Háider náic hearing of this, ſent a body of troops under the command of his ſon, with orders firſt to charge the regiment in queſtion, and then to ſend intelligence every moment, and mean while to ſtand ready to execute further commands. The ſon did as he was commanded: and he attacked the regiment with ſo much vigour, that the commander of it after having bravely ſtood his ground, and received the enemy with a fire of muſketry and cannon, ſent word to the general, that the combat was drawing to a length: that his numbers were thinned: the enemy numerous; and that he wanted immediate relief. As the diſtance was great, and one quart of the day was already ſpent, when the combat commenced, it was noon before the trooper with the intelligence arrived; and ſome time more being ſpent before the General could fix his mind on a reſolution, there remained only one third of the day, when he ſent four regiments to the aſſiſtance of the firſt, two of which were European white Soldiers, new landed from Europe, the others being Indian Talingas. But it was evening before they could arrive. The five regiments being joined, paſſed the night on the ſpot. On this intelligence Háider-náic ſent his ſon-in-law with freſh troops to his ſon's aſſiſtance; and theſe recommenced the attack at day-break. The Engliſh were worſted; and finding that their General had erred, in not marching up with his whole army, they thought it expedient to retreat to the main body; and they commenced a retreat, but always in good order, and always turning about, and always facing their purſuers: the enemy continued preſſing on all ſides, and perpetually attacking with Rockets, Cannon-balls, Muſkets and Bombs; and they had already burned the plants of the lives of numbers of Engliſh ſoldiers, when they were likewise favored-by fortune: it happened that one of the Engliſh Carts of powder and ammunition took fire: in an inſtant the whole proviſion blew-up, and carried away ſuch vaſt numbers of men, which happened to be near or at no great diſtance, that thoſe that ſurvived the diſaſtre, proved not numerous enough to continue the com-

bat:

bat. The enemy having surrounded them, sent them promises of quarter: the English who are a courageous nation, full of military pride and firmness of heart, refused to surrender: upon which an order came to put them to the sword: and the poor souls were all hacked to pieces (84). It happened that three or four men escaped from the slaughter, and reached General Monro's encampment; but their report struck such a panic in his mind, that this general, whose courage had never been doubted to that day, no sooner heard the detail of the slaughter, than he lost his wonted firmness, and betrayed every mark of fear, trepidation and dismay. The report goes that he passed the night without going to bed; and that at day-break he mounted a fleet horse, and without stopping any where, or giving himself a moment to breathe, he retired within the fortrefs of Mendradj: the forlorn army following in much distress and disorder, retired into the fortrefs likewise; and the victorious in full pursuit of the run-aways, entered the city of Mendradj, which they mastered; so that there remained to the English nothing but the fortrefs of that name. They say that in a few days after, the fortrefs of Arcát, the capital of Mahmed-ali-qhan's dominions, who was the Viceroy of the Carnatec, was taken by the enemy, as well as that of Pool-churry, which last had been lately taken by the English from the French; and as in times of calamity, a misfortune never comes alone, it happened that a difference arising between the English and the Talingas of the garrison of If-hac-patan (Vizagapatam), these last who were numerous, fell upon the small number of the English, and killing some of them, imprisoned the others; and thus that place also came cheaply in Háider-náic's power.

GENERAL Monro having quitted the field in so disgraceful a manner, did not fail to be accused both by friends and foes, who covered him with shame: but

(84) The Author is mistaken: all those troops surrendered, and were taken prisoners; and even then Col Baillie was at the head of seven hundred English, and of three thousand Sipahis; nor did the English want either courage or numbers: they wanted powder, and were exhausted by three days continual fighting against troops continually renewed.

Beats the English.

The English pursued to the very gates of Mendradj.

this

A duel between the Governor and Mr Francis.

this news had not yet reached Calcutta, where, mean while the fire of diffention, which had been raging with so much violence between the Governor General and Mr. Francis, had now risen to such a height, that from bad words, and disputes, they had proceeded to fighting with guns; and at the end of Redjeb or the beginning of Shaaban, both parties according to the established custom of the nation, went out by themselves, and fought with pistols: the governor, being befriended by destiny, came off harmless; but Mr. Francis was wounded. As he was predestined to live a great deal more, the pistol ball, although it entered at his right side, did neither break the bone, nor even rend the curtain: it stopped between bone and flesh; and in a few days he was cured. It was justly at this time that General Coote, a King's servant, who had succeeded General Clavering, as commander in chief of all the forces in India, arrived from Lucnow, whilst Mr. D8creel, (Mr. Ducarell), arrived from Bardvan. These two men, who had connections with both parties, interposed their good offices, and became mediators of forgiveness and peace between the governor and Mr. Francis: they brought them together, and made them take their seats at the Council-board: and it was about this time that the intelligence of Monro's defeat arrived at Calcutta. The letters mentioned that the enemy grew daily more powerful, and that General Monro had fled from the field of battle.

Colonel Goddard besieges Bessli.

News came likewise of General Goddard's having come out of Surat, and of his now besieging the town of Bessi (Bassain), which is one of the strongest fortresses in the Marhatta dominions. It was likewise at this time that an Englishman of some consequence arrived in a Packet-ship from Bombay, which means in English a Courier-ship; and god knows what news he brought with him. He found the Governor-general with all the principal English of Calcutta overwhelmed with sorrow, but busy in contriving expedients to raise a great sum of money, and to form an army. The Governor after borrowing upon interest from the wealthy Bengalies of Calcutta, so great a sum as one

Coror

coror of rupees, engaged General Coote to repair to Mendradj, and to take the command of the army there.

It was in those times of calamity and distress, I arrived at Calcutta, where I paid a visit to the Governor General. That Viceroy, who has a vast fund of innate goodness in his nature, condoled much with me, and promised that I would one day see the accomplishment of my wishes: but he was so overwhelmed with public business, that he could not afford to give me many hearings, or to remember his promise. As to General Coote, he both objected to the scarcity of men and of money, until both being remedied, he consented to go to Mendradj with three or four battalions that had been brought together: and these being joined to the six or seven regiments now shut-up in the fortress of that name, the whole with some other troops then in those parts, would form a body of ten or twelve regiments: a force which was thought sufficient to fight Háider-naic in the field. For the English trusted much to the goodness of their troops, and to the talents of their commander; nor do they admit any interference of the deity in the affairs of this world; but attribute their repeated victories, and numerous conquests, to the good conduct of their officers, and to the bravery of their troops; nor do they ascribe the defeats given to General Carnac, and to General Monro, to any thing else but to the misconduct of those two men, whom they loaded with imprecations and obloquy, as the principal authors of those disasters that had disgraced their nation. There is no doubt indeed but that wisdom and prudence bear a great sway in the direction of the affairs of the world; but not so much neither, as that the original mover of all events, he that has created and bestowed that wisdom and prudence, should remain idle himself, and as it were out of office: or that the affairs of the world, for want of apparent solidity and permanency, should be wholly and intirely in the power and disposal of human wisdom, and foresight. Be it as it may, General Coote who commanded in chief all the troops in the company's service in India, and

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had under his care all the affairs of war as, his particular province, consented to repair to Mendradj: urged by a thorough sense of the critical situation of affairs both in Mendradj and in Decan, he embarked in the middle of the blessed month of Ramazan, of the year 1194 on board of a ship (86), and repaired to that fortress. As to myself, perceiving that the Governor could not pay any attention to my affairs, and that I had no chance for any assistance at Calcutta, I returned to M8rsh8dabad: being very uneasy on account of a threatened invasion from the Marhattas of Cateck, and on account of my having left my children and family like so many forlorn souls, in a city that had no Governor and no Ruler, that might partake of the distresses of families, and watch over their safety; for both the Nazem (87), and his Lieutenant were perfectly free from such cares; nor could much be expected from the English themselves, who had in most places bestowed the offices of rulers and Lieutenants on some principal Indians, who trusting to their interest with their masters, paid little attention to the situation of the people of this land. I arrived at M8rsh8dabad the seventeenth of Shavval, and remained there till the 25th Zilhidj, of that same year; and all the while I was hearing accounts that differed from each other. Nevertheless whatever was most confirmed, has been inserted in these sheets; and it amounts to this much: that General Monro having, as has been already said, retired in that shameful manner within the fortress of Mendradj, had become a standing stock for the shafts of reproach from every one of his countrymen, as well as from the enemy. But as Hãider-nãic's troops had taken possession of every thing without the walls, and even of the city itself, as far as the precincts of the fortress, the English shut up within the place, resolved to fall by surprise upon those bodies of the enemy that were encamped close to their walls, in hopes

(86) It was in September, a time exceedingly unfit and dangerous for going out of the Ganges, and still more so for navigating to M. draft by sea, unless it might be a circuitous navigation of two or three months; and yet the General was so miraculously lucky, as to fetch Madraff in a fortnight.

(87) Mubarec-ed-d88lah, and Mahmed-reza-qhan, his Nãib or Deputy,

of making an impression upon them: for this purpose there came out of the fortress at day break, nay before day break, two battalions of Grands (Grenadiers), which word signifies in their language, picked men, tall and stout, and of tried bravery. But as Háider-náic is fully acquainted with the particular turn of genius of the English in war matters, and is infatigable, and always thoroughly informed of the motions of his enemies, he never suffers his people to be supine, or off their guard, or negligent in their duty. His troops therefore proved to be ready for the enemy's reception: a furious combat commenced; and troops being continually sent to the assistance of those engaged, the two battalions in question were surrounded, and finding no way open for a retreat, they continued fighting heroically, until they all rushed into eternity, leaving to Háider-náic's troops a full possession of the victory. It was after this disgrace that the news of General Coote's coming became public. General Munro seemed struck with the intelligence; and fearing for both his life and character, should that commander land unexpectedly at Mendradj; he resolved to exert himself in recovering his honor: with this view he came out with all the troops he could muster, leaving only such a small number as might guard the gates, and the company's magazines: he had with him a great train of cannon and mortars, with every necessary for some important expedition. On the other side Háider-náic's son, with an army of disciplined troops and a good train of artillery, advanced to meet the enemy; and a mighty battle ensued. But again destiny would have it so, that Háider-náic's son gained a compleat victory; and General Munro being vanquished again and defeated, was forced to retreat within the fortress with the shattered remains of his army, where probably, he is safe from an attack; for it is reported that Háider-náic does not care to fight against walls and fortresses, and has been heard more than once to say, that it would be a folly to expose the lives of so many brave men for the sake of acquiring the possession of three or four thou-

sand

land yards of ground; and that provided God Almighty would give him the open country, and victory against the English, he did not care to dispute walls and brick-bats with them. This much is certain that he must have known how little they could hold in a place destitute of every thing. He knew that as the fortrefs of Mendradj is seated by the sea-side, it has no sweet water at all; and although provisions of it are daily imported from abroad, it was impossible that they should answer the necessities of twenty or thirty thousand persons of all professions and sexes, which were shut up within its walls, and that too for a space of three or four months. Add to this that Mendradj is not really a fortrefs (88): it is only a wall drawn round the habitations of an infinity of merchants and other numerous people residing there. These men daily import their own water from without the walls, where there is a city a part. But even supposing that in times of full peace, they should have formed an aqueduct or a rill, that should carry a supply of water up to their habitations, still such a contrivance would prove of little avail, as an approach to that rill is now opposed and full of danger. Now as it is certain that they can no more import provisions than their water, it becomes altogether incomprehensible, how that multitude can have subsisted all this while without suffering every extremity (89). It is a pity that the English do not mention such matters, and the like details publicly: they never talk of them to such people as we; and I cannot get any sure intelligence from any one else. But for that reservedness of their's, we should have set down all those events with a full detail.

It has been already related that the Governor, from the very first arrival of General Clavering and his party, had found it out of his power to come

(88) This is a mistake. Madraſt, although very inferior to Bombay, and ſtill more ſo to Calcutta, is nevertheless a fortrefs betwixt the ſecond and third order.

(89) They ſubſiſted however by the endleſs Squadrons perpetually forwarded from Bengal; Squadrons that carried ſive ſtock, as well as grain, and ſalt provisions: the Governor, who gave himſelf no reſt on that head, having exerted himſelf in ſupporting Madraſt and its territory, which he conſidered as the outwork of Bengal.

to an understanding with them: for although now and then both sides listened to the persuasion of common friends, who forcibly pointed out the inconveniencies of dissention, and the advantages of concert, so as to seem inclined to unite together; yet such was the difference of tempers, and such the diversity of interests, that no union and no concert could take place. Even of late, that is some time after the duel had happened, some appearance of peace, and even some union, had been perceived between the Governor and Mr. Francis on the mediation of General Coote and Mr. Dooreel; but after the General's departure for Mendradj, matters took to their former course: For Mr. Francis wished that some arrangements might take place, to not one of which the Governor would listen: the first was, the sending back Mr. Brishtoo to his office of Lucknow, with his former appointment and authority, for both which, repeated orders had come from Europe: the second, that the Divanship of the Calcutta department should be given to Ramchund-ráy, instead of Ganga-govínd, who now holds it; the third was, that Nandcomar's son should be put at the head of the Qhalissah or Revenue Office. There were some other demands, to none of which the Governor would consent: he had of late met with several new subjects of discontent; in so much that his enmity had risen to a heighth.

BUT whilst there was so much dissention and enmity at home, great misfortunes had befallen the English arms abroad; two or three Veteran armies, with a number of renowned commanders, had been destroyed; and an immense sum of money having been spent in those expeditions, the Company's treasury was become so empty, that Government had been obliged to have recourse to a loan which was obtained from the Bengalies; and all that, at the very time that the Supreme Council were forbidden from making any new conquests. It was from such events and from such formal disobediences of orders, that Mr. Francis who brought them into one point of view, thought he could prove a great body of misdemeanours and mismanagement in the Governor's

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conduct: he now rediged the whole into a methodical writing which he got bound like a book; and after having obtained it's being registered, he thought himself strong enough with such a piece, and he departed this country at the end of Zilcaad of the year 1194 of the Hedjrah: he was attended by a number of gentlemen, all dissatisfied with the Governor, who all repaired to London, which is the Capital of the dominions of the kings of England. By this departure he freed the Governor from a troublesome antagonist. For hitherto the latter had been at some trouble in managing the Government in an absolute manner, although he took all the risks upon himself; but now that the whole Council is reduced to his own person and to that of Mr. Wheeler's, he is become sole master of binding and unbinding, of appointing, and dismissing in every department, without either controul or dispute. Time only can show in what manner shall end these dissensions, as well as these troubles which are just commencing; and time alone shall determine what completion his schemes are likely to have. Then shall we know something of what is to become of the poor injured people of this land, who now have no other friend, and no other comforter but God Almighty. As to myself having set out from M8rsh8dabad the 26th Zilhij; and in that same year having stopped some time at Radjemahal for some particular business, and especially for performing the rites of the ten days of Moharrem; on the ninth of that same month, I heard from a person of consequence and credit, that General Coote, having joined the troops he had brought with him, to those he found at Mendradj, had set out from that fortress with a great train of artillery; and having given battle to the troops of Háider-náic, he had been beaten as had already been General Monro, and forced to retire within the walls, without which Háider-náic is now master of every thing, throughout the province of Arcat, and up to the walls of Mendradj.

NOR did the affairs of the English wear a more favorable aspect in Hindostan, where the troops, which had been carried by Captain Palmer to the

Popham assistance

assistance of the Ranna of Gohud, having lodged themselves for their own convenience in the fortresses of that name, turned their thoughts towards recovering some other strong holds, and places which had been in the possession of the Ranna's (90) ancestors. That commander put to the Radja a number of questions about every spot and every place in that region: the Ranna answered, " that one of the principal possessions of his ancestors, was the fortress of Gohud, a place renowned for strength all over Hindostan, and which the Emperors of the family of Babr (91) had seized by force, having maintained their conquest by a superiority of power: that from that time it had belonged to them, being called by excellence the Imperial fortress: that in process of time as the Empire came to lose of it's power, and the Marhattas increase their's, it happened that the Governor and Garrison finding themselves neglected by the ministers and Grandees of the Court, as well as reduced very low for want of pay and necessaries, thought it high time to listen to the offers of the Marhattas, to whom they consented to surrender the fortress on condition of being payed the whole of their arrears; and thus having received the money in exchange for the fortress, they had surrendered it to a body of Marhatta troops: that from that day it had remained in their possession; a transaction which was fresh in every one's mind, as it had happened in the time of Ahmed-shah, son to the Emperor Mahmed-shah, of the Babr family (91). This was the information given by the Ranna. Now as that place is only at about thirteen cosses from Gohud, and it had been constantly an eye-sore to the Gentoo Prince, he was thoroughly informed of every corner of it, and of every manner of approaching it, as well as completely apprised of a particular path, hidden by the rock, and quite out of sight, where

(90) The word Ranna signifies more than Radja or King, although it comes from the same root. It is an appellative by which the Radja of Gohud designates himself, as does the Radja of Chitor, his neighbour.

(91) The reader knows that although the reigning family of Hindostan, descends in a direct line from Timur, or Timur-lang the conqueror of that country, yet it is better known under the name of Babr, great Grandson of that conqueror, as it is he who first thought of leaving his dominions in Euzebeg-tartary (Alias Tsrans) to settle in the less difficult regions of Hindostan.

the rampart was lower than any else where. Of all this he gave information to the English, and added a number of men who had a local knowledge of every part within and without the walls. The English commander formed his project upon those lights; and having with great secrecy prepared a number of ladders proportionate to the height of the wall, and mean while spread a report of an attack being intended against another Fort, he set out from Gohud the place of his residence, stopped at about five or six cosses distance; and from thence at the beginning of the night, he posted his army, and with a proper number of light troops which he furnished with ladders, he marched forwards. At the end of the night, being arrived at the spot he intended, he placed his ladders, and availing himself of the neglect and supineness of the garrison, he got upon the wall; and commenced firing at the garrison, which was thrown into the greatest consternation: For one or two thousand of such troops, being once got within the fortrefs, were by all means an over match for any ten thousand of such slothful fellows as composed the garrison. They say that the Marhatta-governor, either out of despair and shame, or for fear of being called to an account, killed himself; and there is also another report, that this surprise had been concerted with the antient Imperial commander, who dissatisfied with his not being payed his arrears, had only dissembled his resentment, and had remained within the fortrefs, until he could find some opportunity of introducing an enemy. It was in this manner that so famous a fortrefs fell in a twinkle, in the hands of the English, who took care to put a garrison in it (92). I was in Calcutta, when news came of the capture of Goaliar; and I heard

(92) That Prince, like all the Zemindars of India, whether greater or lesser, had connections with a tribe of highway-men, who having discovered a hidden path by which they climbed every night up the rock, and from thence up the wall, were let in by some of their associates settled within the fortrefs. And it was over that same path that the English, with such guides at their head, found means to scramble over the rock and to surprize the place. And it is observable that the impregnable G8aliar has always been taken through treachery, or by surprize. The fortrefs of G8aliar is seated on a rock, of seven or eight miles in extent, in which there are woods, arable, pasture, lakes and ponds, and every thing requisite to furnish for years together to the necessities of a garrison. All this is surrounded by a wall and towers thirty feet high, that leave betwixt the foot of the fortification and the brink of the rock, a berme of about ten or twenty feet in breadth, surround-

heard with my own ears the discharges of Cannon, by which that happy event was announced to the public. It was there I learned also that Maha-dji-sindia, one of the principal feudatory rulers of the Marhatta Empire, who has the absolute government of the provinces of Malva and 8djéin, as well as of the castle of Goaliar, hearing of General Godard's being gone to Surat, to take his winter quarters there, had set out in the height of the rains in the year 1194, A. D. 1781, and had passed that difficult season in that country, without it being known whether he intended in the sequel to fight General Godard, who was to besiege the fortress of Bessi (Bassein), or whether he would turn his thoughts towards recovering Goaliar, from the hands of the English; or rather would think it better to make a diversion against them, by invading the Provinces of Atava and Corrah and Ilah abad. Some others however conjectured that he would turn his arms against the English troops about Gohud, and especially against that body commanded by Colonel Camac; who having taken his rout through the mountains in the height of the rainy season, had invaded the provinces of Malva and 8dgéin, and made great progresses. Notwithstanding all these, the English came to be tired of this warfare, both on account of the immensity of the charges, and of the difficulty of subsisting armies in such countries, where a dearth and a scarcity of provisions, is always to be expected: for the Marhattas seldom fight, but only endeavour to cut off an enemy from the

ded by a parapet over which the plain below, is looked at the frightful depth of two or three hundred feet. The rock, which stands single and insulated, raises abruptly from the plain, and is every where cliffy, and were not naturally so, is cut perpendicular with the chissel. Nor is there any way of approaching unseen, that strange fortification, but by a path hidden by the rock, which by a very difficult and very laborious ascent rises obliquely, until it lands you at the foot of a berme of thirty feet perpendicular; and it is over that berme that the wall itself rises at ten feet distance. The whole is built of an excellent kind of pink stone and with the magnificent Palaces, and buildings within, it cuts a most superb appearance. Such kinds of fortresses after all are not uncommon in India; there may be seventy or eighty of them. Rhotas in Bengal, Assir and Dô8let-abad in Decan, Gondavir and Condapilly in the Neighbourhood of Masulipatam, Gandicotta and Gingi in the Carnateck, are all of the same kind. However it must be observed here, that this very difficult and very dangerous piece of service, was performed by Captain Popham, an officer who acquired a great character in those wars, and not by Captain Palmer, who although a man of merit himself, happened to be then upon a different command.

necessaries of life, especially from grain and forage, burning and destroying every village and every heap of grain, whether it be their own or of the enemy's country, so as to surround him with a desert, to all intents and purposes. The English moreover, were disgusted with this war, as there appeared at this very time signs of defection in the Radja of Gohud; and this Gentoo Prince seemed tired of his new allies. This discovery made them take their resolution suddenly; and leaving that Prince to himself, they abandoned the fortresses of Goaliar and Gohud, and expressed a disposition of coming to an accommodation with the Marhattas; nor was Scindia himself averse to such a measure: Reckoning such an event to be a favour of providence, which came unexpectedly, he slackened the preparations for war, and abstained from committing hostilities: a conduct which was imitated by the English Commanders themselves, who returned towards Corrah and Canpore, and encamped within the frontiers of the Province Ilah-abad, on the hopes of a treaty of peace and amity, which is wished for by both parties. They abstained therefore from hostilities on their side: but peace is not concluded yet; and we must see how matters shall end.

MEAN while this suspension was the cause of the Ranna's ruin. Scindia incensed against him, for his having availed himself of the assistance of the English to snatch out of his hands the fortress of Goaliar, and for his having projected to recover all the countries they detained from him, undertook to ruin and demolish him totally: in so much that at the time these lines were writing, he had so much reduced the Ranna, as to have recovered every spot and every fortress out of his hands, save those of Gohud and Goaliar, which his troops were actually blockading: so that the Prince was reduced to extremities. We must see how matters are likely to end. Scindia possibly had then another project in his head: he had now in his camp a Prince who having given some trouble to the Governor, had been entirely driven out of his hereditary dominions by the English: this was Radja Chèyt-sing, Zemindar of Banarefs, who hoped by the Marhatta's protection and support, to be one day reinstated in his dominions

dominions. We shall also see what is likely to be the result of all his endeavours; and as to General Godard, nothing is heard of him, but news that clash with each other: if in process of time some congruent intelligence should come to hand, I hope, if I live, to write a full account of his expedition, as well as of that of General Coote's. As to the latter, it is certain that after his departure for Mendradj, the Governor proved so zealous in his cause, that he resolved to send to his assistance another well appointed army by land, through Catec, and Jagernaut, and Gandjam, and Sicacol. This army was put under the command of Colonel Pearse, Governor of the Citadel of Calcutta, a commander renowned, and a great Mathematician: he was satisfied that the Marhattas of Catec would not form any opposition to such a passage, as there subsisted a peace of long standing between that power and Bengal, which had been renewed of late; and moreover their Embassador affirmed that their master had nothing but friendly intentions for the English. This much is certain that the rainy season being on the point of setting in, and the troops who were all picked men, which the governor had assembled from various parts, shewing an eagerness for their departure, he gave his last orders on that subject (93). For further precaution, a Gentleman from amongst the English, advanced forward with the sum of three lacs of Rupees, and a variety of rich presents, as curious and costly jewels and precious stuffs. He had taken with him from Calcutta the Embassadors of Chimnadji, nephew to Ragodji-bosla, prince of the Sreessa, which Chimnadji was now commander in chief of the Marhatta forces actually in Catec; and he set out for Naigp8r with him. He had letters from the Governor, requesting that out of regard to the amity subsisting between the two powers no opposition should be made to their passage. Chimnadji having in appearance shewn a friendly disposition, took the presents, but left the fi-

(93) The Marhattas of Catec had tergiversed for sometime in granting a passage to those troops; so that the Governor who joins in his person courage of mind to animal courage, sent them orders to go on with their journey, whether the Marhatta consented or not.

nishing of the negotiation to his father's pleasure, who resided at the great Nàigp8r, his Capital. They say that the ambassador went thither, exposed his errand, but received for answer, " That it appeared from the usage of-
 " fered to the sovereigns of Bengal, and of late to the successors of Shudjah-
 " ed-dö8lah, (usage became notorious,) that there was no trust to be repo-
 " sed in the treaties and promises of the English : and he added, that the
 " court of Nàigp8r was in matters of war and peace bound by the pleasure
 " of the ministry of Poonah ; and whatever party those should take, would
 " prove a rule by which the court of Nàigp8r would be bound to abide :
 " that as to affording passage to their people through the 8ressa, the
 " matter did not depend upon us, added he, but upon the court of Poonah,
 " who have ordered us to oppose such a passage, and moreover to put every
 " thing to fire and sword in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar : which in-
 " structions we have not yet complied with, on account of the several pre-
 " tences set up by us, for instance, of the treaties subsisting of old between the
 " court of Nàigp8r and the rulers of Bengal : let then the English remain
 " satisfied that we have not yet put these orders in execution." Such an
 " answer had nothing very encouraging ; but the Governor who had his
 views, and is not a man to be intimidated, took care to send word, " That as
 " the princes of Nàigp8r had treaties of old standing with the rulers of Ben-
 " gal, he did not see what could prevent their joining the English in the
 " present case, after receiving, as an earnest, the present sum of three lacs ;
 " nor what could hinder their joining the English troops going to the south,
 " with a body of their own cavalry, who should receive their pay regularly
 " every month ? the more so, as this sum of three lacs would be over-and-a-
 " bove the pension due of old, on account of the Chó8t." This representa-
 tion had its effect on Chimnadji, who with his father's consent, accepted the pro-
 posal, and answered that the case standing as stated, they had no objections, provi-
 ded the English should discharge fully the sum of one hundred and sixty lacs ar-
 rears

years due on that Chö8t, together with the interest due thereon : and should henceforward pay the future Chö8t regularly every month; after which they would find the Marhattas of Náigp8r disposed to join their cause. The Governor finding that such expressions and such a tone of voice, favored much of an inimical disposition, declined the tender, and suspended the departure of Col. Pearce's; and the English troops, as before, continued to watch every passage and every inlet that would afford the enemy an entrance into Bengal and Bahar : whilst Chimnadji's troops are spread all over the 8ressa, upon their own frontiers, each party seemingly in ambuscade against the other, and waiting only for an opportunity to fall upon him. We may possibly see what seeds of peace and amity the supreme disposer of events may have concealed under such appearances of opposition, and hostility ; and at what time it shall be his pleasure to bring forth the fruits of union and concord. It has been since said, that the Court of Náigp8r having turned these negotiations to it's advantages, had been paid the full arrears of the Chö8t, over and above the valuable presents which they had already received; and that their very Agents and Vekeels at Calcutta, had been honoured with presents and enriched with estates (94). It must be observed, however, that the Court of Náigp8r bore a cordial enmity to the Ministers of Poonah, and to the Rulers of Decan, on account of pretensions of old standing (95); and the Governor having availed himself of those discon-

(94) The Governor, not content with paying down some money to the Court of Náigp8r on account of the two Corors and a half which were claimed upon the Chö8t or Pension due by Bengal to 8ressa, (and this pension is of twelve lacs a year) and with assisting the Marhatta Vekil or agent in obtaining a loan of sixteen lacs more in Calcutta, that is, with becoming answerable for the payment, (which in fact was never made by the Marhattas); the Governor not satisfied with all that, threw another bait in the Marhatta's way: he took into his pay a body of two thousand of their Cavalry, who were to escort Colonel Pearce through the 8ressa. This last article rivetted the Marhatta Prince's inclination; and after all, that Cavalry behaved in an orderly manner, and proved of some use to the Colonel's detachment, were it but by not molesting his baggage and his convoys. As to the Vekil or Ambassador from Náigp8r, the Governor took with him the very same method, taken every day at Moorshoodabad and else where by Suitors : these bribe the very Attorney employed by their adversary. This ambassador was Beni-ran-pandet : the Governor enriched him, won him to his side, and made him instrumental in winning his master's heart.

(95) These pretensions of old standing were as follows: Madadji-Bhosla, the feudatory Prince of the 8ressa, being of the elder branch of the Radjpoot or Military family, which reigned at Satara, could not see without a sore eye that Baladji-ráo, the founder of the Sacerdotal or Brahmanical family, which resided at Poonah, at two days journey of it, should govern every thing throughout the whole Empire, under the modest title of *Nana* of maternal uncle, and of *Pijbva*, or precursor and agent.

tents, Chimnadjí had thought proper to return to his father, and to leave Colonel Pearce at full liberty to march at the head of a veteran army through the whole Sressá; from whence he continued his journey thro' Gandjam and Sicacol, and Mendradj, where he effected a junction with General Coote. After which both those Generals gave several battles to Háider-náic, but reaped no other advantage from them than that of clearing the environs of that fortress; for Háider-náic has remained undoubtedly, the master of the whole province of Arcat. We have learned since, that Colonel Pearce having got on board of a ship, was arrived at Calcutta, from whence he had taken with him the great sums which the Governor had obtained as a loan from the principal men of his nation, and from the Bengalees. But he had hardly reached Mendradj, when General Coote himself returned to Calcutta, on account of sickness: leaving however the Colonel and the army in that fortress; where it is universally reported that the dearth and scarcity of grain, nay, of every necessary of life, has risen to such a height, as to be past suffering. But such is the strength and firmness of mind, which the English are possessed of; and such the wise dispositions made by the Governor in sending endlessly supplies of provisions; that the garrison has kept a firm footing, notwithstanding the distress felt within; nor has the fortress of Mendradj been conquered in these three years time. God only knows what is to happen after this; but as our accounts do not reach farther, we intend to continue these sheets, whenever we shall have assembled materials.

MEAN while we shall compliment our reader with some account of Mubarec-ed-dö8lah, and of the English government and policy in Bengal. This Prince is the fourth son of Mir-djaaser-qhan, and is now aged about twenty two years. He is a very civil young man, always speaking in a kind, friendly manner to any that approach him: he seems particularly disposed to shew a regard to such persons, whether men or women, as descend from illustrious families; and is always ready to oblige them by word or by action, or at least

least to compassionate their case. Naturally tender hearted, he listens with patience to those that are unfortunate or oppressed, and he is always disposed to relieve them. But his time is not well distributed; and he is always dissolved in all kinds of effeminating delices, and always immersed in the pleasures of the table, or in the company of dance-women: this is his whole care, being perfectly indifferent to every thing else, either in this world or in the other; his apathy being such, that no man is the gladder for his friendship, nor the uneasier or worse for his aversion. The very least of his slave-boys, or of those of his father's, will make no difficulty to say or do in his presence, whatever comes uppermost in his mind; nor do they pay any regard to the rules of serving modestly, or to those of a respectful behaviour. His very liberality is of a kin to the thoughtlessness of his character: there being nothing more common than to see him give away, where it is improper to give any thing at all; and to refuse obstinately, where it is proper to give. And here is an instance of this: the people of India have a singular custom in the rainy season: they make boats of paper or straw, which being supported on bodies of plantain trees, and filled with lampions and lanthorns, are let loose upon the stream, where they make a pretty effect in a still night. After this they boil wheat with a quantity of milk and sugar, and make a composition which they give away to the water-bearers, that they may pronounce a prayer over this fare, which they deem an offering to Qhadia-Qhydyr or (the Lord-green) (96) upon whom be peace! this offering which is of

Hindoo

(96) What the English most unaccountably call in India *Plantain* (and this is but an herb or a grass in Europe) is nothing else but the *Musa* or *ficus Paradisiaca* of the books: the natives call it *Kelá* and *Kalá*. These boats are made of coloured paper, supported by a slight bamboo frame, just enough to shew the appearance of a boat; and this is supported by the body of some *Kelá* tree, which although so soft and juicy, as to be cut through with a small knife or even with the nail, has the faculty of floating. The providing at least one such boat, and the launching the same, is deemed so obligatory on all the Bengalees, especially the Mahometans, that the very women, those beings immured the whole year round, are no more to be kept under controul, at that festival: they sall forth in droves, preceded by their boats and by drums and hautboys, and carry their boats to the water-side, where they are filled with lampions and a variety of coloured fires. There they launch them, leaving on

Hindoo origin, was heretofore introduced by that idiot of Seradj-ed-dö8lah: an ignorant prince, who knew nothing of either religion or rite, and who in the pride of youth and wealth celebrated that festival with a deal of magnificence and ostentation. He assembled a great number of boats, some of them big enough to carry a hundred men, and having filled them with an infinity of lampions, and with gardens and parterres of all sorts of transparent fires, he let them loose on the river, whilst the shores were, as well as the water, illuminated by an infinity of fires of various colours: a sight at which he seemed exceedingly delighted. Such a whim did not fail to be continued by his successors, who took care to look upon it as an yearley institution, and a law inviolable and sacred: and of course Mubarrec-eddö8lah himself could not fail to adopt so wise, so useful an institution, although he is not possessed of the thousandth part of Seradj-eddö8lah's wealth; and his servants and officers, as well as men of the highest rank, suffer, and go to wreck for want of their sala-

the shore some sliced Ginger, some raw-rice, and some *Keli* fruits; and having cried two or three times *Qbadja Qbydyr* (Lord Verdant or green), the piece of devotion is performed, and they retire to their homes. This festival happens about the middle of September; and this is the way of celebrating the same amongst the Mahometans (of Bengal), who cannot give any account of either the origin or intent of such an institution. The Gentoos of Bengal celebrate it likewise, but it is by a rigorous fast of three days, where the most delicate take only some fruit and water. At the end of that fast they come in crowds to the River-side, bathe devoutly, shift their clothes, and leave on the shore some sliced Ginger, &c. &c. being the fresh productions of the land, after the innondation of August, an innondation which would destroy the rice, (although the latter cannot grow but in water,) were it to last more than a few days. This in the Gentoos seems to be a religious ceremony, to thank the author of all plenty, for the fruitfulness of the earth, for the critical disappearance of the waters, and for the subsequent crop of rice, which they had left free, but which however is mostly reaped in boats. It is observable that neither Gentoos nor Musulmen can give an account of this festival: but whoever reflects that it looks exactly like the festival of lanthorns in China (festival of which the Chinese can give no rational account neither;) whoever remembers that this festival which the author attributes to Seradj-ed-dö8lah/who only adopted it/is very antient in Bengal (and only in Bengal, exclusively of all India) and recollects also that inoculation and silk-worms, which are so common all over China, are to be seen only in Bengal (and no where all over India) a country once conquered by the Chinese about a thousand years ago, who knew it under the name of Mandji, a name by which all boatmen are known to this day all over Bengal; whoever perpende all those scattered branches of knowledge, will not be at a loss to guess whence came the three institutions of inoculation, silk-worms and the lanthorn feast. Add to this a fourth: the Chinese have also left in Bengal their very method of constructing boats: for whereas the Europeans with all India, set first the keel and timbers, and then cover the whole with the skin, that is, with the boards; the Bengalees first of all make up the frame and figure of the boat with boards and finish it totally, and then only put in the ribs, beams, &c. &c.

Qbadja-qhydyr, (or the Lord Verdant) is the name under which the prophet Eliah, deemed by the Mahometans, is known all over the East.

ries, and sometimes for want of the very necessaries of life. Nevertheless, money, and plenty too, is found and squandered away for such idle, senseless expences; and so addicted is he to that childish shew, that he oversees it himself, and makes nothing of spending upon it ten or fifteen thousand rupees a year. In this, as in every other matter, his ignorance and neglect are so notoriously known, that one half of that sum is embezzled by the infidelity of his people, and only the other half spent in that and the like childish pastimes; and although religion invites to other expences, and every one of his dependants suffer real distresses for want of being paid their salaries, yet he sets apart another sum of five or six thousand rupees for performing the rites of the Divaaly (97), which is a festival of Gentoo institution; the principal rite of which is this, that people send to each other for their children, a number of simulachres, made of clay or sugar, or of a composition of sugar and meal, which is cast in imitation of men and beasts, so as to represent a variety of actions and postures. They are to be found ready made in the shops. As for the H8li (98) itself, it is again a festival of Hindoo institution, but held so sacred amongst our delicate grandees, and so very obligatory, that they never fail to spend a deal of money in dancers, and such kind of spectacles, and especially in making presents to low people, who at such a particular time are in possession of acknowledging those favours by the liberty of giving to the donors, as well as to each other a great deal of abusive and shameful language, and that too not in obscure terms, but in the broadest and coarsest language, and by naming every thing by its proper term, without any regard to rank, station, or decency (99). In one of these H8lies I hap-

V

pened

(97) The Divalee, in which all kinds of games, such as hazard, dice, &c. &c. are permitted, seems to be a wise institution: the legislator unable to restrain altogether the propensity to gambling, has shut it up, within those three days of the Divalee.

(98) The H8li has been described more than once. Look at the notes 69, and 117 of the first Volume.

(99) Should we observe that in the H8li people disguise themselves, throw dust at each other, and that the poorest people syringe colored waters at each other's faces and clothes; that servants are then allowed to do or say what they please; and that nothing is more common than to see them, and especially the Chairmen carry

upon

pened to be at M8rsh8dabad, when Mubarec-ed-dö8lah was circumcising his children: a ceremony in which he spent thirty-seven thousand rupees in clothes and presents to his slave-girls, to his favorite women, to his principal eunuchs, and to those of his mother, Babboo-begum: and all this, whilst the screams and complaints of his creditors were rending the air. It was remarked that amongst all those he so complimented, he had been sedulous in distinguishing one Saadet-mend-qhan, overseer of the household of that princess: he received a rich paleky, an aigrette, and a serpitch or circlet, all of jewel-work, with a rich jewel called calghy, a chaplet of pearls, and several other articles; to the great wonder of every one, who could not understand what business an eunuch could possibly have in such feasts as these about a circumcision; nor what such mighty services (100) he could have performed, that should intitle him to such high favours, and to so much distinction. But this is not the only thoughtless expence of Mubarec-ed-dö8lah's: there are many more, and more indeed than can be numbered, should we take into the account the high salaries payed to a number of singers and dancers, to whose abilities as much respect and regard is shewn to day, as was ever payed in times of yore to men of learning and of worth, by the former Sovereigns and Emperors of Hindostan. But no wonder in that, since Mubarec-

upon their shoulders in burlesque pomp, and much laughable ceremony, an old man with all the insignia of grandeur and sovereignty, rendered ridiculous and extravagant; we should be apt to think that this festival has passed from the Indians to the Persians and Lydians (which two nations appear to have had but one language and one Religion,) and from the latter to the Tuscans, and at last to the Romans, whose *Saturnalia* need no description.

(100) Had the author been more prying and inquisitive, or possibly less impressed with an idea of the gravity of his history, he would have easily learned what mighty services stout Eunuchs can render to immured Ladies; although indeed it was improper to publish them to the world by conferring so much extra-distinction on the performers. It is certain that Indian Eunuchs, although totally and compleatly so, contrive to afford a variety of consolations to sequestered ladies; and as certain that Indian Ladies come in time to acquire such a relish for such kinds of intimacies, that they conceive a disrelish to all other modes. This is so far true, that we have seen Bhag-Bhài, the famous Mistress of Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, continue to live thirty years together with one Eunuch, with whom she had contracted an intimacy during her lord's life time. And there are to this day at Lucnow two pretty sisters, who have agreed to share amongst themselves the person of a young Eunuch, on whom they had cast their eyes, whilst they were yet in Shudjah-eddö8lah's Seraglio. Some young women who saw them at a wedding, having rallied the Sisters on the oddity of their tastes, and even cracked a luscious double-entendre on their connection, were at once silenced by a formidable answer, equally ingenious and free, which made a great effect on the company, but which English paper would not bear.

ed-dö8lah

ed-dö8lah himself is become one of them, at least, he is a scholar to some of those dancers and singers (101). Justly at that time there arrived at M8r-sh8dabad one of those dancers and story tellers: he was son of one Sheriff-qhan, a famous story-teller and dancer, who had been superintendant of the people of that profession, in the service of Ali-dja-mir-cassern-qhan: such was the pedigree of that mighty personage. Immediately a house was provided for him, as if he had been some man of importance; a high salary was assigned for his expences, and a rich Persian sabre (102), which doubtless had cost no less than a large sum of money, was presented to him, together with a couple of shawls fit for a prince; without reckoning some other rich presents; and he was held in as much honour and estimation, as any of the nobility, and indeed in a great deal more, being exceedingly carested and courted.

So much bad example has had no influence on his mother, Babboo-begum; and that Princess, although originally a dancer herself, and of a dancing family, is by no means intoxicated with the fumes of elevation and wealth. On the contrary: it is remarkable that she never speaks to women of distinction, but with modesty and deference; and that sensible of the advantages, which nobility and high descent are possessed of above the other ranks in life, she makes it a point to shew to persons of that description every mark of distinction and honour in her power. If to those valuable qualifications be added the high regard, and tender gratitude, she constantly pays to those of her own family, and the attention she constantly shews to all her relations whatever, and even

(101) Dancing and singing is an accomplishment all over Persia and Turkey amongst Ladies, and in Turkey, performing upon some instrument. A woman who should have no skill in at least one of them, would be deemed ill educated, and clownish. In India both dancing and singing are intirely confined to professional women, which although not always prostitutes, are however reputed such, being equally called to perform in Companies of men, as well as in those of women. This is the case both in India and Persia with regard to women-dancers; but in Turkey they have the misfortune to admit amongst men none but dancing boys. It must be observed here that although singing and performing and dancing are reputed accomplishments both in Persia and Turkey, it is only for women; for amongst men, dancing would be deemed an infamy; and it is the same in India.

(102) There are plain Persian blades that will fetch 500 Rupees.

to any person she remembers to have once known, to all whom she is exceedingly complaisant and generous; the whole of such a character will form a very amiable person.

Much may be said likewise, in praise of Menny-begum, step-mother to the young Navvab. It is observable, that although she was once a dependant of Babboo-begum's, and a slave girl to that Princess's mother, who introduced her to Mir-djaffer-qhan's bed; yet she enjoys a pre-eminence, and a priority in that office, over that Princess herself, who was known to that general but afterwards. She is a woman of much sense and spirit, but haughty and over bearing; although at the same time, she proves so steady and stiff, in supporting, and protecting her officers and friends, that she cannot be brought to dismiss any one she has taken into her service, unless indeed he be guilty of some enormous misdemeanor: her conduct in other respects is always regular, and her liberalities always rational. I remember on that subject, an anecdote that does her a great deal of honour: I was just landed at Mirshabad, when it happened that one of the women attached to the service of the Princesses her daughters, stopped short in the preparatives she was making to marry an only child. On notice of this failure, Menny-begum sent her immediately seventy or eighty Mohurs (103) with a quantity of necessaries; and it is in the like manner she has raised Itbar-aaly-qhan, an Eunuch, from the lowest distress to the height of affluence and power; and has likewise conferred riches and favours upon Hekim-askery, her body Physician, without seemingly intending to lay him under any obligation: nor are these instances of generosity few in number: indeed there are so many of them, that it is become a standing observation, that whoever has been so lucky as to get into her service, is sure to have found a true receipt for the philosophical stone. Such a man has from that moment turned his back for ever from the door of the avaricious, and he is forever secured against the unfeeling look of the hard hearted. If to so many

(103) A Mohur is more than a double Guinea.

qualifications, she could add some sweetness of temper, and some condescendence in her behaviour; and would she place at the head of her affairs a wise man, by whose counsels she could consent to be advised; she would indeed prove an incomparable woman.

As those two princesses of whom we have just spoke, have had similar intimacies, and similar connections with Mahmed-reza-qhan, his name comes naturally after their's. This nobleman of whom mention has been more than once in these sheets, has a very singular character: although well stricken in years, and as such, supposed to have seen much of the world, nevertheless he is blunt and thoughtless: nor does he in his words pay a sufficient attention to what he is about, or to those that over hear him; and on the other hand, he does not seem to have right notions about truth and falsehood; nor does he seem very sensible of the different consequents which they never fail to produce. As to his morals, they say that some years ago, when he had the absolute direction of the Revenue-office, as well as of every thing else in Bengal, he shewed the utmost disregard to every matter of chastity and decorum; still less did he know the value of men, of learning, and merit. Unmindful of his own rank, although so full of himself, he passes much of his time in playing at cards and dice, and makes nothing, when in Company, of talking much, and in relating during whole hours together stories which he has picked up in antient times and books, without once minding the ignorance and unadequateness of his audience. It is singular that whilst he proposes his own self for pattern to his children, he lives mean while like a thorough spend-thrift: and although he is provided with an ample estate (104) and many other emoluments, he manages so well by being always busy in building, and perpetually adding to his houses and places, (of which he has already too many,) that he contrives to be constantly in debt, and eternally borrowing: a management that keeps him always needy, and always

(104) About eighty thousand pounds sterling a year.

embarrassed. Unable through whim and thoughtlessness to set some bounds to his prodigalities, he is ever ready to snap at whatever he can hook-in, either by borrowing or otherwise; and above all careless and unmindful of the necessity of payment. Hence we see him eternally dunned by his creditors. It is in this manner he has provided to himself a bad character, and he is become a standing stock for the curses and imprecations of mankind. His children, in imitation of their father's pride, think themselves equal or even superior in rank, to every one, and also better; nor do they think it consonant to their exalted rank to speak to men of distinction and high pedigrees, with that modesty and that deference which is agreed to in good companies; nor do they seem to be scrupulous in matters of decorum. But what is singular, these two hopeful sons of his, although actually suffering from scarcity of money and straightness of influence, are no less proud and haughty in their behaviour; indeed they are haughty to an excess. Their whole household does not consist of more than a hundred people of all sorts, nor can they afford to go abroad with more than thirty or forty; and even these, for want of being payed their arrears, pass their time in suffering famine and in sobing. It is in the middle of such a court of famished wretches, that those hopeful noblemen firmly believe themselves equal to Affef-dja: (105) and have such high notions of themselves, that they think it a sin to bow the head of modesty and civility to any man, (106) or to go to visit any one; and although he should be of an illustrious family, they think it a reflection upon themselves; whilst at the same time, the smallness of their means and income is such, that they have not one gentleman to attend them, and to keep them company: hence they are desirous of seeing their houses frequented; and this is so far true, that when-

(105) Affef-dja, alias Nizam-el-mulk, possessing all the rich countries that extend from the river Nerbeda to Cap Comorin, had an income of ten millions sterling; and this in a country where grain is five or six times cheaper than in England.

(106) The Indian salute consists in putting the fingers and palm of the right hand (and never that of the left which is reserved for uses of cleanliness) to the forehead, so as to cross it vertically inclining the body at the same time; and there are many niceties in making such a salute, and many more in returning it, or as is the Indian phrase, in taking up.

ever any one chances to fall in their hands, they lay hold of him, and detain him so long by prolonging the conversation, that he is ready to lose his temper. With all this, they will not suffer any one to smoke his Hocca (107) in their presence, nor to ease his legs by (108) altering his respectful posture: on all these accounts the few that frequent their houses are discontented; but no man of rank chuses to go there.

It is not so with Mahmed-hoffein-qhan, elder-brother to Mahmed-reza-qhan: he is a benevolent, learned man, and an able Physician; and his son, Mahmed-zeky-qhan, who has espoused one of Mahmed-reza-qhan's daughters, is a young man, well-bred, and of a good disposition, as well as capable of holding a conversation with men of sense and abilities. Bend-aly-qhan, son to the Physician Aly-nacky-qhan, and of course Cousin to Mahmed-reza-qhan, to whom he has been further allied of late by marrying his daughter, is a young man, who although very much of the same temper and disposition with the young men of Hindostan, is not void of some good qualities; nor does he assume such lofty airs, as do most persons of that family. He is fond of the company of Gentlemen, and lives upon good terms with them. As to the other persons and dependants of that family, they all copy their master, and seem perfect strangers to the fear of God, as well as quite indifferent to the acquisition of a good character. And now after having misapplied some of our time in giving an Idea of the man set up by the English at the head of these countries, it becomes highly proper to atone for that excursion, by saying something of the English themselves, as well as of their India Company.

(107) The Hocca, or as the English call it, the Hoocaw, has been mentioned more than once. Look at the remark 1129, vol. 2d and page 686. Vol. first, second part.

(108) The respectful posture from Constantinople to Tebet, when sitting, is to kneel down, and to bend both legs under one's self, so as that they should touch the ground, and then to lean the hams upon them, so as that the soles of the feet should be turned upwards. This posture, which is so very painful to an European, is become so very easy to the orientals, that they will sit several hours without suffering any incommodity from it. The familiar posture is to sit so, as that the legs should cross each other under the hams, which behind are leaning on the ground. This latter posture is called *Ghabar-Zano*, or four corners: the other is called *Do-Zano*, or two corners.

THE word Company signifies in English an assembly of some men ; and on that account even amongst Military men, a certain number of Soldiers, is called a Company. And formerly a hundred Musqueteers constituted a Company ; but now only seventy-five form a Company ; whose chief man is called a Sobahdar. The commander of twenty, is a Djematdar, or a Náic ; of ten or twelve, a Havaleh-dar ; and of six, an Amaldar ; ten Sobadars with their men form a Paltan (109) ; and the commander of these ten Sobadars is called a Comidan (commandant) ; but every Paltan with it's men and officers is under the orders of an English Captain, who has the power of confirming, dismissing, and appointing the officers, as well as of bringing others in their stead ; of disciplining the men, and of giving them their pay, with a Turbant, a Coat, and a Sash or girdle ; of repairing their arms, of examining them ; and of giving them new ones : all that is in the Captain's office, who in the command of this single Paltan ; has many benefits, which amount to a good Djaghir or landed estate : (110) so that whenever a commander is inclined to oblige a Captain, he gives him a Paltan, else, the officer remains with his particular pay, as a simple Captain (111), and waits for the moment of being appointed to such a command. As to those European warriors that come from their country, if they be vile and low born, they are first turned into Soldiers, to be afterwards advanced to the office of Sergeants ; now a Sergeant has a command in disciplining the men, and in keeping them in order. But amongst their Gentlemen and men of the better sort, the first rank is that of Ensign, which word is to be written with the *Alif* surmounted by a *Kesra*, as is the *fin* by a *fetah* *quiescent*. After that, they become *Lofunun's*, and after that, Captains. The next rank, is that of Major : the next after it, is that of Cornal : after which comes that of Gernal (General) ; which is the highest rank to which Military

(109) This word is a corruption of the English, one Platoon, which comes from the French *Peloton*, cluster.

(110) To about two thousand Rupees per month ; and some say, to the double.

(111) The pay of a Captain of Infantry in the field is above three hundred halfcrowns ; and some that are in office, have a great deal more.

men can pretend to. The gentlemen likewise other than the Military, who are in high offices and employments, have amongst themselves degrees of service and rank, which have not come minutely to my knowledge : but the whole of them collectively are called *Carranis* (107). The ranks and degrees of both corps are reckoned by seniority of time, and by priority of rank; so that whoever has got soonest into the service, has an advance upon the others; and whoever has got into it latest, is later in station and preferment likewise : and thus they follow each other in order ; nor can a junior servant pretend to the preferment of a senior, unless some link should happen to get loose from the chain; and this cannot be the case, but only by a demise, by resignation of the service, or by a dismissal for some fault or misdemeanor. In this manner, so soon as this one is got out of the chain, the others follow of course, and advance by one degree in their respective classes, without needing any intreaty or application for that purpose ; and if three or four happen to go out at a time, by so many degrees do their juniors become at once advanced : so that it is possible that in the military line, for instance, a Loftonun (lieutenant) without becoming, a Captain, may, as well as a Major, become at once a Colonel ; and this barely by the departure of his senior : it is the same in the corps, called of writers. The Company itself, that body which now under the name of Divan of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Sreffa, possesses in fact the sovereignty and dominions of those countries, as well as that of most of the coasts and port-towns of India, is composed of a number of rich and creditable Englishmen, of the country of England, inhabitants of the city of London, which is the Capital of the English Kings. These in the beginning were a number of wealthy Merchants, who having got themselves authorized by the Council of their country, and by the ministers of their King, commenced trading and mer-

(107) The author takes this word to be English for Writers or Clerks. *Carrani* is an Arabick-word, but used only at the Malabar Coast ; and it is singular that our author should know any thing of it. However it is known in Calcutta under that signification, although all over Hindostan they have no other word for that profession, but that of *Nevisandeh*, which is Persian, and that of *Mohrir*, which is Arabick.

chandizing in the kingdoms of Hindostan; and as they soon became knowing and intelligent in that branch of trade, they kept it going on by admitting from year to year into their body their own children and heirs, or any one else that would apply. These last also became Company, which they are to this day; and they went on trading and commercing, until the throne of Bengal chanced to be occupied by Seradj-eddö8lah: and as that Prince's able government, and military talents, and political qualifications happened to be inherited to the full by his successor and kinsman, Mir-djaaffer-qhan, and by his minister, Radja D8l8b-ram; there is nothing strange in those Merchants having found the means of becoming masters of this country; and nothing so wonderful in their having in the sequel availed themselves of the imbecility of some Hindostany Sovereigns, equally proud and ignorant, to turn Conquerors, and to rise to such a pitch of strength and influence, as to become in that vast region a preponderant power, that outweighs and overawes all the Sovereigns of India. They are so powerful even in Europe, that the Sovereigns of that nation, whom these people call *King*, although absolute in his commands, cannot give them an order, without the advice and consent of his Council, and that of the nation: and if he should venture so far, the order would not pass the seals, and would remain unexecuted.

THE members of his Council are Omrahs, or great lords of that land; but the Council of the nation is composed of a number of persons, which the principal inhabitants of every city and town of that land, have chosen amongst themselves, some one, and some two, and whose attachment and knowledge they have approved: so that those chosen men are entrusted with the concerns of the whole, and become the Advocates and Attornies of those by whom they are sent. All these assemble in the capital, where they immediately turn their attention towards the public accounts; and then occasionally examine whatever business happens to offer, or whatever is proposed by the Sovereign, and his Council, as objects likely in their opinion to become beneficial to themselves,

selves, to the senders, and to the people in general: they weigh and examine it carefully amongst themselves; and when it has been approved by them, it is from that moment willingly admitted and obeyed, as law, by all the inhabitants of the land; and in such a manner, that whatever those Attornies have approved of as beneficial, and intimated accordingly to the senders, is immediately put in execution by them with all their might, and all their heart; nor is there an instance of their having ever covered themselves with any excuse or pretence whatever. An admirable institution this! extremely useful and beneficial; and an excellent rule which these people have contrived for themselves! It is so capable, so productive of order! Here in India as well as in England, these people are guided by those institutions, and keep them amongst themselves; but only amongst themselves; for as yet in what concerns the welfare of the people of these countries, and in all revenue matters, relative to these provinces, they trust to what rules and constitutions they have heard of here, and to whatever instructions they may have received from Mootfuddies, (III), and officers of their own appointing. These they have already committed to their books, and they have made of them so many rules to distinguish right from wrong; but the reason why such a custom has been instituted, and what might be its cause and ground, these are matters which, they never discover themselves, nor ever ask of others; or if they comprehend any thing in them, they willingly counterfeit ignorance, without any one's being able to guess what they mean by counterfeiting that ignorance. In short, as the gates of communication and intercourse are shut up betwixt the men of this land and those strangers, who are become their masters; and these latter constantly express an *aversion to the Society of Indians, and a disdain against conversing with them*; hence both parties remain ignorant of each other's state and circumstances. It is true that a small number indeed of na-

(III) Pen-men employed in revenue-matter.

tives are in the service of the members of the Committee, and of the collectors of the six districts; but these are not such a sort of men as can expose their own requests, or represent what may conduce to the welfare and ease of the subject: still less are they capable to point out such regulations as might conduce to the prosperity of the land, and of it's inhabitants; and on the other hand, “*not one of the English Gentlemen shews any inclination or any relish for the company of the Gentlemen of this country, or from listening to the conversation, or to the stories of the natives: although nothing, but conversation, is likely to put it in the power of some virtuous well disposed man, to learn what aches these poor natives, and what might give them relief; and nothing but intercourse would enable him to transmit such useful hints to Government as might conduce to the welfare of the distressed inhabitants of this land.*” It is therefore with a view to promote so desirable an end, that we have attempted in the following sheets to shew how managed the antient Sovereigns of this country, those Princes so renowned for the equity of their Government; and what object they had in view, whenever they set-up such and such practice, and such and such custom: what advantage they intended by each of them, and what benefit they had in fact received: we shall point out likewise what their late successors intend by certain institutions and rules of their own, set up of late under pretence of putting the antient ones in force; and how these have disguised their own intentions in the eyes of the public, by masking their intentions. All those matters are exposed here to the best of our abilities and power: so that with a little attention one might obtain in these humble leaves a full knowledge on those unknown or misunderstood subjects. This at least is our aim and intention; and we hope that with the assistance of the Sovereign bestower of graces, good shall at some future period succeed evil, and that the afflicted people of God, shall at last find pity in the heart of their rulers, and come to enjoy some relief from their sufferings. In compliance, therefore, with the sentence of the holy writ, that *whoever induces others to good, promotes his own welfare*, we shall endeavour to point out the right way: and may God grant that we may all see it! Amen.

VOLUME THE SECOND,
OF THE
SĒIR MUTAQHERIN.

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Being the Sixth and last of the Second Volume

OF THE
HISTORY OF INDIA.

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of

of the English to their own countrymen.—Eleventh, establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Calcutta.—Twelfth, the English decide in their closets, what ought not to be decided only in public.

NOTHING is clearer in itself, or better understood by men of intelligence and penetration, than that the gradation of climates is such, that every tract of land has properties of it's own, which have been denied to others: in other words, that in consequence of some hidden causes, in a certain tract of land, the diversity of the soil produces immancably a diversity in the genius of the inhabitants; and that this diversity is so self-evident, that the man of perspicuity needs no discourse or argument to be convinced of it: and indeed were all soils and lands of one and the same nature, that astonishing difference in the colour of the inhabitants, and in the fruits, metals, waters, plants, and animals, so conspicuous every where, would not be constant and permanent in every tract of land. Amongst so many climes and so many lands, India looks the strangest country on the face of the earth. Whether we cast our eyes on the actions and practices of the inhabitants, or consider the institutions and maxims by which they are restrained and ruled, nothing in the world bears so evident marks of strangeness, and nothing under Heaven is so compleatly dissimilar from what we see in other countries. This is so far true, that unless the Sovereign turn his inclinations towards a management adapted to the climate and country; no steady government can be expected; nor is it possible that the ease and prosperity of the inhabitants, or the peace and tranquillity of the country should take place. Now as this climate, in consequence of it's being under the influence of Saturn, is dominated by that planet, hence most of it's inhabitants are feeble in action, and slow in comprehension; and withal, prove so very feeble

feeble in the frame of their bodies, that they have been constantly subdued by foreign conquerors, and vanquished by foreign armies. But, however, so tenacious were at all times the vanquished of their own tenets and customs, that the victors soon found themselves under a necessity of assimilating with them; and so soon as these mighty conquerors had acquired a firm footing in these countries, and the violence and extortions inseparable from a state of warfare, slaughter and confusion, came to be over, their very first thought was always to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, and to afford them relief, by always becoming their protectors in whatever concerned their lives, fortunes, honors, and families. They used to call up all the abilities of the land to their sides, would give them weight and consequence, and prepose Vezirs and Omrahs of the country to the management of their own affairs. In consequence of such a conduct, each individual, high or low, finding an easy access to the Princes, and to their Ministers (20), used to meet with opportunities of shewing what business he was particularly fit for; so that those Princes, who were naturally endowed with penetration, and had their minds exercised in the art of conjecture, soon found out the capacity and fitness of every one,

(20) Should we listen to the books and relations found in Europe, we should be apt to think that the Princes of the East are a set of inaccessible men, eternally shut up within the walls of their palaces. This accusation is brought by no others than those who have never seen but the shores of India, and never had any opportunity to approach either Prince or Minister. The Fact, however, is, that there are no Princes and no Ministers on the face of earth so accessible, and none so inclined to put up with the murmurs, the reproaches, and even the foul language of their disappointed suitors. We have no idea of such condescension in Europe. *God bad drank wine.* (said a man to the famous Mir-cassem-ghan) *when he appointed such an one as you for a ruler.* The Nabob overheard him, and all his Court expressed some indignation: "Why so? (said the Prince) this man has lost his cause, and is out of his senses, and you won't let him exhale himself in abuse!" The Emperors of Hindostan used to give public audience twice a week, and were imitated by all their Lieutenants and Governors, Whereas the charge of inaccessibleness brought against Europeans by their Indian subjects, is founded on matter of fact, and on daily experience. Although, after all, the charge is exaggerated; nor do they observe that an ordinary Englishman has more writing, and more business of his own to go through, than any two Navvabs of India put together.

and

and soon prepos'd him to a business adequate to his talents and abilities, whilst themselves, standing above them all as so many overseers, attended to the regulation of affairs, to the tranquillity and ease of the country and it's inhabitants, and to the promoting of men of penetration and knowledge; which last never failed, after a proper trial of their abilities and virtuous dispositions, to be advanced to offices of trust and dignity. Hence those Princes lived amongst their people and amongst their nobles, as kind and condescending parents amongst their children; nor did they suffer the dust of sorrow to darken the heart of any of the creatures of God, by a shew of tenderness to one part of the people, and of rudeness to the other: for they looked upon them all, whether conquerors or conquered, with an equal eye; so that for several ages together, down to the times of Shah-djehan, every thing in Hindostan was quietness, love, and harmony. It is only since the times of Aoreng-zib-Aalem-ghir his son, a Prince extremely warlike and ambitious, that evils have crept upon the land. But yet these were light matters; for such were the abilities, prowess, and strictness of government under that reign, that the established rules and institutions did not suffer any considerable injury from the wickedness of the turbulent grandees; nor did the people of God meet with much oppression in the civil wars, during which it never ceased to be protected and cherished. The main evil resulting from his time was this, that to make a diversion in the minds of the people, to the ill renown of ingratitude and hardness of heart, which he had acquired by killing his brothers, and keeping his father in prison, he had assembled the Ecclesiastics about his person, and had given them such unbounded sway, that the populace complimented him with the titles of *the Faithful Emperor, ever victorious, and the constant Cherisher of Religion*. But those hypocrites no sooner saw themselves at the head of affairs, than their avarice and covetousness gave rise to such a train of evils, as shed even now their baleful influence on these countries, continuing to pour ruin and devastation on the posterity of the Faithful: a revolution which

Indian Princes
love their people,
as fond parents do their
children;

has been succinctly mentioned at the end of our first volume, where our narrative gives the history of the latter Emperors of Hindostan. Matters grew worse in the reign of Feróh-syúr, who was a nothing without brains: in his time Ratan-chund, Divan to Séyd-abdollah-qhan, then omnipotent under the name of Vezir, got so far possession of his master's mind, that he governed the whole empire, and drove from the helm, or disgusted entirely those very grandees and ministers that had supported it's honor and glory, in the time of Aoreng-zib: then commenced the custom of leasing out all the branches of the finance-office, and all the districts and lands of the Imperial demesnes: then bribing men into compliance became of fashion, and of current use; and sluggish people, addicted to their ease, thinking it a good fortune to get at once so much assured money, made no difficulty to sacrifice the sweat of the people of God, and the toil of the helpless farmer, to the rapacity of lease-takers, tax-gatherers, and contractors. It is from those times that must be dated the sinking of rents, the decrease of husbandry, the distress of the people, and their detestation of their Rulers: these evils went on increasing from day to day, till at last the office of Cazy or Judge, and that of Sadr or of great Almoner, with many other Magistratures, came to be put up publicly to sale; so that the people skilled in law, and in matters of distributive justice, entirely disappeared from the land; nor was any thing else thought of, but how to bring money to hand by any means whatever: this, and this alone, became the utmost ambition of all ranks, and especially of the hypocrites amongst the men that meddled with law. It was in such an enfeebled state of the empire, that there arose a new sort of men, worse than the former, who, so far from setting up for patterns of piety and virtue, or pretending to shew the right way to others, squandered away the lives and properties of the poor with so much barefacedness, that other men, on beholding their conduct, became bolder and bolder, and practised the worst and ugliest actions, without fear or remorse; so far are they from thinking it a shame or an infamy to imitate and follow such examples. From those men sprung an infinity of
evil

evil-doers, who plague the Indian world, and grind the face of the wretched inhabitants. Those men having in process of time assembled in bodies, there arose an age of senseless, slothful Princes, and of Grandees ignorant and meddling: then it was that the Sun of Justice and Equity, that had already been verging from the meridian, inclined downwards, degree by degree, and at last entirely set in the Occident of ignorance, imprudence, violence, and civil wars. It is in consequence of these excesses that evils are arisen to such a height, as render a remedy impossible: It is in consequence of such wretched administrations, that every part of Hindia has gone to ruin, and every one of it's discouraged inhabitants have broken their hearts: Life itself is become disgustful to most: So that on comparing the present times with the past, one is apt to think that the world is overspread with blindness, and that the earth is totally overwhelmed with an everlasting darkness.

AMIDST [the strange events which these revolutions have brought about, the introduction of European foreigners in the heart of the land, is an important one. The wise men of Europe have been casting their eyes upon the conquest of India, and have contrived to atchieve great part of that conquest, having already acquired an absolute dominion in several tracts. But such is the complete difference, and the total dissimilarity betwixt the manners of their own country, and the customs and usages of Hindostan, that all the endeavours of their chief rulers, and all the resorts they have put in motion, have answered no purpose at all; nor has the face of regulation in the country, and of ease to the inhabitants, made it's appearance as yet. But, over and above those considerations, it may be said with great truth, that *such is the aversion which the English openly show for the company of the natives; and such the disdain which they betray for them, that no love, and no coalition* (two articles, which, by the bye, are the principle of all union and attachment, and the source of all regulation and settlement) *can take root*
between

On the contrary, the English hate the natives of India, and disdain their company.

between the conquerors and the conquered: and as we see that the very reverse is actually taking place, so we may rest assured, that the distresses of the people, and the depopulation and desertion of the land, will go hand in hand, until they are come to their height, and the desolation is become complete and general. Such a state of things may be deduced from several causes, which I hope to be able gradually to unfold. And the first is, that these new Rulers are quite alien to this country, both in customs and manners; and quite strangers to the methods of raising tribute, as well as to the maxims of estimating the revenues, or of comprehending the ways of tax-gathering; because in their country a landlord or Zemindar paying royal rent from year to year to the public treasury, is a being that has no existence: taxes and imposts upon husbandry and land, Soobadaries, Fodj-daries, Qhalifas, and Djaghirs, are not customary in that country. As much as I can trust to the information I have obtained from intelligent persons amongst them, it appears that they take something, by way of duty, from coaches, and from windows of houses, from plate and other vessels of gold and silver, and from merchandize; and that they differ widely from the customs of this country, in the mode of giving salaries to the servants of government, and to those that are at the head of affairs; as well as in punishing misdemeanours and trespasses: infomuch that there are some trespasses that are finable in this country, and are not there; some more that are reputed slight here, and are accounted very high there; and some that are the very reverse: on the other hand, there are some other matters that are unnoticed here, and passed by, and are not so there; some practices, which are become there of custom and obligation, and which here have never been heard of, or seen: as for instance, counting the inhabitants of every town and city, and examining how much they may have earned, and how much spent; how many are dead, and how many are their children, and how many their old men: In one word, it may be said in general, and indeed in almost every institution and custom, that there is a wide difference betwixt the two nations and governments; and that it is

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The author assigns the fall of rents, and the decrease of population and revenue, to twelve causes, which he explains at length; the first is, that the English have at all times, and still are, strangers and aliens.

of such a nature as cannot be remedied at all; nor does it seem possible to bring the people of this country into such customs and usages; whereas the English being accustomed to them in their own country, want to introduce them here likewise, and think such an introduction easy, and of small moment.

THE second cause is, that what little these foreigners have gleaned of the institutions of this country, and which they have examined and committed to their registers, proves to be no more than what they have learned from their own servants: hence they know nothing of either the reason or intent of them, but by the absurd report of their own servants, who being all beardless and unexperienced, have no view but that of their own benefit, and think only of pleasing their English masters: those men, never fail to shew a deal of revenue matter in every institution and custom; and they are so firm in that opinion, that one would be inclined to believe, that the setting up this and that institution, was for no other view but that of scraping together a few pence; nor that it could have any other intent, but that of hooking in some more; and in reality there is no other for men of such sordid dispositions: nor is this opinion a novel one; it is of some standing, and has commenced so early as the times of Feróh-syúr. No wonder then if these foreigners, that are lately come into this country, and know nothing in any such matters, should take for truth, and for useful advice, such crude explanations as are afforded by those that approach their persons, and should act according to what information they receive. Nevertheless, such is their natural genius, and such their innate penetration, that of their own accord they have set aside and abolished some institutions which they thought oppressive; and here is an instance of this: the first Mussulmen Sovereigns disapproved of public women, and of their being of general use, especially on the eve of a Friday, which is a day particularly holy (22); nor would they suffer any one to defile himself with the crime of

The second cause is the ignorance of the English in what concerns the customs and usages of the country, as well as in what may be the intent and aim of those usages and customs.

fornication; and therefore they denounced punishment, and even a capital one, against any such as indulged in keeping in their houses slave-girls or concubines, without having them consecrated by the forms of law, and the rites of religion; and for these reasons they decerned a variety of pains, which to sinners appeared as hard as death itself, or any other extreme misfortune. It was on that account they had appointed a Daroga, whose business was to be informed of any such women as had rendered themselves public, and had made profession of prostitution; and this officer's business was to take from them a heavy fine every day, and, if found trespassing against the eve of Friday, a heavier one. The drum and haut-boy players, were also put under this officer's inspection, that they might not go to play any where without his knowledge and leave: he had also the authority of determining finally such differences as arose in that tribe amongst themselves, and a power to repress their excesses, and punish their misdemeanors: in this there was another intent and view; namely, that in feasts and weddings, every one should send for as much music only as his means could afford, without casting, in his entertainment, an eye of jealousy upon the Nobles and his betters; and without launching out into expences of prodigality, or pretending to equal, still less, to surpass his superiors. But, as we have already remarked, people of sordid dispositions did not fail, this long while, to pervert this institution into a catch-penny, and an item of tax-gathering; and, shutting their eyes upon the original intent of it, they have observed no other end in it, than the wretched one of scraping up a little money by such a pretence; so that even this pitiful article has been [converted into an item of the tax-gathering business: this is so far true, that the English themselves conceiv-

(22) The Friday is distinguished, not by a cessation of work, but by longer noon-prayers, at which time likewise is pronounced the Qhotba or appreciation, by the officiant, which being assented to, and partly repeated by the Congregation, amounts to an oath of allegiance for the Reigning Prince.

ing it to be a shameful *finesse*, that drew after it the worst consequences, have forbidden that tax in their dominions, and totally abolished it. And so it is with every one institution besides. And indeed, if those strangers, who have naturally much penetration and much impartiality, were made acquainted with the infamous practices now in vogue, but concealed under the bark of institution and custom, it is highly probable that they would endeavour to correct them, as so many defects in administration: It is therefore to assist their efforts in that view, that I shall assume the task of explaining the reason and intent of some of those institutions and customs of Hindostan; and I am in full hopes that my notions shall awaken the minds of men of sense upon subjects so misunderstood.

THE Cazy's or Judge's office, for instance, was to put in force the ordinances of the law, without partiality or pity, in every matter, and against any person whose case should require his animadversion; and as he had a salary from the treasury, and such a Djaghir besides from the Emperor's liberality as afforded amply to all his wants, he did not dare to take any fee or any bribe from any one; and if peradventure any one was found capable of any such infamy, he became from that moment, an object of the Imperial resentment, was adjudged guilty of having dishonored the law and the Musulman religion, and became henceforward an object of taunt and reproach from every rank of men: insomuch that finding himself pointed out with the finger, he pined away with shame and remorse, was for ever excluded from any office, and remained infamous and cursed in this world and the other: but now since from a length of time, it is become customary to put up every thing to sale, the office of Cazy is leased out, and under-leased; and a practice which never was heard of in any nation, in any religion, or in any sect whatever, is become a matter of course; so that we see every day faith-
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Cazy's office,
that is, that of
Judge of such
civil and cri-
minal matters
as are relative to
religion.

less Cazies, who, ignorant even of the principles of Musulmanism, and worse in their lives than so many Renegadoes and so many Atheists, take leases of what they call the Cazy's rights, and under-lease them openly to others: although these rights are no more than so many new inventions to torment the Musulmen of this land, and to extort money from them, under a variety of pretences. No wonder then, if it is come to pass, that by the repeated efforts, and the serious approbation of those faithless wretches, those new-fangled practices have taken such deep root, as to become the current creed of those under-judges; insomuch, that to reclaim them from those practices, is become an absolute impossibility. One would say that the holy sentence: *Skew me, O Lord, those that have made me go astray, that I may trample them under my feet*: has been revealed on purpose for them.

Abuses that
now seem to
make a custom-
ary part of that
awful office.

HERE, is for instance, one of the inventions set up by those calumniators of the law: whenever any Musulman of the poorer sort comes to die, these poor people, who never had any other instructors than those faithless tutors, enemies to all law, never fail to think that until the Cazy's substitute is come, and has received the fee designed by his principal, the deceased's spirit does not quit the house; and as sometimes a poor fellow cannot afford the fee, he from that moment is deemed so impure and defiled, himself, his family and dependants, and all, that his very neighbours and acquaintances shun his company, avoid drinking and eating with him, and carry matters so far as to refuse him both fire and water; nor is such an interdict withdrawn until the fee is discharged: so that the deluded man, in despair, either betakes himself to the high way in order to raise the necessary money (and thus acquires a relish for the trade of highwayman), or he sells away his ground and furniture, and becomes a vagrant; or at least, he finds means to borrow, and immediately runs in debt: in all which cases, he becomes either useless

or

or pernicious to society; and all that to get rid of the entailed curse upon himself and family.

It is the same with respect to boys that need circumcision, and to the girls that are marriageable, as being both come to the age of puberty. If they chance to be unable to pay the Cazi's fees, they remain bound for years together, and are debarred, the former, from the rites of circumcision; and the latter, from the comforts of marriage. This superstition and abuse goes so far, that if they continue unable to pay the fees, especially those due to the Cazi, they are sure to consume their lives in privation and sorrow; for it is not possible for them to get rid of the interdict, otherwise than by paying: hence it is, that so many young persons of both sexes, being debarred the benefit of either of those rites, turn loose and become dissolute. Those then who after approving of such interdicts and such vexations, still pretend to be Musulmen, will never make any difficulty, on receiving a sum of money, as Cazi's fees, to turn right into wrong, and injustice into justice; and what is still more afflicting, they have such a collection of oppressive practices, and they are put in force so barefacedly, that it would be tedious and painful to mention them at length: however, we shall touch upon some of them, although even with so light a hand.

THE Sadr-el-Sood8r, or Sadr of Sadrs, and the other Sadrs of every Soobah (23), and every Sercar, were established for trying the capacity of the Cazies, and for ascertaining the circumstances of people possessed of *Amlács* and *Aimas*, and other lands set apart for pious uses; but especially for watching over the capacities and morals of Cazies; lest by assuming the appearance of learning and knowledge, men ignorant of the principles and rites of Musulmanism, should find ways to introduce themselves into those offices by dint of artifice and finesse; and thus, from their ignorance of law, religion, faith, and truth, prepare themselves

The Sadr-el-Sood8r, or great Almoner.

(23) A Soobah is a large province held by a Soobah-dar or Viceroy; a Checla or Sercar is a division of such a province, and a pergana is a division of the Sercar.

a punishment in the other world, and in this. Their office was likewise to take back and to resume such lands, which being originally consecrated to pious uses, should come to fall into the hands of other than such needy and worthy persons, for which they were originally set apart; he was also to protect those persons to whom they had been given in charity, and to prevent or hinder their being dispossessed in their own persons or that of their heirs, either by threats, or by artifice: his business was also to prevent their usurping upon each other, or their making encroachments upon the crown lands, or upon such spots as belonged to the Qhalissas, or Exchequer office: these were some of the duties expected from the Sadrs. But now the business of the office of Sadr is become a scene of oppression and violence; and in the hands of that Atheist, Zehor-ollah-beg, it has devoured the substance of thousands of necessitous, inoffensive people; and all this, without his ever minding the consequences, without fear and without remorse. That man is now dead and gone, and he has caried away upon his shoulders the whole load of the lamentations and groans of an infinity of oppressed, under-trodden people. Thanks be to God! that the words of the Scripture, *the sun is in the middle of the day*, have been verified literally in the Governor's person, who no sooner heard of the complaints of the holders of charity-lands, and of the oppressions committed under the veil and pretence of Sadrship, than he shewed his detestation of those shameful and sordid actions, and discarded those accursed ones that took upon themselves such a sacred name, and dishonored the function: at the same time he confirmed to that office such small fees as were allowed to it, time out of mind, by Emperors, lovers of equity and religion; but he entirely rejected, and utterly abolished the augmentation which this stone-hearted wretch had set up in addition to the perquisites of that office, and which he wanted to carry still higher, as if not yet satisfied with all the havoc he had been doing by raising them from one thousand eight hundred rupees to thirty-five thousand a year. May the Almighty bestower of graces and favors reward the Governor for his having hastened to the assistance of so many afflicted families!

Governor Hastings, informed in time, rescues an infinity of oppressed families from the grasp of the actual Sadr.

lies! and may he put it in his heart, and that of the other heads of Administration, to set apart two hours, or even one hour in every week, for the purpose of taking notice of the many customs and institutions perverted at present; and of listening to the groans, and sobs of so many thousands of oppressed ones, who know how to suffer, but cannot speak (†). Let them consecrate two hours, or even one hour in the week, to so meritorious a purpose: let them enjoy the luxury of becoming the reversers of every violence and oppression; and let them regale on the dainty of affording relief to those multitudes of the people of God, who groan under a variety of oppressions and exactions, and have no other advocate, and no other comforter, but God Almighty. Let those unfortunate souls find at last in their Rulers a relief from their numberless misfortunes: *I have called upon you O Lord (24), that are the most merciful of the merciful! may my request be granted! Amen.*

THE office of Daroga of the Adalet, that is of Auditor of the Court of Justice, was established for the purpose of affording instant relief to such poor, defenceless, weak people, as could not at all times, and for every subject, resort to the Ministers, and to the Emperors: he was provided with a salary, and a Djaghir suitable to his station; and his business was to sit in his tribunal from day-break ‡ to three in the afternoon (*), and to lend an attentive, patient ear to the voice of

The Daroga
of the Adalet,
another Judge
in civil matters.

(†) It appears by the sequel, that his request was heard by Heaven, and that the Governor, roused by so shocking a fact, not only set apart from his many avocations a day in the week, where he heard these sorts of complaints, but referred them in general to a Board, by a special command.

(24) Sentence of the Coran, often in the mouth of the oppressed.

(‡) It is day-break in India at four o'clock.

(*) If the English knew how much business can be fully comprehended, and consequently dispatched, by rising at four o'clock in the morning, and working as far as ten or eleven; did they know how the most intricate subject that has puzzled during the heat of a day, becomes at once plain, by rising with a clear head at that early hour, they would not sip their tea at eight or nine, in order to work as far as three in the afternoon, that is in the very hottest part of the day, and when the natives themselves prove fainting and incapable of any tension of mind. More business may be dispatched from four in the morning to ten, than from nine in the morning to nine at night.

the

the oppressed ones, be they whoever they might. If the defendant proved to be a man of consequence, and one whose dignity did not admit of his being sent for, his Attorney was ordered to stand up in his stead, or even himself obliged to attend personally, if the gravity of the case did require it; and the matter was examined with patience, and with an equal look. If it proved to be a slight one, it was made up with the consent of both parties; else, if it proved of moment, then after having carefully ascertained it by witnesses on oath, and by other lawful means, the whole was made up into a Sooret-hal or judicial narrative, and together with the witnesses, and with the plaintiff and defendant, it was presented by the Daroga and his officers to the Emperor and the Minister, who used to sit twice a week on purpose to hear such matters: otherwise, it was presented to the Lieutenant-governor, or the Lieutenant of the Fodjdar of the town and district where the different had happened; and the Emperor and the Minister having examined the case, according to their wisdom gave their decree as they saw fit and equitable. But if the matter was not thoroughly investigated and determined at that one sitting, they referred it to a second; and after such examination as might stand the look of the Imperial eye, they determined according to the rules of truth and justice: such was the method used in former times. But now the painful task of rendering justice being turned into a powerful engine for making a fortune, the office of Daroga, which so many persons used to decline, is become an object of ambition and strife; and men give presents and make interest to obtain it, whilst Government itself bestows it on them, as an object of favor and predilection. Of late the salaries of the Daroga and of his officers and dependants, are paid out of the fines and monies arising from it; so that the incumbent, with his dependants, being in the centre of his wishes(*), finds means in a little time to amass immense sums; nor is there any one to enquire after the rate of

The Emperors and Princes of Hindostan, make it one of their duties to sit as Judges in civil cases.

(*) The original has *swimming in full water*.

such

the perquisites they are drawing from that office. Heretofore few men of piety and knowledge could be found that would dare to take upon themselves such an office, which consisting in decisions about property, exposed their consciences to be answerable to God for errors and misconceptions; nor could the Prince and his Ministers, after an exact inquiry about people of good morals and sufficient knowledge and fear of God, prevail upon them, but by dint of intreaties, to accept such offices. They bestowed more of their attention upon this part of administration than upon any other; nor did they suffer that injustice should become justice by prescription, or that any one should oppress another, at his will: they took care to appoint proper persons in every branch of such an office, and had rendered extortion and bribery so odious, that to call one a bribe-taker was resented much more, than if it had been the most opprobrious word. It was in consequence of such regulations and attentions that such men of virtuous principles were found out, as reckoned bribery amongst the highest reproaches, and thought it little short of infidelity, and apostacy; whereas venality and bribery, as well as the art of bringing money by any whatever means, are now reckoned amongst the greatest and most laudable qualifications of the knowing ones of these our times; there being rulers and under-rulers, who seek out men of such stamps, and think them the only ones capable of business. *Hear, ye men of penetration! and benefit by the example.* It was so very easy for poor men to arrive at the very feet of the Emperor's, and to obtain redress, that when, notwithstanding all these precautions, and all these attentions, some oppression chanced to take place, we have instances of oppressed ones, who would sometimes come from two or three months journey, and obtain audience, and expose their complaint; and were they the poorest of men, they were sure of being righted against the most powerful adversary. Now that it is exceedingly difficult even to men of the most illustrious descent to approach the Governor and the men in office; now that the English seldom visit or see any of us, the distressed inhabi-

Warning given
by the Author
to the Princes
of Hindostan.

Insociableness
and inaccessible-
ness of the En-
glish in general.

Severe reflec-
tion upon the
English as mas-
ters of Bengal.

tants of this country; to obtain justice is become a very difficult business, a very operose article; or if any one of us, by the strength of his introducer, or the weight of some forcible reason, chances to be admitted for once or twice, it avails little, as the gentlemen, in consequence of their being engrossed by a variety of public and private affairs of importance amongst themselves, have no attention to spare for the concerns of the people of this land; and as their Mootusuddies or officers and dependants, are always men of such a stamp, that being at all times afraid of some discovery about the lining of their coats, they cannot bear that any one of the oppressed ones should come near their masters: from thence we can easily conclude what is likely to be the fate of the unfortunate people of this land, and how their sufferings are likely to end. Possibly is it, their peculiar fate, that after having been subjected by Providence to the yoke of these strangers, they are still destined to find them such inattentive rulers, as do not think it worth their while to mind the welfare of those prostrated at their feet; and such supine masters, as to make nothing of leaving them at the disposal of their own servants and substitutes: although, however, nothing should be so important to a Sovereign, as the care of the subject, and he ought never to lose sight of the Indian adage.

“ Do not refer his complaint to your Divan,

“ Since his complaint is probably against that very Divan. ”

AMIDST such scenes of oppression on one side, and inattention on the other,
A. D. 1782. we ought to praise God, that at the end of the year 1195 the office of Daroga of the Court of Justice, together with the Fodjdary, was taken from the hands of the Indians, and transferred to the English gentlemen immediately: by which revolution the oppressions, and sufferings of the people of this land have been upon the whole somewhat alleviated; but as their officers and dependants are a set of people always prone to offer injustice; and these are entrusted with all the details, as well as Deputyships, whilst they make it a point to uphold the corruption and indolence of their masters;

masters; it happens that they become in fact the center and hinge of all decisions; and all matters come to pass through their hands unavoidably, as it appears undeniably that such of their masters as are preposed to these offices, will not, or cannot attend personally to their duties: so that there is still left in the sneaker much of the late broth. "O God come to the assistance of your afflicted people, and set open some door through which they may escape from oppression!" But let us return to our narrative about the several offices set up formerly by our sovereigns.

THE Muhtasib (or Clerk of the market) was established for the purpose of inspecting weights and scales, exposing to view the false bottoms and artifices of Corn-meters and Scale-men; and for fixing the price of grain and other similar commodities. He had a great salary, and some fees; but the latter were rather honorary; and the intent was to render him alert in putting a stop to all altercations and disputes between buyer and seller, by disabling the latter from over-reaching the other. The punishment and coercion of the disorderly and insolent was also of his resort. It was his business in particular to take care that no drunken men, or any other people out of their senses, should walk loose throughout the markets; that no injury or insolence should be offered to any one, by threat, action, or infamous words; and that modest women, obliged sometimes to cross a street or a market, should not be exposed to any insult or indecency, from the voice, hand, or sound of the profligate and thoughtless. But now, every one does as he pleases: the Muhtasibs take a great deal more perquisites than were heretofore their due; and in one and the same city the prices of grain vary in the same market, at the distance of three or four shops, nay of three or four yards; and the differences, varieties, and rogueries in weights and scales are risen to such a height, as not to be conceivable. Moreover not only all the markets and thoroughfares, are thronged with disorderly people, and disorderly houses, but every street and every corner is infected with drinking-shops and tipling-houses,

with

The Muhtasib; an officer that had inspection upon weights, measures, and markets.

with here and there groups of drunken servants, butlers, harraras, qhallasies (24), and sipahis; but especially of servants belonging to the English: a set of disorderly people, who, availing themselves of the respect paid to the men in power to whom they belong, and of the influence they acquire by their being linked together, make nothing of lying in wait, sometimes half naked and half drunk, and quarrelling without an antagonist; nor do they make any difficulty of doing and saying whatever they please, and to whom they please; so that Gentlemen accustomed to decency and respect, are at a loss how to go from their homes, upon urgent business, through a market, or along a street, and how to come back again, without being entangled within some mischance or other, in consequence of the words or actions of those insolent people; nor is it uncommon to see them recommend themselves to God Almighty's safeguard on their going out, and to wish they may come back without being forced into some mischance.

The Vacaa-nuvifs, Sevana-nuvifs, and Harrara, &c.

THE Vacaa-nuvifs, or Remembrancer, or Gazetteer, and the Sevana-nuvifs, or Historiographer, and the Harrara or Spy, were appointed for writing down the events that might happen in the respective provinces, territories, and districts of their residence; their duty was to inhabit in such cities and towns as were the seats of command and government, to the end that they might have it in their power to write down at day-break, such events as should have happened the whole day and night before, and to send the paper to the Emperor. There were posts established, that carried the dispatches, with all speed, and in all weathers, to Court; where a Daroga or inspector examined the same: after which he reduced to a concise exposition the substance of such as deserved the Imperial notice, presenting at the same time, the whole detail as forwarded by the

(24) This word, which comes from *Qhalas*, free, signifies sailors and seamen; and this name was given to sea-faring people, because when once on board they were freed from the searches and animadversion of land-justice.

provincial intelligencers. Nevertheless whatever amongst those papers was addressed personally to the Emperor, was sacred, and could not be set open by any other hand than his own: it was perused by the Monarch himself, who alone could break the seal; and he alone ordered what he thought proper about the contents. By these means the Emperor was informed of every private man's affairs; he knew what one had done to his neighbours at four hundred leagues from Court, and what the latter had done to others; and what such an one wanted from such another, and what this other pretended from his antagonist; he knew all that, and gave directions accordingly: nor was it uncommon for him to be informed by such a channel of the requests and wishes of the concerned ones; nor at all extraordinary to see directions arrive at the cities of their residence long before their private petitions could have reached the Court: so that the petitioners often had gained their cause in the middle of a distant province, some time before they had agreed upon the wording of their petitions. But all this correspondence was for the Emperor's personal inspection only; for if at any time it came to appear, that the secret Gazetteer, or the Remembrancer, or any other public officer, had himself found means to acquire the least interest with the Imperial Princes, or with the Grandees of the Court, or with the men in eminent station, or was in any connections with them; such a man was forthwith dismissed, and another appointed in his stead; and to this purpose there are yet extant notes written by the Emperor Aoreng-zib's hand, to his own Vezir Affed-qhan; and here is a copy of one:

The Emperor, by means of the post, minutely and daily informed of almost every material transaction amongst private people.

COPY OF A NOTE OF AORENG-ZIB AALEM-GHIR TO HIS VEZIR.

" My grandson, Mahmed-muéz-eddin (25), has been writing to me
 " to recommend N. N. Remembrancer of such a province: of course
 " something must be done for him; but yet, the man is to be dismissed

Two singular notes in the hand of the Emperor Aoreng-zib.

(25) He that reigned afterwards under the name of Djehandar-shah.

“ from that office directly, that the Gazetteer may remember to write
 “ gazettes no more.

“ As interest has taken place, abilities have been obscured;

“ (26) And a hundred sorts of films have covered his eye-balls.”

But the answer he sent to that grandson himself, is still more curious:
 here it is.

“ DUTIFUL sons, that are acquainted with their father's temper, do not
 “ write recommendations in behalf of Gazetteers, and such sort of people:
 “ your request is granted, and the man has been promoted accordingly;
 “ but yet, he has been dismissed from that office. Do not commit the
 “ like offence again.

IN short, as amongst the arts of government, information and know-
 ledge of the state of the land, and of it's inhabitants, hold a principal
 rank; and the interest of the Legislator's in gathering knowledge, is al-
 ways to tranquillise and quiet the people of God, by whose providence
 the Princes and Rulers have come to have the command and power over
 them; and as the happiness and ease of the subject is their main concern;
 so, to obtain the above end, no less than four persons have been appointed
 to discharge the duties of this one office of intelligence; to wit, the Vacaäy-
 -nugar or Remembrancer, the Sevanah-nugar or Gazetteer, the Qhofiäh-
 nevifs or Secret-writer; and the Harcara or Spy; to the end, that should any

(26) These are verses of the Emperor's composition: a Prince, who used to write an in-
 finity of notes and letters with his own hand, and always to add at the end, or any else where,
 some verses of his own. To a relation of his, Viceroy of Bengal, who had slid into some
 Hindoo customs, &c. &c. he wrote a letter of reprimand, which ended by these two
 elegant dyfticks:

Defar-i Zaafrani, ber fer,

Oo Djamé-i Erghavani, der ber

Sen sherif, Chehel shefh:

Aafrin, ber in rish oo vesh.

A yellow turbant upon the head,

And a crimson coat upon the shoulder.

Your Highness is, I believe, full forty-six:

This is making indeed a blessed use of your beard and mein.

one or any two of them, attempt to send in writing an unfaithful account, still the truth and real state of things might soon be investigated, by comparing their information with the accounts written by the two or three others: a discovery always followed by the disgrace of the faithless or uninformed writer, who never failed to be dismissed from a post of honour and affluence, and to be consigned to shame and distress. Now all those offices being suppressed, it comes to pass that not only in villages, but in towns and in renowned cities, the servants, the favourites, the dependants, nay very often, the very spies and emissaries of a Zemindar, having wriggled themselves into the service of Government, commit upon the inhabitants a variety of oppressions and exactions, and always with the utmost safety; nor is there found a single man to ask them what they are doing: so far from there being any one to inflict a condign chastisement upon them. It is then worth an observer's while to examine what kind of Government existed then, and how matters stand now; and what were the circumstances of the subject then, and what they are to-day.

THE Fodjars were next in rank to the Nazems, or military governors of the provinces, and men of great distinction and note. Some of them exerted themselves so meritoriously as to leave behind them the very Nazems themselves, in whatever could promote the Imperial service. Their exertions were so continual and so strenuous, that those officers were sometimes more in favor with the Court than the latter, and often obtained more credit, and became objects of graces without number. These officers were fixed in each Soobadary or Viceroyalty, according to its extent and the number of refractory Zemindars or great landlords in it; and several of these had under their commands bodies of some hundreds of troopers, and were decorated with the military grades of a thousand horse, some of a thousand five hundred, of two thousand, of two thousand five hundred, and some few of three thousand, and as far as four thousand, with a number of effective troopers, according to their stations, or the ne-

The Fojdars, or military commanders of some frontiers and some difficult countries.

cessities

An infinity of persons in each province who were under the orders of the military as well as civil governors, although independent from them.

cessities of their post: they marched in state, with standards displayed, and kettle drums beating, and lived with splendor and dignity in those towns and fortresses, which were fixed and reserved for their residences. All these, together with the Manfoobdars, the Paymasters, the Remembrancers, the Gazetteer, the Secret-writer, the head Spy, the Cazy or Judge, the Mufty or Bishop, the Sadr or Grand Almoner, the Muhtasib or Clerk of the Market, the Imperial Divan, and the Daroga or Superintendent of the Justice-office, down to the very head messenger or Mirdaha, and down to his peons or messengers, and to the very Book-binder of that spot: all these were immediate servants of the Crown: every one of these held their offices immediately under the Emperor; but were attached to some particular part of the country, and fixed to some particular duty; but in such a manner, however, as to be totally independent from the Nazem; nor could any great man or Governor-general divest the lowest of them, or turn him out of his office. As to the officers of the Divany, they were dependants of the Imperial Divan, or General-receiver, in whatever related to revenue and finances; but the Mansobdars or military dignitaries with their paymasters and troops, were all dependent on the Fodjdar, who gave orders about arraying and marching their corps, chastising malefactors, or coercing turbulent people. The Fodjdar's special business was to take care that no overgrown Zemindar should make provisions of war instruments, such as musquets, or wall-pieces, in any great quantity; or should put in repair any old fort, or raise a new one on his own account. But if notwithstanding all those precautions, the Zemindar should avail himself so far of some neglect or connivance, or chance, as to compass any such design, then the Fodjdar was to require him to surrender the above articles, and to dismiss his troops. And in case of obedience, the Zemindar was to be forthwith removed from that spot and Zemindary; but in case he attempted to resist, then the Fodjdar was to attack him immediately; to chastise him with severity, to demolish his castle; and to act with so much expedition and vigour,

gour, as that the refractory land-holder should be reduced to extremity, and henceforward obliged to wear in his ear the ring of obedience, as well as to carry on his shoulders the trappings of submission, in such a manner, as to have it no more in his power to disobey or to resist. The Fodjdar was to drive the delinquent from that spot, and never to suffer his residing again in it, unless by a special order from higher authority: still less was he to suffer him to recover a footing in his former possessions; but in case he had been able to lay hold of him, he was to send him to the Governor-general, prisoner and chained, or to keep him confined until he might receive orders respecting the disposal of him: these he was to put in force, and to execute in a time of tranquillity; and meanwhile his business was to be attentive lest other Zemindars should turn refractory likewise, and invade the little Djaghirs and possessions of those promoted to the enjoyment of Aimas, Amlacs, and other charity-lands.

Extensive duties
expected from
Fodjdars.

ANOTHER business of the Fodjdar was to give chase to banditti and highwaymen, so as to prevent their finding a place of retreat; he was to hunt them down wherever he could discover any of their footsteps, and to put them to the sword as soon as he had seen them. In short, wherever he could perceive a malefactor, he was to pursue him incessantly, until he had torne up by the roots the hairs of his existence and power; and in case any one of those banditti should assemble in troops, and dare to appear in such bodies as might baffle or elude the exertions of one single Fodjdar, then the neighbouring Fodjdars were, upon his requisition, to join him forthwith, and to fall together upon the malefactors, driving them from post to post, and giving them combat upon combat, and engagement after engagement, until they had extirpated the whole of them; nor did any banditti in those times dare to shew their faces in any of the lands belonging to the Revenue-office, or in the Amlacs, and Altimghas given to necessitous people; nor did they attempt to oppress or plunder even the lowest of the tenants or farmers resident on them.

With regard to the particular stations appointed to the Fodjdars in other provinces, I have not any information sufficient on that head; nor would such a list answer any great purpose; but as to the stations heretofore appointed to them in the provinces of Bengal and Azimabad, I know something of them, as numbers of them have lived, for years together with honour and splendor in their offices; and they had formed friendships and alliances with the Governors of these countries: now as our family has enjoyed commands and offices in those two provinces, I can afford a thorough notice of them; and as a mention of them would be proper here, and in it's place, it is hereby offered to the public: and is as follows: The eight Sercars, or grand divisions of the province of Azimabad were Shah-abad and Rhotas, Mongher and Bahar, Champaran and Sarun, Tirhoot and Hadjipoor: these had Fodjdars stationed, each of them with a body of from five hundred to one thousand five hundred cavalry, or more or less, with a proportional number of those Imperial officers mentioned just above, every one of whom were immediate servants of the Emperor's. Those Fodjdars upon any sudden emergency of importance, used to leave deputies in their stations, and to join together, in order to repair in a body to the Nazem or Governor-general. Nay, when the matter became past their united power, the Nazems of two or three contiguous provinces joined together, without waiting for an express order from Court, and they provided for such an emergency, as the case required; or if the matter chanced to be of such a magnitude as exceeded their united efforts, it was provided for by the Emperor himself, who receiving daily information from every part of the Empire, dispatched distinguished Generals from his Court, or even, if he saw fit, Imperial Princes, with considerable armies and large trains of artillery; who had orders to exert themselves with vigour in pursuing the expedition to a successful issue, or as long as any breath remained in their bodies; and were exhorted to exhibit their attachment to the State, as well as their personal valor, in bringing to an end an affair of that consequence.

Nevertheless,

Nevertheless, as some one happened sometimes to shew a remissness in the discharge of such a duty, such a one was forthwith exposed to the Emperor's displeasure, to the contempt and derision of his equals, and to a chastisement adequate to his demerits.

THE province of Bengal was also divided into Fodjdaries: and, by what I can learn, into ten districts that had Fodjdars: it was in the following order: Islam-abad-chatgam, Silhut, Rangpoor, Rangamatty; the Castle of Djelal-gur-poorania; Radj-mahal-acbar-nagar, Radj-shahy, Bardvan, Midnipoor, and Bacshy-bender-hoogly. All those parts had Fodjdars; but Djehanghir-nagur-daca had a Nazem of it's own, with all the train of Imperial officers, mentioned above. All these were attached to their duties, and by their good government, the people of God, as well as the nobles enjoyed tranquillity and comfort; all districts were well governed and quiet; and the people of God, satisfied with the Emperor's munificence and kindness, were praying for stability to his reign, and length of days to his life: they rehearsed the praises of his clemency and benignity; knew no enemies but his, and no friends, but his friends; nor did they see their own ease and happiness any where, but in the ease and happiness of their Princes. With their hearts, and tongues, and hands and feet†, they were zealously attached to their Monarch, and to any thing that appertained to him. In consequence of such administrations on one side, and such sentiments on the other, the country was populous and flourishing, beyond imagination; and the inhabitants contented and happy, as well as sincere: they lived with their doors open; for the means of subsistence being easy, and always at hand, the lowest, as well as the highest, contented themselves with being busy only by day; for at night they drank long draughts from out of that cup of ease and pleasure, which was presented them by plenty and safety; and they lived free from cares and anxieties. The intent of command and sovereignty was then no

Happy condition of the Indians under their native Princes;

(†) Literal translation.

And latterly
under Aali-ver-
dy-qhan.

secret at all: it was abroad: and the truth and sincerity of elevation and dignity were public and exposed to every one's sight. But the Empire having been declining these sixty years past, the Emperors became negligent, and the Grandees refractory and rebellious; so that every Nazem has set up for independent and for a King; but yet, as none of these thought of departing from those rules and maxims of government by which the Empire had hitherto flourished, their dominions continued to be in good condition, and their subjects lived easy and contented; so that few, very few of them, knew any thing of sufferings and miseries; and matters remained in that condition, so late as the very time when Aaly-verdy-qhan possessed himself of these three provinces, and chose his residence in the middle of them. As he had a number of relations and friends, and most of these were men of merit and abilities, he promoted them to offices of importance and trust, in which they studied the welfare of the people, entrusted to their care: for this Prince, although naturally valorous, and of an ambitious warlike turn of mind, joined to his natural keenness and penetration, so much benignity of temper towards his immediate subjects, and so much condescendence and lenity towards the Zemindars who behaved dutifully, that he seemed like a father living in his family, surrounded by his children and relations. He raised every one of his friends to offices, equal in dignity to that of Fodjdars, without, however, suffering them to become negligent or oppressive: being studious of governing his subjects with every sentiment of benignity, love, and tenderness: very different in that from his predecessor, Ser-efraz-qhan, who suffered himself to be swayed by partialities about religion and rites, he looked upon all his subjects to be creatures of one and the same God, and brothers of one and the same mother; and he used to promote Gentoos and other dissenters, according to their merits, and just on a footing with the Musulmen themselves. In fact, these people became his Ministers, and his men in office, were promoted to dignities of five-thousand horse, and to offices

with affairs of the utmost importance: no wonder then, if, having been made partakers of his fortune and powers, they not only remained quiet and happy, in the palm of that family's hand, but served it with an exemplary zeal. And such a conduct was founded in reason, as well as in policy: for an Emperor, or whoever may be in his stead, being in fact the shadow of God, he must render himself conformable to his prototype; and as the Almighty chooses to suffer the diversity of casts and religions amongst his creatures; and he nourishes with an equal hand, those that obey and those that disobey or disregard his commands; so it becomes the Princes and Rulers of this world to imitate his goodness in abstaining from such partialities, as would prove an inclination to one side.

IN the reign of that family, the sums received from these countries, were expended in these countries, and conduced to their very flourishing circumstances: the inhabitants being easy about their own livelihood, were attached to his government, lived quiet and happy during his long reign, nor did they ever feel any inquietude about their subsistence; no wonder after that, if no disturbances whatever were ever so much as heard of in his time, unless it was in a remote corner of these provinces, where resided some refractory Zemindars. At Azim-abad, for instance, the Bodj8rias used to commit now and then some disorders: but the rest of these countries enjoyed abundance with a profound tranquillity. Matters lasted on that footing, until Aaly-verdy-qhan came to depart this life, after his three nephews had already departed their's; and then there came upon the stage of the world such a man as Seradj-ed-dó8la, a Prince equally proud and ignorant, whose fate we have seen; and a Mir-djaafer-qhan, a man destitute both of wisdom and common sense, as well as void of all religion, whose administration we have felt: and it was these two men, with their successors, that gave a total overthrow to all those institutes and maxims of justice and government, which had rendered these countries so very flourishing.

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UNDER

The Zemindars too little restrained and kept under in the English Government.

UNDER the English government the principal Zemindars being now their own masters, and the hinges of all business in their own lands; and having been so lucky as to curry some favor with their masters; and all this in contrariety to former institutes, which held it as an invariable maxim, to keep them low; these people do now just as they please, and in what manner they please; nor do they make any thing of fighting amongst themselves, and killing and slaughtering their subjects; whilst the Fodjdar dares not to quarrel with them, and is even afraid to give them an order, or to revenge the oppressed ones upon those tyrants, or even to reclaim from their hands the property of those travellers whom they have despoiled: or if at any time the Fodjdar chances to receive any such thing from their hands, he keeps it to himself, as if to verify those verses of Sheh-saady, (upon whom be mercy for ever):

“ Once a sheep was by a stout man
 “ Rescued from the jaws and grasp of a wolf,
 “ But at night the man drew his knife and cut the sheep’s throat:
 “ The animal, in expiring, did not fail to utter these words with a groan:
 “ *To no purpose did’st thou snatch me from the wolf’s grasp,*
 “ *Since at last thou provest to be a wolf thyself.*

The Fodjdar office, or Criminal Court, as it is exercised now, becomes one of the main grievances of the natives.

It is from such men that the English have received these countries; and from them have they obtained all the instructions they want: so that those strangers hearing, for instance, of the Fodjdar office, and how useful and salutary it was in former times, they have set up the like officers every where in their dominions; and, in imitation of the antient Princes of this country, they bestow on them large sums of money; but yet to very little purpose, and to no benefit at all: for the office itself answers no other end in these days, than that of multiplying oppression, and of tormenting in private and public the inhabitants of those large towns and famous cities that had served in times of yore for stations to the former Fodjdars; insomuch that whilst the sobs and groans of the oppressed are reaching the very canopy of heaven, those officers go on approving themselves incapable of

of performing the business expected from them. The Fodjdary of these new Fodjdars is entirely pointed against the principal inhabitants of those large towns and cities, as we have been mentioning; for now it consists only in circumventing and involving unwary people, in every artful accusation and chicanery which they can devise, that they may squeeze from them a few pence; and this they do, without the least anxiety about their being called to an account; having already provided *a strong interest with the head of their brotherhood (26), and knowing full well, how little the English care about what concerns us, poor natives; and how little Hindostanies can find access to the Governor-general (27),*

or

(26) Mahmed-reza-qhan.

(27) So the Author thought, at a particular calamitous crisis, when Governor Hastings, groaning under the weight of an exterior multifarious war, that devoured every resource of the Company; and harrassed by intestine personal broils, that gave him no rest, could afford very little of his time to private affairs; and yet it was at that very time that any man who had business with him, might speak to him from six in the morning to eight at night. But the Author did not mind that the number of speakers amounted sometimes to thirty, and we have counted eighteen in a morning. There is an adage in India, which says that never will any man's worth be known; but when he is dead or gone. He is gone afar now; and if we may judge that extraordinary man by the standard of the public voice, the tide of admiration and regret runs now very high in his favor; the natives are unanimous in his behalf, and even amongst the English, the dissenting voices, if any at all, are but few.

As to the accusations brought in general against the English by the natives, they may amount to these: that of so many English that have carried away such princely fortunes from this country, not one of them has ever thought of shewing his gratitude to it, by sinking a well, digging a pond, planting a public grove, raising a caravanfara, or building a bridge; and that even where there are bridges already, they never fail to clog them with a toll, if they but make any slight repairs to any of them. These accusations are true; but cannot, however, much affect the national character of the English, who being to a man occasional sojourners, have no time to conceive an affection for this country; and the proof of this assertion, may be found in the following particulars: Governor Hastings, who lived long enough in this country to have conceived an affection for it, has left ample proofs of his being a lover of it, as well as a keen-fighted statesman. He has built and endowed at Calcutta a Seminary of Mahometan law; a settlement pointed out by policy itself, and useful to government as well as to the natives: He has established in the uncultivated parts of Bengal colonies of invalid Talingas or Sipahes, to whom he has allotted waste lands, rent free; an establishment

so

or to the men in authority, so as to converse with them, and to make a representation of their grievances: hence those men go on in their iniquities with the greatest security, tormenting the people of God, by every artifice and oppression they can contrive. So small a branch of business as this, which in little cities was heretofore so easily performed by a Cutwal, with honor to himself and advantage to the public, is found to afford now employment for a multitude of illustrious Fodjdars, whose names and titles are such, that with the proud tip of their caps they seem to rub the canopy of heaven: whilst by exercising every art of oppression and injustice, they render themselves odious and contemptible in every blind alley, as well as in every frequented market; nor does it appear that their office, as established by the Governor-general and Committee throughout the Company's dominions, consists in any thing more than in suppressing the banditti, highwaymen, and thieves; in punishing those that dare betake to that profession; in hindering people from killing or plundering each other; and in providing against theft, fornication, and murder: all this business was easily done in the times of Ali-verdi-qhan, as well as long before him, by the Cutvals in great cities, and even elsewhere by thousands of little Aamils and little Regissers, who

so obvious, so common in the Roman and in the Gothic feudal governments, so like Columbus's egg, and which, however, never occurred to any one, but when it was effected and done: an establishment, which by conferring happiness on thousands of natives, has riveted the English dominion in this country better than would a hundred citadels. There is another important, very important benefit, conferred by Governor Hastings on this country: a benefit so unknown in Europe, so much unknown even to the English of Bengal, and nearly forgotten by the natives themselves, although they reap every day the advantages resulting from it: we mean the suppression of those numerous chokys and toll-houses, that infested all the rivers, as well as every road in Bengal, twenty years ago. If then there remains still some internal trade in Bengal; if some new branches of commerce have been introduced; if an infinity of crimes, concussions and oppressions of all sorts, have been put an end to; if disparitions of boats and crews have become incomparably less common: all that is owing to that suppression of those toll-houses, those sinks of all crimes; crimes and oppressions which all the world were exclaiming against, but which none but himself had either the genius or the courage to put an end to, by a decisive stroke that has secured twenty-five lacs of customs to the Company, with no less ease to the governed, than to the governors.

performed

performed it better than these pompous Fodjdars of our days did at any time. The difference between those gentlemen on one hand, and the Cutvals and Regiffers of former times, on the other, consists in this, that these last, for fear of accusations and after-reckonings, did not dare to commit any oppressions or insolences; whereas their successors, proud of their dignities and connections, and sensible of the neglect of the English in these matters, fear no man, and dread no consequence, but launch into every oppression which they can think of, endeavouring especially to circumvent by every species of chicanery, and to render contemptible and of small account, those men of antient families and high descent, and especially such as have made it a point to keep clear of them; and if at any time complaints find their way to the Governor-general, they are hushed down by the authority and mediation of their head protector; who, for fear of accusations against himself, and of consequent dismissal to his people, puts in motion so many resorts, and sacrifices so much money, that the poor injured one is kept asunder from inspection and redress.

Severe hints
against Mahmed
reza-ghan, and
his substitutes.

AND now that we have been exposing, in a succinct, cursory manner, the institutes and maxims of this land, and have pointed out what end was intended in each of them by our antient Law givers, it becomes our duty as Historians, to relate what is become of the intent and aim of those institutes in these our days; and to explain briefly, and with the candor of a faithful witness, such parts of the English government as differ totally from, or even clash essentially with, the customs and usages by which these countries have once flourished: for it is to this diversity of customs and institutes, and to that contrariety alone, that we must recur, whenever we attempt to account for that constant failure which has attended every endeavor of their's in whatever tended to bring order into this country; and it is to that cause alone that we are to look up for the origin of those troubles and those confusions that have

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been,

been, and are the bane and ruin of the inhabitants of this country. Let this animadversion of our's stand as a monument, that has found favour with the minds of the enlightened ones: let it be instrumental in giving a turn to confusion, in transforming it in to order, and in rendering it conducive to the relief of the oppressed people of God, as well as to the comfort of those that are suffering in their minds for the sakes of the oppressed ones! O God, I ask your grace: vouchsafe me your assistance! (27).

This country, seeming to have no apparent master, is of course, under the predicament of a house untenanted.

It must be observed, first of all, that since the conquest made by the English of these three provinces, this country seems to have had no master at all; and this, because there is no apparent owner, whose children and offspring might be interested in inheriting his estate: this is so far true, that even on the supposition that the English nation at large, are the owners of this land, still shall it be acknowledged that the Company is not one individual: it is a numerous body; nor are the members of it permanent: on the contrary, it is daily renewed; so that whoever chuses to employ his money that way, has only to join his stock to the old fund, and from that moment, he becomes an associate, and is a member of the Company; and therefore the constituent parts are never permanent; nor is any supreme ruler appointed, to whom every one, from year to year, may be obliged to render an account, and to shew his face. No wonder then, if in so short a period as these twenty years past, these countries have been blessed by no less than six or seven persons preposed to the Government of Bengal. Hence it comes to pass, that the man who is to be appointed, is not certain of his stay, nor has he full power over his business; he must consult and manage with four or five men that are called the Committee; and these are perpetually at variance with each other, and perpetually in suspense about their own staying, and their being succeeded by another. If then a house

(27) A Passage of the Coran.

that has no owner is not likely to be tenanted, and such a house is likely to totter for want of repairs, and at last will become ruinous in a little time; so likewise a country of this immense extent, having no apparent master, must in time cease to flourish, and at last must fall to decay. And what shall we answer to a man that will tell us that a stranger always wants to draw his own profit, be it from a house or from a kingdom; that intent on his own views, he little cares about what ruins shall remain after him; and that it becomes highly improbable that for the benefit of his successors, himself meanwhile should forego his personal advantage by taking care that nothing be spoiled? Only if he be inclined to mind future examinations and after-reckonings, he will be cunning enough to manage so as that the ruin he is likely to leave behind be not imputable to him: nor are we to expect that future Governors will be inclined to afford many exceptions to such a rule; for it is certain that all that has been performed by Governor Hushtin, was on the mere strength of his own genius, and by taking the events upon himself without being moved by the perpetual opposition which he continually received from the Members of the Committee; or being sensibly discouraged by their rancorous dispositions, such an exception is too uncommon to be deemed a rule; it is what he alone had the courage to undertake, and what no one but himself would have dared to venture upon; and what no one, to this day, has attempted: such an instance proves nothing against our assertion; for still will it be found, that in consequence of the necessity of yielding a title, and of paying a regard to the Members of the Committee, and in consequence of the dissensions that arose amongst them, many a valuable occasion has been lost, and it will be confessed by both sides that many a good business has been spoiled and undone for want of concert; nor have we done with these broils yet; for we have yet to see in what manner all that great man's endeavours are likely to terminate.

Men of confessed abilities, and superior genius, eternally thwarted and impeded by majorities sent from Europe.

NOR

NOR is this case singular; it is that of all the persons under his Government: for the six districts into which the English had divided this country, are each of them governed by five or six persons, all disagreeing amongst themselves, and each of them a prey to endless divisions and disputes; nor is there a head over them all, with full power and authority: on the contrary, he that might be their head, has not himself any hopes of his remaining in his post long: so that intent upon his own concerns, he keeps his ears eternally pricked up against every report of change and confirmation. Besides all that, there is another defect, and which is this: that if these five or six happen to differ essentially about any matter of importance, they are obliged to apply to the Governor and Council, and to wait for orders from thence: and this Governor and Council, obliged to partage their attention betwixt that infinity of public transactions, and business that concern their dominions and conquests; and that other infinity of matters that concern their own state of personal warfare; what betwixt watching over their dominions in these provinces, and answering very long letters from Europe; guarding against their national enemies abroad, both in Europe and Hindostan, and providing against personal enemies at home; betwixt examining accounts of corors of rupees, and providing for the Company's mercantile purchases; betwixt receiving as Sovereigns the revenues of so many dominions in their old and new conquests: what with these, and an infinity of other avocations, public or private, these men, with such a load of business on their shoulders, have no time to answer letters of Provincial Councils, or to give the proper orders thereon. They dispatch what business they think most urgent, and write answers to the Provincial Councils, just as they find time and opportunity; else matters remain at a stand for years together, in those parts, or are determined, at last, as the Provincial Counsellors can agree together, or as it appears expedient to the foremost of them, or as it is most easy of execution, whether right or wrong.

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WERE any of those Gentlemen preposed to the direction of affairs, with a responsibility attached to his office; and were the regulation of those provincial parts fixed on him, and himself allowed to stay long enough in his office to acquire knowledge and credit, so as to be convinced assuredly that the bad or good state of such a city would be laid to his account, and imputed to his management; there is no doubt but such a man would look upon such a city as his own freehold, and would exert himself to the utmost of his power in promoting it's welfare: there is no doubt but that such a man, for fear of after-reckonings about a diminution of inhabitants and revenues, would give himself no rest in quieting and cherishing the subject, and in making that district flourishing and happy; whereby the country would become more populous, and himself would be the better for it in his private concerns. But as the Councils and Committees are packed up now, every one of the members is intent only upon removing every suspicion of fault or misbehaviour from his own person, and making it fast upon his neighbour's shoulders: after which he thinks himself safe! No wonder then, if they are eternally at variance with each other.

The subordinate Rulers do not stay long enough in their employments.

It appears by ancient records that go back as far as the creation of the world, that whenever these countries have been invaded by foreign armies, the conquerors always divided into two distinct bodies, that had different views: some of them, who did not intend to stay, and thought only of slaughter and plunder, made haste to display the standard of return, and to begone, as soon as they had got plunder and booty enough to gratify their avarice: those men wanting from this land jewels only and money, by whatever means they might be obtained, killed and plundered as fast as they could, and then went away. But there were others that thought in a quite different manner; and these intending to settle for ever, and to fix the foot of residence and permanency in these countries, had a mind of turning their conquest

Benignity and
tenderness of the
Indian Emperors
towards the con-
quered.

into a patrimony for themselves, and of making it their property and their inheritance: these never failed to assemble as many as had remained from the slaughter, and to cherish them in the palm of the hand of benevolence: these bent the whole strength of their genius in securing the happiness of their new subjects; nor did they ever abate any thing from their efforts, until they had intermarried with the natives, and got children and families from them, and had become naturalized. Their immediate successors having learned the language of the country, behaved to it's inhabitants as brothers of one mother and one language; and although the Gentoos seem to be a generation apart and distinct from the rest of mankind; and they are swayed by such differences in religion, tenets, and rites, as will necessarily render all Musulmen aliens, and profane, in their eyes; and although they keep up a strangeness of ideas and practices, which beget a wide difference in customs and actions; yet in process of time, they drew nearer and nearer: and as soon as fear and aversion had worn away, we see that this dissimilarity and alienation have terminated in friendship and union; and that the two nations have come to coalesce together into one whole, like milk and sugar that have received a simmering. In one word, we have seen them promote heartily each other's welfare, have common ideas, like brothers from one and the same mother, and feel for each other, as children of the same family: and this is so far true, that from the moment the son of the new Prince had acquired the name of presumptive heir, from that moment submission and acquiescence became a thing of course, and an article of fashion: every one yielding to him a willing obedience, and thinking that none was so worthy of dominion and government as himself: and this sense of attachment became reciprocal; for the reigning Emperor and his Imperial Prince, looking henceforward upon this land to be their patrimony and inheritance, conceived as much affection for their new subjects, as if they had been their children: fully sensible that they would all join together so heartily in repelling the common enemy,

as

as to make him lose every hope of any public or private assistance. For such is Sheh-saady's opinion and precept, in these two verses:

The subject is a tree; if you cherish it,

You will eat of it's fruit, to your heart's desire.

Those Princes, therefore, thoroughly sensible that the strength and firmness of their government and power rested on the number and ease of their subjects, and the consequent cultivation of the land, did every thing in their power to keep them quiet and happy: and this is that which rendered their dominions flourishing, and the generality of their people contented and wealthy, and also submissive.

VERSES OF SAADY.

Be kind to the subject, and fear nothing from foreign wars;

For when a king is just, the love of his subject, is for him a mighty army.

I HAVE had myself opportunities of seeing with my own eyes, and of hearing with my own ears, the consequences of good and bad government; and this happened at the time when the Shah-zada-aaly-goher, who is now our Emperor, under the name of Shah-aalem, was waging war against the English nation in the plains of Azimabad. As soon as it became certain that the Imperial Prince intended an expedition into the province of Bahar, and that he was coming to Azimabad, there was not an inhabitant, or a citizen, who, on the strength of the favors and good government which they had formerly experienced from the Prince's forefathers and ancestors, did not pray for victory to him, and for prosperity to his undertaking: they seemed to have but one mouth and but one heart, on that subject, although not one of them had yet received any favor from him, or tasted of the crumbs that might have fallen from the table of his goodness; but when he came himself, and they experienced from his unruly troops and from his disorderly Generals, every act of oppression and extortion imaginable; and, on the other hand, they saw every day what a strict discipline the English officers of those days did observe,

and

and how those amongst them that travelled, carried so strict a hand upon their people, as to suffer not a blade of grass to be touched or spoiled, and no kind of injury to be offered to the feeblest man; then indeed the scales were turned, and when the same Prince made his second and third expedition into those parts, I heard the people load him with imprecations, and pray for victory and prosperity to the English army. But those same people feel nothing for them now: fully sensible that these new rulers pay no regard or attention to the concerns of Hindostanies, and that they suffer them to be mercilessly plundered, fleeced, oppressed, and tormented by those officers of their appointing, and by their other dependants; those same people, I say, reduced now to despair, have altered their language, and totally changed in their hearts, on finding that their rulers had so far altered from what they had seemed to be.

AMONGST the various grievances complained of, this is one of the most stinging kind: the head Harcara, or head Spy, in several of the best English houses, never fails to become their Major Domo, and the hinge upon which turn most transactions, although he should be, as he is in general, a man of the lowest clan, and of the vilest kind (28). This man, for the sake of shewing his power, is ever disposed to use Gentlemen of antient or illustrious families in an unworthy manner. Should any one of those unfortunate men, tired of eternal insults and stoppages, carry his humiliation so far as to submit to such usage, and dishonor himself by making a present, he is allowed to walk farther within the house, and to appear in the master's presence; else, if he pretend to intrench himself within the prerogative of his rank and birth, he from that moment becomes exposed to a variety of affronts and indignities, and he is suffered to languish in the yard with the

(28) There are in Hindia clans, or tribes, doomed from all eternity to contempt, humiliation, and to the lowest and most loathsome offices of society; nor will an Indian, although ready enough to put up with a foreigner or any other man, bear to see any of those vile-born fellows in office: a delicacy which is interwoven in the Hindian religion and temper, and which is too little attended to.

crowd, without being ever permitted to go as far as the master's hall of audience. This head Spy, already linked and in confederacy with the moonshy (or Persian secretary), and the divan, (or confidant), as well as with every one of the dependants of that house, gives what turn he pleases to any petitioner's business, and meanwhile he enjoys the highest influence in the decision; whilst gentlemen of high descent and great pretensions are left in the antichamber, ranged against the wall like so many statues, and in fact they are deemed so many by-standers of no account. This grievance is to be found, not in this or that house, it is found in all: every man in office has such a household, upon such a pattern, and such a set of people about him; and although he be not the actual ruler of the country, yet wherever he goes, he is sure of acting as Sovereign: now every household being composed of such a set of servants, as have been described, it follows that as the people of this land stand, every one of them, in the relation of subjects, with respect to the English, it may be easily conceived what must be the case of the former, and how little probability there is for their *yielding a blind obedience to such a numerous set of masters, and to such numerous sets of servants and dependants.*

The first cause of the decline of the prosperity of these countries is the natural unsociableness of the English in general, and the inaccessibleness of their rulers in particular.

THE second cause which contributes to raise a wall between the conquerors and the conquered, is their differing in language, as well as in almost every action and every custom in life.

The second cause is the difference of language, and of almost every action in life, between the conquerors and the conquered.

THE tongue, which is the key of the treasures of the heart and mind, and which serves as a medium to strengthen the bands of society, as well as an organ to unlock the secrets of the heart, happens to be deprived of it's office between the Hindostanies and the English: most of the English gentlemen do not understand the language of their subjects, and none of these last understand a word of English: it follows of course, that a company of Hindians having business with their English rulers, looks very much like a number of pictures set up against the wall; and this

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happens

happens not only because the gentlemen having always a deal of business of their own to transact, cannot afford much of their time to others; but chiefly because they cannot understand each other, and are unable to have a communication of ideas: whence it follows that no benefit is reaped by either description of men from such an intercourse: but as the Hindians are always the petitioners, they always prove the greatest losers from that inconvenience, being always at a loss what to do next. And if the Moonshy or the Divan happen to be the interpreter of communication, and the canal of comprehension and explanation, it becomes necessary for the petitioner, that after having said a few words to the master, he explain the rest entirely to the Moonshy, on which occasion the latter asks the whole matter over again; and it is seldom but the suitor is thereby put off his guard, and gives rise to much discontent and much dissatisfaction on either side. Were these men now, who rule every where, to remain for a length of time in command, they would become acquainted with the language, customs, and usages of one district, and would acquire a full knowledge of the several individuals that dwell in the same: nor is there any doubt, but that they would rule much better, and become much likelier to promote the welfare of the people, than would be a stranger, who always comes thoroughly unacquainted with either men, language, or country.

ON the other hand, as these rulers have all their necessities from their own country, it follows that the handy-craftsmen and artificers of this land suffer constantly, live in distress, and find it difficult to procure a livelihood sufficient to support their lives: for as the English are now the rulers and the masters of this country, as well as the only rich men in it, to whom can those poor people look up for offering the productions of their art, so as to benefit by their expences? It is only some artificers that can find a livelihood with the English, such as carpenters, silver-smiths, iron-smiths, &c. nay, they subsist upon better terms than they did under the Hindostany

Hindustany Government; and possibly two or three trades more, the names whereof I cannot now recollect, may fare the better for these strangers; but as to those numerous artificers of other denominations, they have no other resource left than that of begging or thieving: numbers, therefore, have already quitted their homes and countries; and numbers, unwilling to leave their abodes, have made a covenant with hunger and distress, and ended their lives in a corner of their cottages. To heighten this picture now, let us imagine that at such a time of general distress and want of employment as this, when to get a meal at night is become a matter of so much difficulty; we are perpetually cursed with shoals of peons or messengers, and constables of the Fodj-dary office, all let loose upon the necessitous people, whom they torment by every invention which chicane and accusation can contrive. These wretches, under pretence of diet-money to themselves, harass the people with so much cruelty, that the shaft has sunk to the quick, and the knife has cut through to the bone; and it is thus that the Fodj-dary office, originally set up for the ease of the subject, has been perverted into a scene of extortion and tyranny. Nor does such an evil come alone and by itself; it comes along with the want of employment, and the want of subsistence, and over and above the vexation of being often impressed for publick service. Nor does that evil make any distinction betwixt the high, the low, or the middling; nor is there any one to recur to in so much distress, but God Almighty. As the English gentlemen, to rid themselves of the necessity of hearing these poor people, have made them over to the Fodjdars, and these Fodjdars; with their substitutes, find their own welfare in undoing these poor people; they go on without remorse in their iniquitous proceedings, and make nothing of spreading every day upon their table the carcase of some wretched, as an addition to their desert.

The melting of the candle affords a hold to the moth:

The oppressor finds his livelihood close to the oppressed.

Thanks

Thanks be to God, that since the Fodjdary has been taken from the Indians, and lodged in the hands of English gentlemen, these violences have ceased, and the weather has a little cleared up for the poor. May God grant that in other matters likewise evil may be changed into good!

The third cause is the endless variations and mutations in posts of trust and importance.

THE third cause that hinders the tranquillity of the country, and proves a bar to the happiness of the people, may be found out in the endless variations in the persons appointed to posts of trust and charges of importance.

IN this country the custom was, first of all to enquire thouroughly into any one's faculties, and abilities; to examine into his fitness, and into the goodness of his character, and then to appoint him to an office: where, as soon as his talents, his exactitude, and his good management, had been put to the test, he was confirmed of course; and he acquired daily an experience, which enabled him to dispatch business with so much vivacity and steadiness, that life was like a parterre laid out with odoriferous flowers of delightful hues. But these rules and maxims are not adhered to by the English: they appoint to offices, at their pleasure, or on powerful recommendation, or on the seniority of rank, without minding whether the appointed is compleatly incapable of fulfilling his duty, or unlikely ever after to acquire abilities; for it has been often experienced, that one of them being appointed to an office to which he was a complete stranger, managed so well as to acquire a stock of knowledge and abilities that would now entitle him to such an appointment of course, were he to be appointed hereafter to it; when lo! presently such a man was transferred elsewhere, and another appointed in his stead, who was as compleat a stranger to the duties of that station as had been the former: and whereas the English have besides a custom of coming for a number of years, and then of going away to pay a visit to their native country, without any one of them shewing an inclination to fix himself in this land, hence

hence ignorance and incapacity come to be transmitted from hand to hand; and as they join to that custom that other one of their's, which every one of those emigrants holds to be of divine obligation; I mean, that of scraping together as much money in this country as they can, and carrying it in immense sums to the kingdom of England; so it is not surprizing at all if these two customs blended together should be ever undermining and ruining this country, and, should become an eternal bar to it's ever flourishing again. The case was different heretofore: it was these gentlemen that imported every year gold and silver into this land, where joining that which was already in the land, it procured an abundant circulation, and promoted every one's good. Still notwithstanding all those discouragements, it happens sometimes that a man once promoted to an office, acquires in a course of years such a stock of knowledge, and such abilities, as afford hopes of his continuing in it, and of his ruling according to those abilities of his which he has been at so much pains to hoard up; when straight there comes upon him a groupe of two or three men from Europe, who know nothing of business, but are superior to him in rank or seniority or influence; and these take possession of his post, while the man of abilities and merit, disgusted and discontented at his being deprived of what he deserved, thinks of going home, and of leaving the field to the disposal of the ignorant new-comers, who now sit in his stead; and in their ignorance of men and things, are immediately surrounded and hooked in by a set of wary artificeous fellows, who by hanging out false lights, and shewing them pretended flowery paths and false gardens ever green, find means to lead them by the nose, and to become mean while the center and hinges of every matter of importance: to the utter ruin of all the good which their predecessor had done, and to the disturbance of all the regulations which he had been at so much pains to establish: and years elapse and come to pass, before these new comers become qualified enough to hear of the practices of these their dependants. But

even supposing that the able and experienced man above, foregoing his journey home, should chuse to stay amongst the new comers, nevertheless, as matters are to be transacted in a council, all his efforts and all his speeches prove to be of no avail, unless the three uninformed new comers chuse to listen to reason themselves, and to enforce his regulations on their side. We have even seen that these men, being very often misled by their informers and dependants, as well as carried away by a desire of becoming themselves the center of all transactions, are very apt to pay no regard, and to afford no confidence to the representations of the able man above; but on the contrary, sure of a preponderance enforced by a majority; of for instance, three or four to one, they put shackles to his feet, and hinder his proceeding in business: all which we have seen to pass, when the Governor-general was overpowered by General Clavering and his party; nor do matters go much otherwise in the six departments of Bengal.

The fourth cause is the slowness of proceedings in the governing council.

THE fourth cause is what they call the Council. That Council is an assembly similar to that brought together by the second Qhalif, for the purpose of chusing a successor to himself, but in which his intention was to debar the females of the Prince of the Faithful from those rights fixed on them by divine institution (29). It signifies an assembly of gentlemen, intent upon a particular business; where, if there be a diversity of opinions, that

(29) The Prince, or First of Believers, is Aali, cousin and son-in-law to Mahomet; for although Qhadidja, the messenger's first consort, and Zéid, his servant, had already believed, Aali made no account of them, as they were of the house, and he continued to style himself the First of Believers. The second Qhalif, or successor to Mahomet; that is, the second Arabian Emperor, was Omar; whose intention in assembling that council was to fix the succession upon Osman or Othman, who in fact did succeed him in the Qhalifat, to the exclusion of Aali, who did not become the fourth successor till long after. This preference was worth to Osman seventeen stabs, which were given him by the enraged partisans of Aali: a bloody transaction, of which the latter remained so much suspected, that when Moavia, cousin and secretary to Mahomet, openly revolted against that fourth successor, and rejected with indignation his first commands, he ordered Osman's bloody shirt to be fixed to the top of a spear, and, in his first battle, made use of it as his principal standard.

opinion

opinion gets the better, and is approved of, that has most members on it's side; whereas if the votes be equal, then, as the governor, in consequence of his superior station and dignity, is counted for two men, his side prevails, just as it did happen in Abdol-rahman's council. But that method, although extremely advantageous, (since penetration and safety are always to be found where there is consultation,) has nevertheless it's inconveniencies: now it is a condition requisite in all consultations, that the person who is to give his advice, should have deserved to be trusted; and also that the foot of private views and partialities, should not find admittance in the assembly: conditions that are not to be found in the English council, and which probably did not exist in the Arabian one neither. Such assemblies, besides, are to be wished for only in such occasions of extraordinary importance, as embarrass the minds of the uncertain, and stagger the feet of the most discerning, and no ways in the details of execution; and still less in every small matter, and every minutiae that may occur. Such a system gives rise to an infinity of disturbances and confusions, and perpetually impedes the wheels of government; especially where the business requires dispatch and vivacity, or where it is question to determine differents, or to send necessary orders. The rules of the council happen to be such, that whatever business has come to be offered to the Governor of Calcutta, or to the ruler of some other place, at the present moment, or has been prayed for by the petitioners this long while; all that, is kept in store for the day of assembling the council, when the above affairs are proposed in that assembly, the respective Agents and Advocates attending the same: at which time, if all that store of business is put an end to, and is determined, the council give their answer in the form of a decree; else, the petitioners are to wait for another council; and as over and above the multiplicity of public business, there are at all times dissensions in that assembly, and a diversity of opinions, whether out of friendship to any one, or out of disgust to the petitioner; whilst there is often an opposition of votes; as for instance, when two of the members side with one person, and two

or

or three more support another, or because some enmity has been conceived by one of their dependants to the petitioner; hence a sensible man will easily conclude that a determination becomes difficult and nearly impossible: and thus, after numbers have been consuming their time in attendance, if any one should, by chance, come to gain his cause, it proves that upon the whole he is no gainer at all. Heretofore there was in every district a chief, a man of knowledge, abilities, and experience, who determined with an absolute authority in every matter, and every difference; nor had he more than two or three principal dependants. On a first representation from a petitioner, the matter was immediately taken up and examined, and a determination was instantly given, to the best of the Chief's abilities. After a proper examination, an order, where necessary, was issued, and the plaintiff went away, either the same day, or a few days after, with his award in his pocket; so that matters had an end, one after another; nor was it necessary, as it is now the case, that a man, after having spent years of his time in expectation, and great part of his life in attendance, should, at the end of that, find himself disappointed and undone. In the beginning of the dominion of the English, where there was but one Chief to apply to, and but one able deputy, as Radja-shytab-ray and others, to transact the minutiae of business, the affairs of the natives went on briskly, and were dispatched, in some manner or other, but still were dispatched; nor was the people of God obliged to undergo such doubts and such losses of time, as we see to-day; and although those times were not free from partialities and private views neither, yet upon the whole matters flowed on swiftly, be it in what manner soever it seemed best to their rulers. Nor did the miseries of endless delay, and endless expectation, melt mankind away: nor did the people of God become the victims of endless altercation amongst their rulers; for I remember that on the dismissal of Radjah Shytab-ray, when Mr. George Vansittart was appointed Chief, and became the center of all business, I took the liberty to represent to him "That Radja Shy-

"táb-ráy

" táb-ráy used to spend his time from one-half of each day down to one-
 " third of each night in hearing petitions, and in giving decisions, by which
 " assiduity he dispatched much business, and gave a great deal of ease
 " to every one; I added that the people of God deprived of such a
 " man, would very naturally express their anxiety, about what might be
 " his pleasure now on that head." He answered, that *being not accustomed,*
like Shytáb-ray, to sit in public amongst hundreds of people, nor to listen to
complaints and to determine causes, he could not believe that he would be able
to comprehend one-half of them; but that those that had any business with
government might apply to himself privately, as he conceived that in the
recess and silence of a closet he would be more recollected and better able
to give a decision. Upon this I requested that orders should be given to
 the centries to admit all comers, and directions to the Ushers or Chop-
 dars to introduce every one. Immediately he gave the necessary or-
 ders, and they proved strict orders; and as he was a man of quick ap-
 prehension, and very active in body and mind; and could not bear to
 have his lesson taught him by a Meonshey or Secretary, or his task
 dictated to by a Divan, or indeed by any man; he proved to be as
 good as his word, and he constantly dispatched a great deal of business.
 This state of things did not last, and the affairs and petitions growing nume-
 rous, people began to suffer from delays; when after a little time Mr.
 Law arrived, and wiped clean the eyes of the people of God with the
 sleeve of goodness and affability. After this God knows what is likely
 to happen; for it appears that to find out one single man's way, and
 to be upon good terms with him, is an easy matter; or if he
 be discontented, it is not difficult to make up matters with him; but to find
 one's way to the favor of fifteen or twenty persons, or even more, that com-
 pose a Council, (including their dependants and officers), or to guard against
 their resentment, is a task very difficult and complicated, and such as ex-
 ceeds the power and abilities of a poor suitor, and indeed such as would
 prove above the patience of any one. Never was this so well brought

to the proof as after Radja-shytáb-ráy's dismissal, and the establishment of a Council in his stead: it was at the festival ending the Ramazan, or month of fast, when the nobility, gentry, and principal men of the city, who used in that day to offer their Nezers to Radja-shytáb-ráy, were necessitated to pay that mark of respect to every one of the five members of the council. Vansittart, on seeing this, could not help observing openly, that whoever hitherto had been clear with presenting one mohur or one rupee only, would be now obliged to provide five, which was what many could not afford; whereupon having conferred upon the subject with the others, he published, that at the next festival of the Corban or Sacrifice, people should present one nezer to the Chief only, and that would be enough, as no other was wanted or expected; and in fact, so it came to pass. But some professed flatterers, who wished no good to any money that might remain in an Hindostani's pocket, went out, notwithstanding the prohibition; and, to shew their sentiments of respect to greater advantage, they repaired to the houses of the other members, and presented a particular nezer to each of them. Some that could ill afford the contribution, did the same, lest the gentlemen, thinking themselves slighted, should bear them a grudge: and those that were utterly unable, submitted to their fate, and remained moping in their corners.

The fifth cause arises from the extreme difference betwixt the English way of giving public audience to suitors, and that which was customary in these countries; and also from their engrossing every thing to themselves.

“ The fifth cause consists in the difference betwixt the manner in which the English in office appear in publick, and give audience to suitors, and that in which it has been at all times customary to hold a Derbar in this country.”

OUR illustrious Sovereigns of Hindostan, those Princes so studious of justice and equity, had it in custom to divide their time for different purposes, and had made a rule of that distribution, on which they never encroached by any other occupation; but in that division, two kinds of business held always the first rank: the first was the examination and decision of affairs relative to revenue and government: the second, the rights of individuals

individuals, and the rules of distributive justice to the people of God. For each of these purposes they had set apart two days in the week, at which time they appeared publicly in all their pomp, grandeur and glory: they were surrounded at some distance by their ministers and officers; and they gave a general audience, where any one might present his petition himself, and speak to them face to face: by which means the Sovereign being informed of the state of the country, and of the behaviour of its rulers, could provide such a remedy as the matter required; and by such means he became acquainted with the wants and complaints of his subjects and dependants; but as those Princes did not live in one and the same place, but made a travelling circuit almost every year, of course they had opportunities of hearing with their own ears, and of seeing with their own eyes, the circumstances of the subject and the necessities of the country. In the same manner they spent two days in the week in rendering justice, and in hearing the cries of the oppressed; nor did they shew any impatience at the screams and reproaches of the crowds that pressed upon them. Matters are far from being so now with the English gentlemen: as these, (and this has been already hinted at in the foregoing sheets) hate appearing in public audiences; and whenever they come to appear at all, it is to betray extreme uneasiness, impatience and anger, on seeing themselves surrounded by crowds, and on hearing their complaints, and clamours; hence it follows naturally that they must be in the dark with respect to the real state of the country, and the circumstances of the subject; and hence multitudes of people remain deprived of the sight of their rulers, and never see any thing of that benignity and that munificence which might be expected from people that now sit on the throne of kings, and figure as the representatives of Emperors:

The Indian Princes, extremely accessible.

Their lenity in putting up with the reproaches and abusive language of disappointed suitors.

VERSES OF SAADY.

“ Here is the only condition on which a ruler can live;

“ And this is, that he be master of the circumstances of the last of his subjects.”

If

If the English, in imitation of those to whom they have succeeded, vouchsafed to set apart some of their time for these laudable purposes, and at certain stated times, gave admission indiscriminately to all people, and heard their prayers by themselves, with gentle manners, and personal enquiry into the circumstances of their suitors; it is certain that even so small a change would gain their hearts, and would render them fearless and intrepid in exhibiting complaints and representing matters against the very servants of their rulers; and although all this might not be brought to bear without some expence and some trouble, on account of their being not accustomed to that practice, yet the benefits resulting from such an intercourse, would prove to be innumerable, and would be felt by both sides. May God grant that, as a favor to them and to us! there would result from that mutual commerce a nearer and more beneficial acquaintance with the inhabitants of this climate: for having once got acquainted with one individual, and tried his degree of ability and his particular talent in business, they could station him accordingly, and oblige him as his rank or abilities might point out; and as they should come to know to what particular business he is fit, they might draw such services from him, as they should wish, or think convenient: now all this is not attainable, without personal intercourse, and without inquiring into the characters and tempers of men: still less without observing every one's behaviour in a variety of circumstances, by changing the discourse, and hearing him speak on a variety of subjects, especially in this time and age, when there is so much envy and obloquy, and so much slander and artifice in every transaction.

The sixth cause is, that the English are engrossing all the trade of the country; and depriving the inhabitants of their accustomed livelihood.

“ THE sixth cause is that the English have deprived the inhabitants
“ of these countries of various branches of commerce and benefit,
“ which they had ever enjoyed heretofore.

OUR antient Princes, who after the tumult of conquest, had conceived the project of making their homes of this country, were generous enough, after

after appropriating to the Crown the conquered provinces and the principal revenues and tributes, to establish a vast body of pensions, and Djaghirs (30) for Altumgahs and charity-lands; as well as to associate in the enjoyment of their conquest, most of their principal relations and principal followers, together with the most considerable men of the land itself; and at the same time they had left open to the subject various ways of revenues and livelihood, amounting to many corors a year, as a provision for the bulk of the inhabitants. Djaghirs, to the amount of lacs; and revenues, to the amount of mighty sums; were bestowed on noblemen, whether Musulmen or Hindoos, and indeed upon any others indifferently, according to their stations and merits, with the hope of further preferment, in proportion to their abilities and exertions in the service. And in fact, nothing was more common than to see these noblemen promoted to higher emoluments, after having exhibited further proofs of their zeal and activity; nor was this munificence restricted to their own nation: old friends or new ones, old subjects or recent ones, all, of whatever religion, nation, or tribe and profession, they might be, were made partakers of their bounty: but old, decayed people amongst them, and the necessitous, together with the children of their old servants and followers, as well as the poor and needy, from whom prayers only and good wishes could be expected, were relieved with gifts of Altumghas, Amlacks, and such other lands, which were set apart for pious uses, and which they quietly enjoyed. As to the other ways of deriving incomes; for instance, from merchandizing, and from the exercise of arts and trade, all these were left open for all the world; and although they were made to see various branches of revenue

Munificence
and generosity
of the antient
Princes-

(30) The *Djaghir*, is a grant of land, severed either from the immediate demesnes of the Crown, or from the usual revenues of a province: it differs from the *Altumgha* in this, that the latter is irrevocable, although reversible, whereas the former is both reversible and revocable. The *Amlacs*, *Aimas*, *Méded-meášhes*, &c. &c. are lands set apart for charitable uses; for instance, to afford a subsistence to the physician of the town or city, to decayed noble families, and also to some ministers of the church; although these last are provided for by church-lands or *Vacfs*.

in those articles, they never turned their eyes that way, but left all that for the bulk of the people. Over and above that, thousands and hundreds of thousands of men (a), horse and foot, were kept in constant pay, whether in the service of the Emperor, or of the Governors of provinces, and they all enjoyed an easy livelihood. Compare now those multitudes with even that small number of men that still get a livelihood by enjoying Djaghirs and Altunghas in the English dominions: Even these, *in consequence of the inattention of the English to the concerns of us, poor Hindostanies*, and in consequence of the power left to their dependants and to extortioning Zemindars; in consequence, I say, of the cruelty of their lease-takers, and of the hardness of heart and faithlessness of the subordinate rulers, even these poor people also are come to experience a variety of losses, injuries and damages; for it is notorious that abuses have crept into that branch of the administration too, as it has been already mentioned in the article of charity and legacy lands, and in that of that Atheist, Zehoor-ollah-beg; and thanks be to God that there happened to be over against that flinty-hearted man such a person as Governor Hushtin in this land; and that the sufferings endured by these poor people for the space of a whole year's attendance, were rewarded at last by the Governor General's having the goodness to remove that load of evils which oppression strove to place upon their heads. On the other hand, out of that vast multitude of people called musqueteers, whose numbers were heretofore counted by ten thousands in these provinces, only a small number of them have obtained a livelihood by enlisting as Talingas in the English service; and yet it was these two provinces that fed and paid regularly forty or fifty thousand horse, which were either in the Viceroy's service immediate-

(a) The troops of the empire, under Shah-djehan, whether near the Emperor's person, or stationed in the frontiers or in garrisons, amounted to above eight hundred and fifty thousand men; and under his son, Aoreng-zib, to near a million; one half of them cavalry.

ly or mediately; in that of his sons or relations and officers, or in that of the principal Zemindars of the province. Thousands and thousands of merchants followed that numerous cavalry, and according to their respective means and callings, found a certain income in their connections with them; and in their turn afforded a livelihood to multitudes of others.

Now matters go otherwise: service for troopers and cavalry, there is none at all: and of the various branches of trade, heretofore open to all, none is left free: they are all engrossed by the Company themselves, or by the English in general; as these, whether they enjoy the Company's service, and of course have power and influence, or chance to be otherwise circumstanced, very seldom are without concerns in trade. But if, with all that, it happens that most of the superior military officers, whilst shewing a shyness for trade, are really Merchants invested with high powers and authority, how can the poor subject pretend to derive a subsistence from merchandising? Would they dare it? On the other hand, thousands of artificers cannot earn enough to support their families, as has been shewn a little above, because their arts and callings are of no use to the English; nor can it be expected that the nobility of this land, reduced as it is to that distress which we have already pointed out, should afford to take the works of these people off their hands, and to give them employment, as they used to do in former times, by keeping them always busy, sometimes in their own houses. It is even become a matter of wonder, and a subject of thanksgiving to the Divine Goodness, how these poor people can make a shift to live now, and how to this day most of them go on and endure, with their children and families.

No livelihood left to the Natives; and yet it was these two provinces that kept in pay no less than fifty thousand cavalry, and twice as much infantry.

WERE the English to take into their service some thousands of that cavalry, once commanded by such renowned officers as Sheh-muéz-ed-din-qhan, and Ahmed-qhan, and the like; there is no doubt but these men would render them important services in their wars against the cavalry of either the Marhattas or the Sykes; especially if care was taken to attach them

Advice to the English, to take into their service a body of Hindostany cavalry.

them to the service, and to excite their zeal and emulation; nor would these military services be the only advantages to be reaped by entertaining such a cavalry: there are some others that would arise collaterally to such an establishment; as for instance, a further facility of livelihood to the people in general; an addition of numbers to the farming tribe, and an increase of revenue to government.

The seventh cause is in the exorbitant powers left to Zemindars.

“ THE seventh cause may be found in the overgrowing power of the Zemindars, and in their being trusted too much.”

The Zemindars deemed, at all times, and in all ages, a race incorrigible.

It is deemed an undeniable truth amongst the men of sense of this land, and it was a standing rule amongst the Princes of these kingdoms, that no trust is to be reposed in the words of a Zemindar, not even in his most solemn promises and treaties; as they are, to a man, a refractory, short-sighted, faithless set of people, that mind nothing but present interest, and require always a strict hand. Our government took care, therefore, that they should not get an opportunity of resisting or disobeying; and likewise that they should not acquire the means of resistance and obstinacy, as they are evil-doers by profession, and at all times disposed to injury, and to distress the people of God; ever ready to infest the high-ways, to plunder and kill the travellers and the unwary; ever ready to torment the subjects, and even the nobles, to destroy the country, to ruin the revenue, and to distress and injure Government. All these are the accustomed performances of that malevolent race; and it was to keep them in awe, and occasionally to administer correction to them, that so many illustrious Fodjdars were stationed with such a number of officers and dependants. No trust was reposed in their words, nor in their actions; for their character was thoroughly understood: they were looked upon to be an incorrigible race. Now, in contradiction to antient maxims, and to rules of old standing, and in contradiction to the most approved opinions, held equally by eminent Merchants, as well as by knowing Princes, the English rulers have thought proper to compare
the

the Zemindars of this country to the Zemindars and land-holders of their own: men whose possessions amount to no more than a few thousand yards of ground, or at most to an estate of two or three coffes in circuit, and who being all men of education and honor, pass their lives in enjoying their estates and beautiful seats, and in keeping open tables: it is to such men that the English government has ventured to compare the Zemindars of Hindostan; and by comparison, to repute them men of honor and sentiment, worthy of being held in esteem and consideration, and deserving to be entrusted with full powers over their Zemindaries or estates; and yet it is these very men of honor and sentiments that ruin the whole country, torment the men of distinction settled of old in their lands, and are waiting only that time and opportunity may put it in their power by some extraordinary event, at once to display the standard of rebellion and dispute, and to raise commotions of consequence. They live quietly now; and astonished at the heavy blows they have felt from the hand of the English, as well as overawed by the superiority acquired every where by that nation, they wink at the state of things; and meanwhile, sure of the interest they have obtained, they silently pillage and oppress mankind; whilst the English rulers at the same time seem not to believe their conspiracies and their malevolence and oppressions, or to have within their breasts some scheme, which to us ignorant men, is yet a profound secret.

Strange mistake of the English, in comparing the Zemindars of India to the landed noblemen of England,

“ THE eighth cause of the declining state of these countries may be ascribed, as it has been already observed, to the enormous delays experienced in obtaining decisions from the Governor and Council, or in receiving the answers requested by the Provincial Councils and others.” Those delays arise from their being, both the one and the other, extremely occupied by their own concerns, and eternally busy in attacking or in defending; as well as from their being overloaded with an immensity of public business: a deplorable situation, that necessarily occasions those incredible

The eighth cause is the slowness of proceedings in the Council of Calcutta, and in all Subordinate Councils.

delays which dishearten, which amaze, which ruin and overwhelm every one that has the misfortune to have any business with them. Were a man of consequence appointed to hear such petitions at stated times, for the purpose of making his report to the Governor and Council; and were the necessary answers to the Provincial Councils liable to fewer delays; such a change undoubtedly would conduce to the ease and happiness of multitudes of people; and the Governor and Council would hear their names proclaimed every where, as being the cherishers of the inhabitants of this land, the true lovers of justice, and the benefactors of mankind; nor could such a change hurt the English interest in any manner. But thanks are due to God Almighty, the Author of all good Counsels! that since these lines have been written, I have heard that a lesser Committee has been appointed on purpose for such affairs, and that the standard of expectation and impatience being let down, some relief has been administered to the poor, despairing suitors of this country.

The ninth cause is traced in that custom of the English, who give offices and employments to seniority and priority of rank.

THE ninth cause is, as it has been already observed, that the English pay too much regard to seniority; whereas, it is talent and abilities that are the matter in question, and not seniority of service or recommendation, whenever it is necessary to fill up a post of consequence, and to provide for the happiness of a whole people. If without deviating too much from the rules of service, Englishmen of capacity, discernment and experience, were sent into the several districts, where their character should have time to ripen, with a certitude of being fixed in that particular branch of business; and if after having deserved the confidence of their owners and of the public, they were left to enjoy their office, without fear of being displaced; and if to so salutary a measure, Government added, at the same time, that other, of sending into each district a man of sense, knowledge, and credit, for a Divan, who, in a capacity similar to those *Canun-goes*, or Chancellor's of old, appointed by Islam-Shah, should be made independent of any revolutions in the Council;

Council, unless indeed he should prove guilty of some misdemeanour, there is no doubt but mighty benefits might be derived, from such a regulation. But at the same time it would be requisite that he should never lose sight of this: that as the members of the Council are Englishmen, that is lords and masters of this land, it is incumbent upon him never to deviate, either in his words or behaviour, from that respect which behoves him, both as a subject and a servant. It is requisite likewise, that the gentlemen, once sensible of his being an useful, zealous man, and an old attendant on that board, should listen to his advice in all matters, and not suffer their particular *Divans* and *Moonshies* (Secretaries) to engross all to themselves. This was a precaution constantly attended to, under George Vansittart, and also under Mr. Ayoun Law. Whenever such a trusty servant at any time becomes guilty of any misdemeanour or infidelity, he must be punished in proportion to his guilt, that others of the same office and station, taking warning from his disgrace, may not deviate from the path of integrity; and if ever it shall be convenient to establish such a council, it would be proper to diminish the number of members, so as that they should not exceed the number of two or three: for the multitude of rulers never fails to produce confusion in business, and diffidence in the minds of the subject; and to be upon good terms with such a number of men, is impossible for poor people, as we have already hinted. It is proper also that in appointing a Fodjdar with all his dependants and officers, the utmost precautions should be used, taking care to prefer not only none but men of experience and capacity, but also none but men of a humane disposition: and it may be even said, that, as Fodjdars go now in these days, there needs none at all. In the cities, the Cutwal will do all that business, full as well, if he be equally able and humane, and little inclined to oppression; and in the country, the man in office or ruler is enough for such a purpose: for when those officers, so appointed, shall know that people can approach their masters, and that there may be instituted inquiries and after-rekonings upon them,

you

you may rest assured that matters shall go on smoothly; that multitudes shall be released from distress and miseries; that the intent of dominion and government shall be fully answered; and that the grandees of the land and the people of God, shall exert their tongues in displaying the encomiums of such beneficent rulers: let us then put up our prayers to God, that he may vouchsafe to grant such a blessing! *for he is the best succourer, and the best helper* (31).

VERSES OF SAADY.

- “ Seek out the man fearing God, and appoint him over the subject;
- “ For he knows his business, and will prove the architect of their happiness.
- “ Ill means he to thee, that ruins thy people,
- “ Or seeks thy profit in oppressing thy subject.
- “ To intrust such people with power is an enormous fault;
- “ And an enormous fault to lodge a command in those hands, against which
“ all raise their hands to Heaven.
- “ Cherish the virtuous man, and leave the evil-doer;
- “ For if thou do’st cherish the bad, thou art an enemy to thine own self.”

THANKS be to God that the Fodjdary office having been transferred to the English, one thorn has been thereby removed from the sides of the people of God.

The tenth cause is, the partiality of the English to their own countrymen, and also to the meanest of their dependants.

“ THE tenth cause is, that the English are too partial to their own countrymen, and even to their dependants.”

As the people of this country have all of them become subjects to the English, and they have no other protector, and no other supporter or comforter besides, but God Almighty; as they have no other masters, from whom they should expect mercy and forgiveness; it is incumbent upon those new rulers of their’s, that in whatever concerns distributive justice and the welfare of the people of this land, they studiously emulate the scrupulous equity and the innate impartiality of our antient Emperors, without betraying any partiality to their own

(31) Passage of the Coran.

countrymen,

countrymen, or to their dependants, nor to those Hindostanies in high offices under them. On the contrary, they must at all times steadily make justice their main object; as such a conduct shall do honor to their national character in this world, shall gladden the hearts of the high as well as the low; give satisfaction to the Almighty Scrutator of Secrets; prepare a sure consolation for their old age; and prove a resource in adversity; strengthen their numerous conquests; procure them new ones; establish their dominion solidly; and extend their renown all over the world. Saady says:

“ God Almighty is bountiful to him that renders justice.

“ Be beneficent, be forgiving, and never be uneasy about your reward.”

THE under officers and dependants of this department ought to be chosen amongst the very meekest, amongst the foremost of those that seek the pleasure of their Maker, know the importance of religion, have high notions of fidelity and integrity, despise recommendations, and detest bribery and corruption: they must perpetually tremble for their own honor and character; keep them always in view, and pay no regard to any thing, but God's pleasure, and the commands of their masters. Attention must be had, whenever men of this sort shall be found out, that they receive such a liberal salary from the generosity of Government, as may free their minds from anxieties about their own welfare, and that of their families and children; such a liberal provision as will leave their hearts free and at liberty to secure the garment of their honesty and integrity from being sullied by the dirt of bribery, and the mire of corruption. Thanks be to God! that this department also having been transferred to the English gentlemen, the nails of the Indian Darogahs of Justice have been curtailed, and the people of God have gained some release and some repose from their enormous sufferings.

Q

“ THE

The eleventh cause, is the Supreme Court of Judicature established in Calcutta.

“THE eleventh cause, is the establishment of what is called the Supreme Court of Judicature.”

It is hardly possible not to connive at misdemeanors, and not to forgive trespasses: for man by his nature is liable to forgetfulness and neglect: and should punishment and retribution be always intended, and always administered, few persons would be free or exempted from the misery of punishment.

“ Nothing but dust is to be seen over this immense plain:

“ Let us cover our eyes, and pass over it, as quickly as we can.” (31)

In inflicting punishment and retribution, it is important to adhere to the modes in use in a country, and highly proper to pay a regard to the honor of every one, be he the meanest individual; for men easily submit, and willingly acquiesce, to whatever they find usual and established in their country! nor do they ever conceive fears and apprehensions on that head: but when they see any suppliance unaccustomed, they think that every thing is upside down, and that the world will soon be at an end. This is the idea which people have conceived of the actions and customs of the Supreme Royal Court. That tribunal has power over all the English, from the highest to the lowest, but sits in judgment by seasons and stated

Customs of that Court submitted to in England, but reputed enormous hardships in India.

times. A whole life is needful to attend their long, very long proceedings; and till a decision is given, there is no comprehending what is going on, and what is likely to follow, nor what is the probable end of the business. On the first complaint lodged by any one, be it ascertained or not, the defendant is obliged to find security to double the amount of the demand; and if he cannot afford such a security, the poor man must go to prison; and if he cannot find bail, or the complaint is not withdrawn or hushed down, he must remain in prison ten or twelve years together, whether he be guilty or not guilty. Add to

(31) This alludes to the custom of never travelling by day in some parts of Asia, without carrying over the eyes a kind of muffler, of muslin, or of horse-hair. In the hot weather they travel by night.

these

these miseries, that to translate a petition in the English language, the translator exacts as many shillings (or double guineas) as there are lines translated; and over and above all those evils and miseries, so unworthily heaped over the heads of the poor Hindostanies, it is to be lamented that on the first summons of that court to answer to a complaint, whether proved or not, whether real or frivolous; and even to give evidence on so small a matter as his having once heard of the affair in question, or, his having been somehow acquainted with it; (although in fact he should be no witness at all), a poor man must directly forsake his family, and children, leave them in misery, want, and distress, and run down for a whole month's journey to a spot where both air and water are bad (32); and if before his arrival the term of the court be over, or it's chief be gone out to some other country for a change of air, then the poor man must, without reason, and without subsistence, endure whole months at Calcutta. Nor is that all: there are other troubles and other miseries to be undergone at that tribunal, such as no one in Hindostan has even seen, or so much as heard of; the least of which is, that the English laws and statutes are so enormously voluminous, that were a man to spend his whole life on them, still the attaining a full knowledge would be impossible. After all these miseries, how painful it must be to a man, to be in the dark about the event, and all the while in a cruel suspense about his fate? constantly bereft of his family and beloved children, and without being able to guess at what is to become of himself at last.

(32) There was a time when Calcutta was unhealthy; but since that time, so many drains have been cut in it's territory, so many ponds filled in it's precincts, and so many thousands of trees have been felled down, to the southward of it, from whence blows the cool wind in summer, that Calcutta is become a healthy place: add to this, those broad streets, bordered by lofty airy houses, looking like so many palaces; and it shall be acknowledged that no city in India can be handsomer or healthier: for the houses, instead of forming, as in Europe, contiguous rows on each side of the street, are every one of them insulated, so as to receive air from every quarter.

Preserve us, O God Almighty! with the whole multitude of your servants, from such evils and miseries, if thou really art the granter of requests (33).

The twelfth cause is, that the English decide in private what ought to be decided only in public.

THE twelfth cause is found in the English indulging too much in certain abusive customs of their's: for instance, they trust too much on one hand to the representations of their dependants, making nothing of appointing them enquirers, especially whenever one has a complaint against any of them, or against any of their associates; and on the other hand, they pronounce in private upon matters relative to punishments, to murder, to the honor of families, to the pudicity of women, or to much property: now in such delicate cases it is next to impossible for the oppressed to have redress, or for the injured to recover their property. It becomes therefore proper that in cases of so much importance the Governor-general and the Committee, as well as the Members of the Provincial Councils, should make themselves present to the oppressed, face to face; it is even to be wished that such matters should be examined in public audiences; and that after having patiently heard what the suitor has to say, examined thoroughly the tales of the plaintiff and defendant, compared the circumstances of the oppressed with the commands of God, and with the rules of distributive justice; and made the utmost efforts for discovering the *lining of coats*, and for probing the depth of secrets; then that they determine the matter in their own high wisdom, without shewing favor to one side and frowns to the other: then only ought they to pronounce over it's merit, by giving right to whom right is due; and may God Almighty, out of his divine goodness, grant such days both to them and to us!

VERSES OF SAADY-SHIRAZ.

- " And now, after having said so much, we recommend you to God, and are gone:
- " But should there be no inclination in any ear to listen to our message,
- " Then the messengers have done their duty, and there lies no reproach against them.
- " Nor is any thing obligatory on us, but the task of pointing out the right way
" with the finger."

(33) An Arabic prayer out of the Coran.

LET

LET us now return our acknowledgments to God Almighty for all his numberless favors; and let us pay to his divine beneficence in particular, some inadequate praises, for his having vouchsafed to carry to an end this valuable book, by making use of so inconsiderable an instrument as the slit-tongued reed (34), and the very humble ministry of this most inconsiderable of mankind; that is Gh8lam-hossëin, son of Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, grand-son of Séyd-allim-ollah, and great-grand-son of Séyd-faiz-ollah Tebateba, who descended in a direct line from the branch of Hassen, (on all whom may God's forgiveness and mercy may rest for ever, through the intercession of his messenger, and that of his messenger's venerable heir (36), as well as through the merits of their pure and innocent offspring, on all whom may be peace and forgiveness, rest for ever, to the end of time)!. If by the favor of the omnipotent Lord of all benefits, this fragile portion allotted to my share of life should chance to last some time longer, it is my intention to compleat my narrative by continuing the history of the several reigns of Mahmed-shah and Ahmed-shah, and Aalemghir the second; as well as by adding to the chain such events as are relative to his son, by carrying the links from the twenty-third year of Mahmed-shah's, (which corresponds with the year one thousand one hundred and fifty three of the Prophet's retreat, on whom be peace for ever!) down to the present times.

(37) FROM God is assistance to be hoped for, and favor; in truth he is most merciful.

(34) From Gibraltar and from Belgrade to the Ganges, the pens are made of reeds, called Calam in Phœnician and Arabic, whence we have the Greek and Latin words of *Calamos*, *Calamus*. At a couple of hundred leagues farther than the Ganges, they use neither feathers, nor reeds, but only pencils.

(36) Aaly, was that heir; and he transmitted that right to his two sons, Hassen and Hussëin.

(37) An Arabic passage of the Coran.

R

THIS

THIS has been closed the twenty-first day of the month of Moharrem, in the year one thousand one hundred and ninety fifth (38) since the venerable retreat of that holy Being, on whom may grace and mercy rest for ever!

(38) The present time of our Author's answers to the Christian year, 1781-2.

END OF THE FOURTEENTH SECTION, BEING THE SIXTH OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



(34) From Ophir and from Babel, the gold and silver of Saba and of Sheba, the gold and silver of the East, the gold and silver of the West, the gold and silver of the North, the gold and silver of the South, the gold and silver of the East, the gold and silver of the West, the gold and silver of the North, the gold and silver of the South.

(35) All, was that bell; and he translated that right to his two sons, Hama and Hama.

(36) An Arabic passage of the Quran.

ERRATA OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Page	Line		Page	Line	
2	16	murdered in battle, read murdered.	136	25	to the second read to his second
3	24	opportunitiy — opportunity	141	22	our reach — your reach
11	13	much more important, — much more important:	—	36	plural whether — plural, whether
—	26	perfonally, thefe letters — perfonally. Thefe letters	143	32	Ab8o-fofian — Ab8-fofian
12	36	differtion — defertion	—	35	fon-in-law as — fon-in-law, as
13	11	Independant — Independent	147	7	argument — arguments
—	8	Aali-Djah; then — Aali Djah: then	—	8	and leaving, — and inftead of leaving
14	9	After — ftars	148	11	hejra 1174 — add in the margin A. D. 1761-62
18	33	my lord, Navvab, — My lord-Navvab	—	36	Ser-efra-qhan — Ser-efraz-qhan
19	20	and there happened, — and there had happened	159	24	fometimes — sometime
—	7	my lord, Navvab — My lord-Navvab	162	1	of the navy of Djehanghir-nagar — of the navy of Djehan-ghir-nagar
22	27	with the family bulk — with the Bulk	—	16	convey a leteer — convey a letter
—	28	(Save however the Sicks) — (Save however the Syks)	168	24	inclinations — inclination
—	34	Pifhvas — Pifhvaz	170	32	probably — previously
23	16	hands full — handfulls	178	30	1784 of the hejra — 1184, and add in the margin A. D. 1771-72.
—	36	that freads — that fread	180	34	of high ftate — high ftation
26	22	when the troubles had — when troubles had	181	7	favorife — to favour
—	31	; which with its province, — : this with its Province	—	11	to any connection — to a connection
27	14	to Ram-Narain; the latter, — : to Ram-Narain: the latter	186	31	Plaffy — Palaffy
—	30	Defcended — defcend	—	33	independant — independent
—	31	laug — Lang	189	24	other lands in exchange — fome other lands in exchange
—	32	Timur Acfac — Timur-Acfac	193	19	with the intent — with intent
28	11	Paft-times — Pafetimes	196	4	1175 of the hejra — add in the margin A. D. 1762-3
—	17	leaving the pleafure of Manf8r gundj — leaving the Palace of Manf8r-gundj	199	29	go at once — to go at once
—	20	the forgiven, and there, — the forgiven; and there	202	21	Ask-er-aali — Ask-er-Aaly
—	—	of the debauchees, and Profligate of — of the Debauchees and Profligates of	204	12	Djogat-feat — Djagat-feat
31	10	houfe of mourning — houfe of mourning	—	30	fon poftume — fon pofthumous
36	22	Mir-Cazem-qhan alfo. — Mir Cazem-qhan alfo;	205	9	Abdol-qhani-qhan — Abdol-Ghani-qhan
40	23	Mirza-Coochee — Mirza C8chec	209	28	veilcano — volcano
61	28	is Loofing — is lofing	212	6	private trades — private traders
—	35	and made the Shahzada — made the Shahzada	—	20	their guard, left — upon their guards; left
62	4	aigetr — aigrett	—	31	Nugur-dace — Nagar-Daca
63	1	and you felf have been appointed — and you have been yourfelf appointed	217	6	to the court — to court
—	28	the blunt — the brunt	222	18	to dictate; and — to dictate, and
67	32	Drew — threw-up	223	21	the whole negotiation — the whole negotiation with
71	6	his advice — this advice	—	30	and the Armenians — and as the Armenians
73	1	vow — view	224	28	two fuch men remaining — two fuch men's remaining
75	14	to examine little more — to examine a little more	227	21	forwards — forward
—	—	blundering fchemes — the blundering fchemes	228	6	figns of the heads — figns of the head
—	15	thefe ignorant Generals — thofe ignorant Generals	229	28	on his wifhes — in his wifhes
79	8	Umed-el-mulc — Umad-el-mulc	233	13	forwards — forward
—	23	Umed el-mulk — Umad-el-mulc	235	10	foundation — foundations
82	27	and had loft — and he had loft	238	26	arreftea, — arreftea.
—	33	heard my brother — heard that my brother	239	9	Chunar-gur — Chennar-gar
83	32	Pay-mafter — once Pay-mafter	—	12	Miaahr-Rao — Malhar Rao
87	6	of which it occafioned — which it occafioned	—	27	that — at
88	3	speedily — ftadily	—	28	that the real fubject — at the real fubject
90	10	ordinury one's — ordinary ones	—	40	pay a fmall duty — pay but a fmall duty.
92	6	Faeth-fing — Fateh-fing	240	21	as well as convenience — as well as by convenience
99	29	at thofe two heros — at thofe two heroes	247	3	Diftict of Arnn, — Diftict of Sarun.
102	7	the world be — the world would be	249	25	think himfelf grieved — think himfelf aggrieved
109	18	from Ramnarain — with Ram Narain	251	27	was then youngelt member — who was then the youngelt member
110	21	to the Imperial name, — to the Imperial name.	254	10	by the time — by this time
124	23	letters at the fame time — letters came at the fame time	257	18	Djeziarchies — Djeziarchies.
129	7	the whole of Bahar — the whole of the Province of Bahar	259	15	by their lofs — by the lofs
130	31	Plaffy — Palaffy	—	32	down thefe words — down, with thefe words
133	10	1173 of the Hedjra — add in the margin A. D. 1760-61	260	4	Monghyr — Mongher
133	17	duly — duely	—	19	Djaafar — Djaafer
136	9	and required — and he conceived that they required	263	19	a Captain or Lieutenant — a Captain or a Lieutenant
			—	34	that kind of arms — that kind of arm
			264	12	repent his temerity — repent of his temerity
			266	23	fo that ditch — fo as that the ditch

ERRATA OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Page	Line		Page	Line	
266	29	Monghyr and Radja-mahel read Mongher and Radj-mahl	351	7	Engagement; misapprehended read Engagement, misapprehended
267	4	such considerations as Mir-Cassim — such considerations as these, that Mir-Cassim	376	2	Roh-eddin-hassein-qhan — Roh-eddin-Hofseïn-qhan
	9	Monghyr — Mongher		21	could arrive, — could arrive;
	20	Grandeess of his Court, and the conjuncture — Grandeess of his Court; and the conjuncture		23	the Government; and those — the Government. And those
	21	Prisoner — Prisoners	377	2	gentleman of the Council — gentlemen of the Council
	22	in great numbers, he resolved — in great numbers; he resolved		11	Mir-djafer-qhan — Mir-Djaafer-qhan
	32	some other of — some others of	378	18	Dacca — Dacca
268	13	Monghyr — Mongher		21	Nadjm-ed-dohlah's — Nadjm-ed-Dohlah's
269	8 & 22	Nulla — Nala	379	2	and of Lord of Lords — and Lord of Lords
270	10	Nulla — Nala		19	Mr. Hustin — Mr. Hustin
	14	decline his going — decline going		20	in battles, and — in battles; and who
	18 & 30	Nulla — Nala		24	or in Europe, and really — or in Europe; and really
271	2	Nulla — Nala	380	22	Moorshoodabad, when his — M8rsh8dabad; when his,
	7	of Hindostans — of Hindostan		30	conduct, attention to — conduct, or attention to
	11	Shudjah-ed-d8lah — Shudjah-ed-Dohlah	381	21	musned of government as — Mesned of government, as
	17	Nulla — Nala		25	and instigation — and instigations
273	21	he was — was		26	he rendered himself guilty — he became guilty
274	5	Mahmed-naky-qhan, — Mahmed-Naky-qhan;	387	20	Per-zada — Pir-zada
	15	over the wall, — over the wall;	389	31	Moguls — Moghuls
275	16	Monghyr — Mongher	400	10	in his stead; it was — in his stead: It was
276	27	Nulla — Nala			— periode — period
	28	be thought — betook	404	23	Mogul — Moghul
277	11	and that that nation — and that those strangers	406	11	that if even — that if ever
	21	Rahva — Rehva	413	2	durt — dirt
	24	in his tent, — in his tent;	415	14	Counsellors — Councillors
278	17	engaged Gurghin-qhan — and already engaged with Gurghin-qhan		27	; and he added, that — : adding, that
279	23	manner, — manner;	416	24	; it is then — : it is then
	34	themselves — themselves;	418	27	such management — such a management
281	19	which had been, — which has been	422	26 & 30	badjara, — Badjara
	31	Monghyr — Mongher	426	13	Nezym — Nazém
287	23 & 27	Monghyr — Mongher		29	into the practices — in the practices
291	30	Colreishy — Coreishy	427	3	Nezym — Nazém
		As they were bid, — As they were bid;	433	18	Shah-Aalam — Shah-Aalem
293	5	Reoh-ollah-qhan — Roh-ed-din-Hofseïn-qhan	436	25	into his hands — in his hands
294	9	Monghyr — Mongher		26	humble style, — humble style;
	25	an hundred — a hundred	437	15	A. D. 1771. — 1770.
299	10	kindness — kindnesses	438	24	that although thousands — that although is that famine thousands
	18	under a disgrace — under disgrace	463	21	consonant to his dignity, — consistent with his dignity
302	4	Mogul — Moghul	469	7	umbrage against his — umbrage at his
	19	Lady's-jewells — Lady-jewells	473	5	and making visits — or making visits
304	6	Ram-narain — Ram-Narain		28	and likewise the person that was worth most money and pretious effects, — and likewise the person which proved the richest in money and precious effects
306	25	a plundering and marauding — a plundering and a marauding.	485	2	these countries as to land — these countries, as to land
309	12	heaing — hearing	435	6	A. D. 1790-8 — A. D. 1779-80
	29	forwards — forward	487	20	Nagpoor — Naigp8r
	30	what a waggon is to Coach — what a waggon is to a Coach	490	12	in that capital, he repaired — in that capital, repaired
310	12	Mogul — Moghul	501	7	argueng nothing — auguring nothing
	32	Mogul — Moghul	505	26	to have the whole G8djrat himself — to have the whole G8djrat for himself
311	6	Mogul — Moghul	508	7	to a union — to an union
325	24	and would mar — and mar	513	14	mounted and served model — mounted and served after that model and
333	17	Vizier — Vezir	515	12	Menradj — Mendradj
340	16	to a verse from — averte from			
341	11	I was on the same — it was on the same			
	23	members — members			
345	25	their commander Capitain Ahmuty, — their commander, Captain Achmuty			
349	9	M8sher Medec and Béni-Bahadyr — M8sher-Medec, and Béni-Bahadyr			
	23	plundered without measure, so that — plundered without measure; * so that			

(*) Whilst the Major was so warmly engaged with the Vezir, his own camp and baggage were attacked and plundered by the Durrani-Moghuls: an Officer ran in haste to give notice of this to the English Commander, and to ask some assistance: *no assistance at all*; answered the Major, *I am very glad to have them so well employed.*

ERRATA OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Page Line		Page Line	
520 28	unless it might be a circuitous <i>read</i> unless it might be by a circuitous	573 26	by day; for at night <i>read</i> by day; and at night
527 20	endeav to our — endeavour to	— 30	literal — litteral
530 8	and whatever party — and that whatever part	574 25	Ser-efraz-qhan <i>read</i> Ser-Efraz-qhan
— 15	set up by us — set up by ourselves	575 31	with affairs — and entrusted with affairs
— 29	one hundred and sixty lacs arrears — one hundred and sixty lacs of arrears	— 7	of casts and religions — of Clans and Religions
534 38	deemed by the Mahometans — deemed alive by the Mahometans	580 16	it is daily renewed — they are daily renewed
541 7	has been more than once — has been made more than once	— 27	of five men that that are, — of five men that are
542 25	their houses frequented (*)	581 15	was on the mare, — was on the mere
547 15	Sudr-el-S8d8r — Sadr-el-S8d8r	— 20	dispositions, Such an — dispositions. Such an
548 4	Aorengzib's — Aorengzib	— 25	a title — a little
551 1	talents and abilities — talents and abilities;	— 28	has been lost, and it will — has been lost; and it will
— 5	penetration and knowledge; — abilities and knowledge:	582 7	in his post long — long in his post
— 23	minds of the people, to the ill — minds of the People to the ill	— 14	and business, — and businesses
— 30	on these countries — over these countries	585 9	their people contented, — their people, contented
552 4	Rattan-chund — Rattan-chund	— 24	on that Subject, although — on that Subject; although
— 5	Vezir — Vezir	— 26	of his goodness; but — of his goodness: but
558 28	or he sells away — or fells away	587 25	as an organ to — as an organe to
559 30	pergana — Pergana	589 25	over to the fodjdars, and these fodjdars, with — over to the fodjdar; and these fodjdars with
563 27	and were they — and be they	596 29	two kinds of business — two kinds of businesses
566 20	inhabit in such cities — inhabit such cities	597 11	dependants; but — dependants. But
561 28	Add at the margin this Note: (+)	600 10	Extortioning — Extortionary
569 27	military grades — military degrees	— 43	Aorengzib — Aoreng-zib
571 7	possessions, but — possessions. But	602 20	and even the nobles, — and even the nobles;
— 15	fodjdar — fodjdar's	611 10	mercy may rest — mercy rest

(*) All these Strictures are much exaggerated: Mahmed-Reza-qhan, when he pleases, is certainly a man of great sense: his elder son Behram-djung is now dead; (1787) but his younger son, Dilaver-Djung, is alive, has two or three Children, and governs his father's household; nor does the latter consume now his time at Cards and at such pastimes, This second son is handsomely featured, and so was his elder. As for the father, his chest is so broad, his body so erect, his tone of voice so very loud, and his eyes so very full of fire at the age of Seventy, that he seems to have yet thirty years to live."

(+) Observe that the yellow is as well as the pink, the favorite colour of the Gentoos; and that the Emperor had introduced the custom of wearing nothing but white throughout his Court.

ERRATA OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

VERUM DICERE
QUID VETAT...? ————— Horace.

Calcutta, this 15th May, 1790.

To WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Esquire,

SIR,

THE conversation of yesternight was too extraordinary and too interesting, not to deserve some observations on my part: however, as adding new observations would only swell a letter into the size of a Pamphlet, I shall content myself with putting in order, such remarks as you have made yourself, and such answers as I then gave. That I am firmly resolved never to commence a polemic correspondence on the merits and demerits of the *Séir-el-Mutaqherín*, is certain these four years; and the resolution is unalterably fixed: if then I deviate in this single instance from such a resolution, it is not precisely to shew, that a defence might be set up, but barely to submit to the animadversion of a friend, who has observed this morning, that such a disregard to the opinion of the public (of which to day you seem to be the organ), would be deemed disrespectful and supercilious: It is then out of a respectful regard to that same public, I now stand up to speak.

You have asked me several times, Sir, whether in printing that History of India, I had not in view my own emolument, either in point of credit, or in point of pecuniary profit? (such was at least the purport of several of your questions). And my answer has been yesternight, what it is to-day, what it has been in print about eighteen months ago (1), and what it was so early as four years ago: and it is as follows: "I never have had in view, either
" personal credit, or pecuniary benefit: Had I had the last, I should not

(1) See the printed Advertisement of the Proposals under date of 22d December, 1788, printed by Cooper.

“ have commenced printing the work in December 1788, with only eight
 “ Subscribers; nor would I to-day persist in forcing all obstacles, with no
 “ more than fifty-two: out of which number some will not pay, and some
 “ are gone to Europe; in all twelve persons. Now even the fifty-two
 “ Subscribers, or the two hundred Mohurs, would not repay so much as one
 “ third of the expence of printing; for my personal labour is out of the ques-
 “ tion).” This, Sir, is my answer as to pecuniary views; nor will it be less short
 and less peremptory with regard to personal credit: my only real aim at first
 was, to bring up a great deal of information, which I conceived might
 greatly conduce to clear Governor Hastings’s character: I had a notion of
 selecting and translating only such parts as concerned him directly, or indi-
 rectly; but as such a selection was liable to cavils, and still more to envy
 and detraction, I thought it better to translate and publish the whole: and
 although I rightly conjectured that such a publication even in England (2),
 would cost me no less than two thousand rupees, and in India, no less than
 three or four, I thought it incumbent upon my gratitude to over-look the
 expence of three or four hundred pounds, for supporting the character
 of a man whom I highly respected, and who moreover had put ten or twelve
 thousand in my pocket. This resolution once taken firmly, the printing it
 in India, that is, the adding some more money to the intended sum of four
 thousand, became a consideration that did not stop me a moment. These pe-
 cuniary matters naturally bring to mind your proposal of *putting a stop to the
 printing of the remainder of my History, and of recommending it to another per-
 son for dressing it in better language.* Sir, the first part of your proposal is im-
 possible, at least it is out of my power: the second is totally repugnant to the
 natural sincerity of my heart, say to the natural pride of my mind. Please to
 attend to the following detail:

(2) It was hurried thither so early as January 1787, through the channel of Colonel Allan Macpherson.

The third Volume has cost me full, as payed to Mr. Upjohn,	S. Rs. 1600	4.
For the second actually printing by Mr. Cooper, and two other Printers I have already payed,	-	1700
And the first which is now finishing, has already cost me <i>two thousand Rupees</i> advanced to Mr. White, and will take up a thousand more,	-	3000
Add 200 Rs. paid to Book-binders, and 200 more to Transcribers,	-	400
Add 2000 Rupees more for 2700 folio pages copied in India at 4 Annas each, but sent to England by triplicate, 7400 pages, besides the freight.	-	2000
		8700 4.

add paper, &c. &c. with an infinity of small articles, which cannot be enumerated here, but which form a considerable item; and this recapitulation will put it in your power to determine whether I can at this period of time recall the books already distributed, or suspend the printing of the two others. But you, or some other person, shall assist me in the wording of the text, and also in procuring subscriptions; and you adduce in proof of the possibility of your obliging scheme, the extreme easiness with which other works, (for instance, Mr. Gladwin's Vocabulary), have produced a deal of money. I have split, Sir, yesterday that proposal of your's in three parts, and made a distinct answer to each part; nevertheless I shall with pleasure refresh your memory on the three articles.

By the expression, *wording of the text*, do you mean your taking the whole work down, and hoisting-up a new one of your own, or of your friend's, from the same materials? Or do you only intend to correct here and there errors of grammar and syntax, and bad arrangement? If the first, Sir, the work would become your own to all intents and purposes, and surely you would not have me put my name to it: such an imposition would be quite out of character in me. But take care, Sir, such a wording, as you mean, would detract from the genuineness of the translation, and of course from the veracity and integrity of the intended evidence. But possibly you mean only to correct some imperfections which you think relative to grammar, syntax, or bad language; and I must answer as to the first, that with a language so very easy, and so very

unincumbered with rules (3) as the English, it would be a shame indeed in a man of some sense and knowledge, to need any one's corrections in either syntax or grammar, after thirty years acquaintance with both: those two articles are in every foreigner's power; and let me tell you, are in general more attended to by Englishmen in France, and by a parity of reason, by foreigners amongst the English, than by the natives themselves. I inform you, Sir, that there may be no less than *two thousand* such faults in the first Volume, I say, either faults of grammar, or of syntax, or of punctuation? But do you really believe that above ten or twenty of these can be mine? If you ^{think so} ~~do~~, please to do, what neither you nor any of those censorious readers of your's have done to this day: on finding an error of any kind, look at the errata, and you shall discover that the error has been taken up, and corrected; I mean those in grammar and syntax: for those of punctuation would be numberless; and there would be no end of them. Moreover on giving me a call, you shall find that every one of those corrections ^{is} ~~are~~ in my hand.

THE question then arises, why whilst so many works are printed tolerably well, and only tolerably, (for there is none perfect, not even the Gazette, and not even the weekly advertisements) my work happens to be teeming with faults? The answer is easy; and to my sorrow, I have had full time, and full opportunities to become master of it. The Printers, like all mankind, will attend rather to their own concerns, happen what it will of those of others. No work within my knowledge in Calcutta, has been tolerably printed, but where the author himself was the owner of the printing office or a partner; or where the Printer had purchased the propriety of the work; or at least where he had been put upon his guard, by being made a sharer in the fate of the book to be printed, that is, by being promised

(3) The French over and above its being pronounced in a manner quite foreign to the spelling, has an infinity of rules (and which is every wit as bad, an infinity of exceptions to these very rules) the Greek and Latin are nearly as troublesome; but the Arabic is quite revolting.

for his trouble one half of the author's profits. For such and the like undertakings, the Printers give themselves pains; and it is for these, and also for Gazettes, Advertisements, and such daily lucrative jobs, that they reserve the two or three good hands that may be in a Printing Office (4). As to such wretches as we, who pay and must pay them by the *sheet* (be the printing what it will,) it is the least of their cares whether it be printed tolerably ill, or quite ill. Our work is made over to the apprentices; and on your scribbling very angry notes, they are carelessly answered, or even thrown by with the most supercilious inattention. But if you have been so ill advised as to pay the Printers before hand, as is my case, then rest assured that the very least object of attention in their Office, is your work. But I have been told by some persons, for instance, by the elegant translator of Sonnerat's voyages (and he was concerned with the Printer,) that I must correct a proof-sheet over and over two and three, and even four times, untill it is printed perfect; and that I must send it back at each time, untill it is *returned printed to my mind*. Well, sir, all that has been done for sometime; and what was the consequence of that obstinacy on my part? that the Printer who used to send me a proof-sheet or eight pages every Friday, and as much on Saturday, in order to have those sixteen pages printed off on Sunday morning, finding that the same sheet, by being returned over and over, encroached on the intended Saturday and Sunday, has sent me only *one sheet a week*; and as my corrections engrossed the two days and a half set a part for me in the week, so the two sheets, that were to be furnished this week, were reduced to only one; and this one, after having consumed the Friday and Saturday of this week, encroached also on the two like days of the next week. Thus, sir, the Printer who was under an engagement to me, to print and compleat the two first volumes on or before the 24th of December last, had not delivered by that time so much as one half of the first volume;

(4) There are but four Printing Offices at Calcutta, amongst which one only is worked by Europeans, that of Cooper's: the three others, although inspected by an European, are worked by natives, who print in a Printing Office, just as they copy in a Counting House, without understanding the language.

and

and he who had obliged himself under a penalty, and for a pecuniary addition to the accustomed price, to deliver me the third volume on the 20th September, did not deliver it sooner than the 20th January, and that too after having made me sign his bill. But I ought to have prosecuted him. Well, Sir, if I file a bill against him by that 20th September, the law-suit is likely to last a couple of years at least: (for Lawyers have sworn to find not only flaws, but even capital nullities in whatever bonds or papers they have not drawn themselves,) and mean while my work, which I intended to send to England in that very September, or at least in October following, or at least in November, or at least in December, or as a last resource, in January; my work I say, shall mean while remain at stand. But still at the end of that January, I went to law; and to render the charges as moderate as possible, I drew up my own case in one page, argued it in two more, added four pages of vouchers and copies of letters, and carried the whole to an Attorney, desiring him to *present the whole, as it was to M.* such a one, an advocate, for his opinion. In a few days more I thought it full as well to prosecute another Printer, sensible that joining the two causes would have a tendency towards diminishing the charges. Unfortunately this intended prosecution having taken vent, the Printer lessened my usual allowance of oats, and sent for excuse that he could not go on with the work, as his foreman and two apprentices had run away with a vast quantity of types. Fain I was then to suspend the prosecution, and at last to drop it entirely. In a couple of months more, I received two Attorney's bills of 192 and 178 Rs. in all 370 Rs. I ran to my Attorney's: "pray, Sir, why that charge of 20 Rs. for drawing up my
 " case? and why that other of 45 for copying my papers! I brought them
 " ready copied; and as to my case, I am not satisfied with your statement
 " of it: it is clearer by all means in my own narrative——(a great pause
 " here) at least it must be so, I conceive: (did I add, after some recollec-
 " tion) for as you may have, for ought I know, twenty such cases to attend
 " to, and I have but this one, there is no wonder in my having better seiz-
 " ed

“zed the Gordian-knot in a subject of which I am a thorough master.” Answer; *Sir, your case was defective in law-terms; and as to your papers, they were not legible enough* “Sir, I will submit it to any man, whether this is not a fair ‘hand, and that of your clerk’s a very ordinary one’——answer: may ——be,——but it is too small; and an advocate will not pore over such a minute band.

IN short after a little dissertation, I paid the bill; and guessing at the lengths to which I would have been carried for instituting a law-suit, by the expences I was put to for *not instituting* it, I went home, and took for devise: *poor author, bear and forbear*: this is thy fate. “In M8r-sh8da-
“bad in order to gain a law-suit you must pay six per cent. of it to govern-
“ment, and fifty or sixty per cent more to Moonshies and Divans. At
“Calcutta, Moonshies and Divans are out of question; but still the fifty per
“cent must be paid to Lawyers. *Bear then and forbear.*

AFTER this little digression upon prosecuting printers, (and the penalty I had subjected them to was only a sum of 400, which I am told now is a mere trifle to a printer) after such an excursion, I come back to my subject.

To what purpose is it to correct a proof-sheet now sent me for the second time by a printer? In the first, which I had returned, I had corrected six omissions, four Solecismes, and sixteen faults more of all sorts. It is brought back to me in the afternoon, and I find a dozen of faults corrected, seven or eight preserved, and a novel crop of half a dozen new one’s. What to do? correct again; and an angry note is added at the bottom of the page: but by this time it is five o’clock: the Printer must take his evening ride: he gives the proof to the apprentice, who instead of attending to all the corrections, minds only the less troublesome ones, and then sends the table to the press, where a hundred sheets are printed off in half an hour; and this is the *work corrected*. I know, not, one or ten, or a hundred, but some thousands of such instances.

And

/ *that*

And what, if the Printer despising your quality of a Foreigner, thinks an Englishman *whatever*, has a right to know more of the language than you, and takes the liberty of correcting you, of sneering at your emendations, of substituting his own, and of throwing away without answer some angry notes in which you *inform him that he is paid for printing what is before him, and not for correcting it?* for instance to what purpose is it for me to have written in my manuscript he *was preposed to that business*. A Printer, (but this Printer is neither Cooper nor Bruce, who are both scholars) a Printer will dash *preposed* and print *proposed*; and when you tell him that those two words are quite different; and that the latter etimologically signifies, *brought forward, or mentioned*, whereas the other signifies *put over or put in office*; the man will resolutely answer you, that *preposed* may be English, but not English of Europe, only English of Bengal. Look at the page 414, line 27. and page 422, line 2d, of the third volume. What for to have written in the original *obsolete*? the apprentice takes it to be *absolute*: you correct: he does not mind it, or mistakes it again; and the next morning you receive 200 sheets, all saddled with an *absolute*. page 355, line 8, Volume 3d. What for to have originally written *surrendered* it immediately, page 185 line 11, Volume 3d.? and what for to have corrected it in the proof? the 200 sheets, bear it *surrounded* immediately. What for to have written very legibly *alambicated*, and to have corrected at two different times? the Printer writes you that the word is not English: and that it ought to be *amplificated*: he promises to print as you direct, and yet leaves the proof to the apprentice, who carelessly makes it over to another, who uninformed of the dispute, sends you 200 sheets all with an *amplificated*. 3d Volume, page 270, 43d line. Write *bit* his fancy: correct over and over: to no purpose: it is Bengalee English: the Europe English is as follows: *taken his fancy*, 3d Vol. page 278, line 10. Write *disparate* ten times over; all your sheets are saddled with a *desperate*, 3d Vol. page 338, line 24th. The manuscript has it, *and that he has no Companion*;
the

the book has, *and he has no Companion*, Vo. 3d, line 20, page 348. What for to have dashed in my *manuscript* the word of *her clan*, for that of *her desert*? the apprentice prints over and over her *desart clan*. V. 3, page 361 L. 30. The manuscript has: *shaken off inferiority and submission*; The book 3 has p. 365, line 13, *shaken of his inferiority and submission*.

<i>Ma.</i> the officiant	B. 3d. Page 10. Line 30. <i>the efficient</i>
to hate the man	B. 3d. — 32. — 29. <i>to take the man</i>
<i>M.</i> bearing his name	B. 3d. — 46. — 30. <i>bearing his name</i>
<i>M.</i> setting up	B. 3d. — 40. — 45. <i>fitting up</i>
<i>M.</i> Crapule	B. 3d. — 76. — 15. <i>Crapulence</i>
<i>M.</i> Into a despondency	B. 3d. — 96. — 13. <i>into despondence</i>
<i>M.</i> Dependance	— 128. — 16. <i>Dependence</i>
<i>M.</i> and who augured no good	— 131. — 6. <i>and who acquired no good</i>
<i>M.</i> Either their person or those jewels,	— 134. — 19. <i>Either person or jewels</i>
<i>M.</i> B. M. de Bury Major of Place at Pondicherry	— 152. — 25. <i>M. de Bury, Major of a place at Pondicherry.</i>

You are tired Sir, and so am I; but here I must end, as the French have it, *by the bon morceau*.

HERE is the text, (the Printer has the manuscript; let it be produced)
 “ arrived at the Capital (Shudjah-ed-dö8la) he expected a benefit from
 “ the very change of air; but his wound becoming worse and worse, *and*
 “ *by this time affecting his health considerably*, it was discovered now that it
 “ had degenerated into a Cancer, &c. &c.

WHETHER these four lines be English in Idiom, *you* as an Englishman have a right to determine, although the opinion of even a Semi-Englishman, who reads and scribbles these thirty years past, ought not altogether to go for nothing; I say *you* as an Englishman, may possibly object that they are not English in Idiom. Be it So: but I need no man’s assistance to maintain that they are English in grammar, and Syntax. Nevertheless the Printer thought them English of Bengal; and here is his English of Europe:

“ Arrived at that Capital, he expected a benefit from the change of air;
 “ but his wound becoming worse and worse, *and by this time had consider-*

“*ably affected his health*, it was discovered that it had degenerated into a “cancer.” Shocked at such an enormous liberty, I wrote a note of complaint, backed it by a very angry one, called on the Printer myself, spoke angrily, corrected again: it was five o’clock: this hour is not to be passed-by: he made the proof over to his apprentice, who all this while had given evident signs of approbation to his master by his smiles, cast of features, and shrugging-up of the shoulders—and the next morning my excellency was saluted with full two hundred, *and by this time had considerably affected his health. Ex uno disce omnes.* What to think of the single Latin verse?

Quod tibi vis, jubeas aliis, hæc Summula legis.

finding it very ill printed, I wrote it in square letters, so that no mistake could be committed; and yet you shall find B. 3, P. 415, line 3, *hæc summula legis*, every where.

FROM these few Specimens, Sir, you may easily form to yourself an idea of the enormous difficulties, and endless disgusts I had to surmount in order to go through so very voluminous a work. Had I known then how to manage with Printers, that is, how to excite their cupidity, by concerning them in the undertaking, and above all, how to make the concern their own, the work would have been printed less ill at least, and full six months sooner.

REMAINS, Sir, the third article of your proposal: your proposing to fill-up a new Subscription, and your animadverting to the sum of eleven thousand Rupees, which M. Gladwin’s Vocabulary has produced, and to the scanty reception which my own work has met with from the public. The comparison is very far from being fair; and I hope, you shall agree in opinion with me, as soon as you shall have attended to a few considerations. A Vocabulary, no more than a Dictionary, is not a book of a nature to be sought for by readers in general: Both are to be resorted to occasionally, sometimes, once in six months; but neither of them can be read throughout, and of course both are utterly incapable of captivating the attention, *idest* of producing

producing encomiums, and of opening purses. From M. Gladwin's Vocabulary in particular (and I have it) you must, exclude four-fifths of the common herd of readers: you must exclude women; and all those that read for amusement; you must exclude all those that have neither inclination to, nor an insight in, oriental learning. To learned men indeed, it will prove of much assistance, but only occasionally. If then so very small a work has produced so large a sum, it was because the author's reputation, as an author, and a man of letters, is formed, known, and established; whereas no one knows any thing of me. Secondly because he is an Englishman, a man high in station; and of course has many friends: whereas I am next to nobody, and my station is immediately after nothing. Lastly, because a tender regard was payed to his circumstances. Else, Sir, I maintain that in this country, any Vocabulary whatever, has no chance at all for so much as the thousandth part of the sum of eleven thousand Rupees. We may consider Sir W. J—s his ingenious grammar for the Persian language, as a kind of Vocabulary; and yet who ever thought of it? There it lyes these many years in the shops, filling up whole shelves at eight annas the volume, although the very binding must have cost two or three Rupees. And as to Mr. Gilchrist, although he could muster no less than a hundred and fifty Subscribers, I am firmly of opinion, that had not government assisted him both by taking two-hundred of his books, and by freeing the rest of postage, his case would have been full as bad as my own (5).

LET us have done then with Subscriptions, as well as with errors of syntax and grammar: the more so with the latter, as no one of my readers on stumbling upon an error of the kind, or upon a solecism, has so much as once thought proper to look at the end of the book, and to try whether

(5) The most difficult, and in my opinion, the best translation extant in Calcutta, is Mr. Gladwin's second volume, where he treats of Gentoo Metaphysics; and yet, although the set sold for 120 rupees, that is for four times more than my work, and he had the countenance of government, and the wishes of a great number of friends, ask him whether, had not the Directors taken two hundred of his books, he had any chance of making money by his publication?

it was a fault of the printer's or not? Let us draw a veil upon this singular and very novel doubt, whether a man of some knowledge and some sense, who has in times of yore wrote very esteemed French, which he had practised only for twelve years, is so very likely to ignore the English, which he is practising these thirty.

BUT I am likewise reproached for having wrote in bad language, and for having dared to write an history, notwithstanding the physical impossibility under which a foreigner labours, and must labour, on that head: and all this is said, by people that might have reflected on the many foreigners, who are become authors in foreign languages. Bolingbroke is an author, and an elegant one in French; Voltaire wrote Sonnets to Queen Caroline, and also some other pieces, which were never suspected to be written by a foreigner. The Frenchman Menage is an author, and an elegant Poet, in Italian. Lord *Carteret* ~~Carteret~~ wrote excellent Spanish. Lord Cobham wrote in German and French at Vienna, and gave in 1730 the first notions of commerce, maritime affairs, and prosperity resulting from manufactures, to the Austrian council. Barretti, an Italian, has written in English in 1760; and an English nobleman, whose name I *have forgotten* ~~forget~~ (7), but who fled to Florence in the civil war of 1640, where he became a favourite and a minister with the grand Duke, is well known to have wrote elegantly in Italian verses, as well as in prose. Of late Lord Chesterfield wrote so amazingly well in French, that one would almost say that he wrote it still better than the English. The Abbè Vinkleman, a German, wrote enthusiastically and poetically in Italian of the antiquities of Rome and of Italy; and he is reckoned amongst the Classics. Lastly, notwithstanding the slight thrown upon them by Barretti of late, Milton's *Penseroso* and his *Allegro* always had the esteem of the Italians themselves. I

(7) Arundel of Wardour, a nobleman different from Arundel of *Trefusis*, which last is a Cornish family. We may add to this, Sir Hieronimo Mengs, a German, and the greatest painter in Europe, who in 1780 wrote in pure Spanish a treatise on painting in general, and on Spanish Painters, in particular. It is the best and most elegant work extant on the subject; and it has been adopted for a classic by the Academy of Madrid. It is translated into English by Dillon.

could carry the catalogue much further, and tell you of good translations of Pope's essay on man, made by *German Noblemen* in *French verses*. I will not tire you with a longer list; still less would I meddle with the invidious question of asking what language then I must be acknowledge to write tolerably: for I am very often a foreigner with the French; and my first section of the *Séir-el-Mutaqherín* in that language, has cost me an infinite deal of trouble, and at last proved to be full of anglicisms (8): and well it might, being translated upon no other original than the English itself. It was only after having got within the current of the French language, that I came back to that first section, and wrote it better in fifteen days at this second time, than I had been able to do it the first time in three months. It is needless then and even invidious to handle such a question. But here is another which does not labour under that inconvenience, although it is a kin to it.

THERE is a man in Calcutta, who so yearly as the year 1766, was an author in the English language, say a scribbler. He wrote a long letter of eight or ten pages to Luke Scrafton, Esq. once resident at the Court of M8rsh8dabad, and then director of the East India Company: a gentleman, who in his dispute with Governor Vansittart, had reproached him for his having given service to a man who was known for being a spy to Mons. de Buffy. This accusation was shewn to be not only groundless, but absurd; the man having undergone a thorough examination before the council in 1761, and that examination having produced Governor Vansittart's good will, and that of Mr. Hastings. The letter was printed in London, although anonymously; and I can assure you that the reviewers said, that it was written with spirit and temper; nor did Mr. Vansittart and Mr. George Gray, (the latter once of the Council of Calcutta) express themselves in any other terms. *But we have, but your word*

(8) As I had then no original of the *Séir-el-Mutaqherín*, and I was become so accustomed to scribbling as to be at a loss what to do with myself in the long interval of time that elapsed between my sending my English translation to London, and receiving an answer, I betook to the pass-time of making a French translation upon the English one. The beginning cost me an infinite deal of trouble; and it was but at the second and third section that I worked myself into the current of the French diction.

for that approbation. Indeed, Sir, you have but that, because at such a distance of time and place, the former is not susceptible of better proof; and because I never keep either copies of such letters or originals. Here is then another story.

IN 1775 and 1776. that same man chanced to be in correspondence with Colonel Monson from M8rsh8dabad: a correspondence which did him some wrong in the mind of Governor Hastings, who did not know then that the man was nearly a stranger to that Gentleman, which latter, he did not suspect to be at the bottom of all his correspondence with Mr. Goring. This correspondence contained a variety of matters: “ the famine of 1769, and its
“ consequences: the Rohilla war: the quantity of cash in Bengal: the
“ population of the Country: the quantity of Cash imported by the war:
“ the quantity monthly imported by that war: the quantity monthly import-
“ ed from Banarefs.” It contained also much extraneous matter. That same man afterwards wrote “ A very long letter on the necessity and even expediency
“ of parting with the Americans, and securing to Old England, as early as pos-
“ sible, the Herrng-fishery, Cod-fishery, &c. Whale-fishery, and the Trade
“ of Coals; four important Articles, that afforded thirty thousand Seamen a
“ year to Old-England: in the two first of which, the Americans had a
“ local advantage over the English, and in the fourth of which, they made up
“ the local disadvantage of greater distance by the local advantage of easier
purchase and cheaper manufacture; for Coals may be had in Cape Breton
“ and all over Nova Scotia, even at the surface, but surely at no greater
“ expence than digging five or six feet; whereas in Old England, digging
“ for Coals, and bringing them up to the surface, required an immense deal
“ of ingenuity, and a most expensive machinery!” This letter contained likewise a variety of new remarks upon America and England respectively.

THESE two Pamphlets Colonel Monson, sent to England, after having declared here, that they considered a subject already trite, under a new point of view. But they were immediately followed by a letter, intituled *State of*

Europe

Europe in 1800. This also was a novel subject treated in an original manner (9). All three were sent to England, anonymous: all three were printed in London with not a single note of emendation, and all three passed for done by an Englishman. The reviewers in giving a list of the new works printed, mentioned them both, without adding a word of encomium or blame, and just as they had mentioned fifty more publications, of which they only indicated the contents and date. This last transaction, Mr. Champain, now at Dacca is well informed of; indeed the author of these three Pamphlets never kept a copy of any of these papers, and he had forgot them totally. But the gentleman having chanced to find him in 1779 at a certain Armenian girl's, called Mrs. Drivers, he mentioned the letter on the year 1800, and told him that he knew more of it than was suspected; *for he had a copy of it.*

THE same man in the year 1776 had a considerable difference with the Provincial Council of M8rsh8dabad, who were guilty towards him of a *glaring injustice* (and this was the expression used by Governor Hastings himself in full Council.) In the sequel the man who saw that the public and even the Supreme Council itself swayed by the name and authority of Provincial Council, had greatly mistaken his case, thought it incumbent upon him to set the public to rights; and he distributed ten copies of a long letter of twenty pages written on the subject. All that I can say about it is, that it turned the tide of popular favor, and produced the gain of his cause. But as it represented the *glaring injustice* in such a manner as rendered the Provincial Council, both odious and ridiculous, and even threw a slur upon some operations of Government itself, the Supreme Council wrote to their substitutes at M8rsh8dabad *to let the man alone henceforward.* This letter was read by Sir Elijah Impey; and the man happening once to be at breakfast with that Magistrate, but at the other end of the table, a Captain of an East Indiaman, who was

(9) I have seen some years after a French or an English work on the same subject; and I remember of a French work on the year 2000. Both might seem to borrow largely from me, but treat the subject in a much more extensive manner.

close to Sir E. asked him whether the man could speak some English? *Speak some English!* answered the Magistrate in a low voice, but which I overheard, *he writes it as they do in London, without having ever been in England; and he is a formidable writer in polemics:* the latter phrase was pronounced with a sneer.

I have been obliged, Sir, to run over all that detail, in order to shew you a succession of men of parts, who never have objected to my English, whether in letters or in a Pamphlet; and also in order to ask how it happens, that this same man in writing a book of history in eighteen Sections, that is in binding together eighteen Pamphlets, should have chanced at once to write so very ill, that no less than twenty person at table (10) have declared that there was no reading two pages of it. Are not all those solecismes, and all those faults of grammar and syntax, owing to the carelessness of the impression; or is it necessary that in a cause which so deeply effects not only his credit, but very deeply his fortune, he should stand up to speak in his own praise, or at least to oppose to the opinion of twenty men, the testimonies of, not twenty men, indeed, but of five men of parts, and a nameless one, who think advantageously of the work; the latter in particular in writing to a friend at Patna, (and I saw his letter by mere chance) tells him that it is *in good language*, and *that it does not read like a translation*. Were I to add a few illustrious names, such as General Carnac's, Colonel Murray's, Mr. Chapman's, Mr. M'Kenzie's,* and several others, Lucan's Verse of *Adversas-que Aquilas, et pila minantia pilis*, might find its place here; and a file of Englishmen might be opposed to a file of Englishmen.

ALL these people, whether in Europe or in India, never suspected that I wrote quite like a foreigner, (and indeed they soon would have told me so, had they thought it;) and it is no less certain that it is only since I have wrote history, that is since, I have thrown away the mask, and given myself for what

(10) At Mr. Browne's in Chouringhi.

* Colonel John Murray is Commissary general in India, with a seat at the Supreme Council: the two other Gentlemen are intrusted with offices of Importance; and General Carnac is known for an eminent scholar.

I was,

I was, that I have been taken for a foreigner, and have been thought so greatly defective in language: let us examine then whether this be not owing to this incident, that a translation, although ever so excellent, must unavoidably look like a translation, that is, ~~look~~ like something foreign. But if this be the case with the Greek and Latin writers, whose ideas, notions, Religion, ways of speaking, Gods, terms of war, terms of eloquence and arts and sciences, with a infinity of simple and compound words, have been naturalized in the languages of Europe; what must be the case of a translation from the Persian, into the English or any other European language, where there is as much diversity in those articles, as there is similarity in the European ones? Is it not natural enough to suppose that some anomalies, and some out of the way expressions, must unavoidably become the result of that insurmountable diversity? Is it not natural to suppose, and would it not be generous to think, that were a translation in as fine a language as that of the best English historians, it would unavoidably deviate from the genuineness of the text?

BUT is it not mortifying enough that so much beauty of style should be required of an accidental writer, who at most is but a Semi-Englishman; and who unquestionably had views of his own, quite foreign to the vanity of turning author? Is it not exceedingly hard that so much exactness should be required of a man under such a singular predicament; at a time that England, England as it is, cannot boast of a single tolerable historian earlier, than the times that have produced the Hume's, the Littleton's, the Robertson's, the Gibon's, and the Juniuses, &c.? go through all the writers of Henry the Eighth's reign, and through all those of the times of Queen Elizabeth, and of James the First: they are become obsolete, will you say: indeed they are so as to the words, and arrangement, and the rounding of the periods (11), but they are so also as to the style. Look

(11) It is needless to insist that the Bible, as translated by Cranmer and the others, is a classical book to this day. Classical it is, because Religion has received no alteration from that day, and because the very turn of the phrase has been insensibly transfused into the English language.

throughout all that immensity of writings published in King Charles the First's reign by the Parliament and by it's adversaries: you shall find solid reasoning, but conveyed in coarse, home-spun, indeed in clownish language; and I cannot except one single writing from that censure, save the answers penned by King Charles himself, or by his Secretary Lord Falkland. Throughout that witty reign of Charles the second, I see good language enough in some authors, and flowing verses in Waller, but very harsh writings every else-where, and some solecismes and faults of grammar even in acts of Parliament (look at Blackstone's commentaries) But would any man chuse to write as did Hobbes and Harrington? (I except Alegernoon Sydney.) And would an historian take the long winded, although very sensible, periods of Clarendon's for his model? would the unequal and inexact Burnet, or the very sensible, but now and then Scurri- lous Swift, be taken for a pattern in these days in that kind of writing? and shall Harte's history of Charles the Twelfth be reputed legible, although supported by no less a man than a Chesterfield? no indeed, no: so long as people shall have such books as those that have done so much honor to England; books in which the English have taken the Lead of all Europe these forty years, without being equalled by any Nation of the world to this day; no one will think of those early authors for his models. Even Dryden, the great Dryden, of whom Pope himself used to say with regret: *Virgilium tantum vidi*, even Dryden is strangely neglected in an infinity of places; and excepted in his ode to St. Cæcilia, he seems inferior to Pope almost every where.

It is then in a Nation which has soared but of late, that they expect a soaring style, and a soaring performance in a man who never pretended to be a writer, who has translated only from the Persian, and who has translated from it, barely because his purpose could not hve been answered any otherwise.

LET

LET us then drop that invidious subject: independently of that, it is also highly disagreeable: the more so, as I have lately seen two pages of a translation of the *Sèir-el-Mutaqherîn*, made in India, and of twelve made in Europe; and although it would be deemed vanity to talk here of my own; yet, as I cannot after all divest my own self of consciousness, I shall only desire you to remember the saying of a certain Earl of Warwick of old, called the King-maker, who was a tall stout man, and an old warrior. A friend of his was whispering into his ear, that a certain man, highly discontented, had thoughts of assassinating him. At that very moment the man chanced to pass by in the street: the Earl, who only cast a look at him, said immediately: *this man will never kill me*. These two translators, then, will never kill me; and I appeal, Sir, to your own future knowledge in five years hence.

So positive a prediction in my own behalf is very daring, will you say: Sir, it is; but still it is out of my power to divest myself of consciousness: however here is another prediction still stronger, and full as precise: Please, Sir, to mark my words: you have, (and undoubtedly you spoke both by echo and by report, as well as upon your own judgement), you have spoken slightly of my large Pamphlet of 90 pages, and have added that a Governor-general had nothing to do with a quarrel of mine with Mahmed-reza-qhan; or in other words, that such a pamphlet would never kill any man. I inform you, Sir, full two years beforehand, that it will make a great deal of noise, and will kill some one at least. Mark my words: mark the boldness and precision of the prediction: It is none of those predictions that have made so much noise in the world, and which being written in the most imperfect, and most uncouth, and most barbarous language in the world, (a language that does not discriminate betwixt the perfect and future tenses; so that the predictions written in it may be translated rightly in a past tense as well as in a future one). It is in English, I make that prediction: in one of the most perfect languages

that ever existed:* the Pamphlet *infallibly shall kill some body*. But when? when jaded myself with scribbling, and oppressed by age, as well as become averse to motion, I shall coldly look at the corpse without being inclined to get up, and stoop down, to strip it of some of its clothes.

But since the subject of that Pamphlet is come of itself at the end of my pen, and we differ so widely as to its matter and future fate, and indeed, as to its very intent and purport; allow me, Sir, to set you to rights on those two last heads, which upon a cursory view, you have doubtless misconceived.

You say that a Governor-general has nothing to do with my quarrel with Mahmed-reza-qhan. This being so bold an assertion, I shall oppose it by one full as bold: *he has*. A Governor-general is, not only the Company's tax-gatherer, and its man-killer; he is also its Supreme Magistrate, the man that *sees that justice is rendered to every one*. At this rate, Sir, the King of England, who is the tax-gatherer born of the Nation, and its General in chief, as well as its high Admiral, should have nothing to do with the little quarrels about *meums* and *tuums*, that are rising daily amongst the meanest subject; and yet, he presides virtually there in civil matters; for instance at the court of Common Pleas, as he does at the King's-bench, in criminal ones: nor is the Chancellor in his Court of Equity any thing else but the King's representative and substitute. A Governor-general is then by station *obliged* to attend to the redress of the meanest subject. But, what if this injury, glaring, and ruinous as it may be to the latter, involves in his case all subjects whether(12)? and what, if the very narrative of that case supposes, that there is not much personal exception, *alias* injustice, in that man's case; as that case of his, shocking as it looks, is no more than that of all those refractory

* I suspect it to be full as Energetic, but even clearer, than the Greeck, which one would call the most perfect language that was ever spoken by man.

(12) Reckoning eight millions of souls throughout Great Britain, it becomes a question whether there may be a hundred men amongst them of importance or of criminality enough to be liable to a seizure of papers, as was Wilkes; and yet the whole nation rose as one man in his case: It is not so with my own: Every man in Bengal, and the lowest, more than all, is liable to be fleeced out of his ground, or at least, to be ransomed for it.

men, who absolutely intend and pretend to carry a cause, not by paying down a consideration of fifty, or sixty per cent, but by dint of right, and by dint of argument? What if the Civil court of justice at M8rsh8d-abad proves to be exactly under the same predicament? And at a time when every month brings forth some new regulation for the army, (an army flushed by twenty years victories, and fashioned by twenty years discipline; an army that will fight very well, whether some little regulation should take place or not;) will no Governor-general think his duty deeply concerned in proposing some alterations in the mode of distributing justice to the subject? will he not attend to such a daily perversion of justice? then *no taxes are due to him: no obedience is due to his commands*—Who says so? and who is there preaching sedition and anarchy? It is Sir, the Author of the *Sèir-el-Mutaqherin*, who tells you in his second Volume, *that submission in the subject, and an intense religious regard to distributive justice, in the Ruler, are terms correlative; and that the one cannot exist, where the other ceases to be.*

You are surprized at such a language in an Asiatic: but here is a great deal more. The same Author tells you (and his words have been printed in Italics, to render them more prominent) “that the *apathy* of the English, (has the Persian such a word? it has: look at the original.) That the apathy of the English in whatever concerns the natives, and their innate indifference for whatever is not war or politicks, that is, themselves, is the most discouraging (*idest*, the most revolting) circumstance in the world: he———” but there would be no end to citations of the kind. Look at the second Volume, and attend, not only to what it says openly, but to what it insinuates, and to what conclusions it *points out silently with the finger*. Observe, Sir, that all these complaints about the bad justice to be had in Bengal, and the apathy and carelessness of the English Government on that head, is no novel subject: the author wrote so early as fourteen years ago: to these hints which he gives you about the state of the civil and criminal justices in Bengal twelve

or

or fourteen years ago, join the many shocking cases mentioned, and authenticated beyond doubt in Bolts his India tracts, (cases on which the most eminent Lawyers in England have given their opinions in vain; for they have remained unredressed.) Add to all that, the case of two Armenians who travelled to England, to obtain redress against Verelst; and who after obtaining forty-two thousand Rupees principal, eight thousand Rupees costs, and four thousand Rupees damages, were, nevertheless compleatly ruined by a voyage and sojourn, that took up eleven years: attend to this, that the same complaints ushered by Bolts and by so many Englishmen in 1766, and continued by our author throughout the period of fourteen years, are repeated to-day by a man who prints himself, and appeals to records: take into your account that so many glaring injustices have been heaped, not only with a great deal of ease, but also with much sneering and much contumely upon a man, who could speak and write for himself, and who always thought that the English Government *seldom failed* to afford redress, when applied to; attend to all that put together; and then say with me, *what then must be, must have been all this while, and must infallibly be henceforward, the case of those millions of mouthless wretches, who through ignorance and prejudice, having imbibed the most unworthy notions of the English, both as a Nation and as individuals, really think that their whole Government amounts to nothing better than a perpetual scene of sac and plunder, the links whereof ascend regularly from the lowest individual to the highest station?* put all these considerations together, attend to the constant succession of the same wrongs, and the same complaints for a series of no less than six and twenty years; and conclude then, that the English Government in this country *labours under a radical defect*, which nothing will extirpate, but a new modelling of the Courts of Justice, and a severe punishment of delinquency.

You will, I see that plainly, oppose to such a picture, the flourishing cultivation of the country, and the flourishing state of the Revenue: I admit both in a great degree; but you must admit on your side, that the country

was

was at all times as much cultivated as to day, if not a great deal more (13); that about a Coror a year arises from branches of Revenue, either unknown to the former Government, or kept on the lowest footing: (for instance, Salt-petre, Opium, and Salt; and I have seen Salt in 1756 at 34: and it was in 1780 at ~~155~~ in Calcutta; whereas it has been of late at 250 and 380): */105* You must admit that the Revenues are now collected with a vigor and precision unknown to the Hindostany Government. You must admit that notwithstanding that inattention, and that laxity imputed to that Government, and notwithstanding that the country was almost annually ravaged by some army or other: and that one full third of it, and that two the very best, was constantly under contribution to an enemy; yet, that this government realized a great deal more than the English Government; and what proves irrefragably that the country was incomparably more flourishing, the very individuals, as collectors of Revenue, or indeed as merchants, accumulated amazing fortunes, has now a Collector or *Fojdar* */fojdar* of Baghalpoor opportunities of making up a fortune of a Coror in fourteen years, as has done, Atta-olla-qhan in the Séir-el-Mutaqherin? Has one private man, with no other income than the Sàyrat of M8rsh8dabad, that is, the duties other than the land-tax; has he any means of making one Coror in twelve years? this man is Hadji-Ahmed. Will a Jagatseat now, after having been plundered by the Marhattas of full two Corors in *Arcot Rupees* only, give *to*

(13) The proof is irrefragable: Aali-verdi-qhan with much fewer taxes, and much lower duties, received and spent an income fifty per Cent greater than is gathered by the English. It is not to musty registers that we must recur, but to facts, and reasoning; for instance, it is certain that the Navara (or fleet to be built at Dacca) had no more than eighty villages or forty thousand Rupees allowed to its expences, nor was more borne upon the Books, in which the old stile had become etiquette; and it is no less certain, that those villages under Aali-verdi-qhan yielded three lacks notoriously; and so of other articles. It is certain also, that when Mir-Cassem-qhan had brought his Government to bear, the country was so well cultivated, that we have seen in Calcutta sixty seers of Wheat for a Rupee, seventy-five of Rice, twenty of Oil, and eight of Ghee; and all that, mind it, whilst the Country had four of five times more current cash than it can pretend to in these days. Lastly we may remember that P8raniah, which does not clear now seven lacs a year, yielded then fifty, with a great deal of ease. And where is the proof of all that? In the Séir-el-mutaqherin, where a man who lived as a friend, and as a minister with the Governor of this last Country, tells you that at his death, which happened the seventh year of that man's government, he (the minister,) found in the treasury about a coror in cash, and full half as much in other effects.

government

government the next sixth months bills of exchange for fifty, sixty, and a hundred lacks, payable at sight? Look for all that, and for a great deal more, in the Séir-el-Mutaqherín. So far from that, Jagatseat has not been able to pay, but by installments, a bill of one hundred and forty thousand rupees in 1787. Do you see a single house raised now throughout all Dacca, Patna, and M8rsh8dabad, but by the dependants of the English, or by those of the two Navvabs, or by Djefaret-qhan's family, or Shitab-ray's family? (And all these are dependants of the English?) and of what are made these new houses? Of bricks taken from tenements going to ruins. Do you see throughout these cities, and likewise throughout Malda, P8raniah and H8gly, any thing but houses mouldering away, cottages of mud and straw raised in the halls of former houses, and a picture of wretchedness and desolation stalking forth every where? do those cities contain one single merchant, not an European or an Armenian, worth fifty thousand rupees? Not one. I know them all. No: nor one Banker capable to afford a draught of fifty thousand rupees. Do you hear to day of any single individual venturing upon making those expensive wharfs and quays, which we admire to day throughout those cities?

LET then the English look to themselves: with Masters the most enlightened in the world, with an administration equitable and full of lenity after all, and with a government vigorous and attentive, that has kept public enemies and ravagers out of these countries these twenty six years past; how does it happen that their cities bear such marks of desolation, and increasing wretchedness?

LET us bolt out the answer; (*fiat-justitia: ruat cælum*). It is this: because the civil and criminal distribution of justice is managed in such a manner, that security of person is doubtful, and personal property infinitely more insecure: because no less than twenty enlightened Englishmen, sitting at table, have unanimously uttered this blasphemy: *what business has a*
Governor-

Governor-General with Mustepha's quarrel with Mahmed-reza-qhan? that is in other words, what business have Supreme Magistrates with a close inspection into the manner of distributing justice to Individuals? And why should they care about procuring them full redress?

BECAUSE, it appears by Bolts his tracts written six and twenty years ago (tracts uncontradicted to this day) and also by the historian of the Séir-el-Mutaqherin's eternal complaints these full fourteen years; and lastly by a Pamphlet written this year (and all these form a chain, highly disgraceful) that the maxim, *we are come to make our fortune in India, and will make it some way or other*, is much adopted amongst the individuals of this Nation; and that it's very rulers say, at least by their silence and apathy, the very same sentence, adapted to their peculiar stations: *We are come in India to gather taxes, kill people, and make conquests,——— and——— and——— and——— care little about all the rest.* What Gentlemen, a man innocent, and moreover an industrious subject, is despoiled of a property amounting to fifteen hundred pounds sterling, besides receiving several other enormous wrongs: he comes to the fountain-head for redress, and your rulers tell him: *what is it to us whether you are ruined or not by our Government?* What? no redress at all to be obtained in Bengal? And what would your travellers say, had such an event happened at Algiers, in Turkey, or in China? What? that boasted government of your's admits not of a redress, affords it not, is not susceptible of it?

The candle where the wick is yet burning, will soon catch fire again, says the author of the history of India. You have been, Sir, and so has been, I suppose, the people of England, much edified by the accounts, repeatedly sent thither of the satisfaction enjoyed by all ranks of people under the English Government, and especially of their zeal in making feux-de-joyes for the recovery of the King of England's heath.——Chimeras, all that! None but the Armenians were sincere in those demonstrations; not are they out of Calcutta without severe complaints against the remissness of Government

vernment, in judicial matters, &c. &c. This is the general complaint all over the country; and to my sorrow, I find it has discontented all minds, and alienated all hearts. All hearts! *Can that be true?* Look at it yourself; and for that purpose remember two facts irrefragable, a very modern one, and a very old one. The first is this: if ever an European was beloved in India, it must have been Hastings; and if ever a man had a chance of rendering the English Government, tolerable at least, if not acceptable to the natives, it must have been Hastings; and yet, behold: hardly is this man supposed killed (13), than *all, all* Sir, (it is the very word;) *all*, think of rising on the English. Our Zemindars stand-up: keep correspondences with Chéyt-sing: our Sipahis talk irreverently of their masters, and desert in shoals: the very old Begums of Fáiz-abad raise their drooping heads; and Middleton and Colonel Martin are obliged to barricade their quarters, and to place cannon: in one word, the country proves unanimously ripe for a revolution: (these being the very words used by the Supreme Council to the board of Directors) let us now look up to the other fact. Transport yourself in imagination into that period of years that have elapsed between 1555 and 1570: rise in the air, and behold the cities and towns of Munster and Osnabruck in Germany; Basle, in Switzerland; Antwerp and Mechlin, in the Netherlands; Stirling and Perth, in Scotland: (I omit hundreds of others) all these towns to a man, were zealous Romanists these hundreds of years past: they were so yesterday; yesterday, they had beheld with a savage exaltation, a poor Jew burned to ashes. (no, roasted alive, first) for the heinous crime of having procured a consecrated host, and sacrificed it on Easter-day, by stabbing it with a knife, (although Jews have ceased to have bloody sacrifices these thousands of years past) from which wounds *plenty of blood had flowed* (14)——*the blood of Christ*, the only begotten son of God Almighty,

(13) He was universally reported to have been killed in attempting to escape out of Banarés; and men sent expresses, reported at Mírlh8dabad, that they had seen *his head and right hand hanging* at Bidjáigur, the Fortrefs of Chéyt-sing's.

(14) If ever an absurd accusation was set up, it must have been this one, so often punished in Jews: For before a Jew should give a stab to an host, and buy it for that purpose, he must of all necessity first of

all

ty, which son is himself *God Almighty*. The Priest from whom the host had been stolen, deposes in behalf of the fact, with twenty men more: twenty honest Christians more depose their having been peeping at the Jew, whilst he gave the stab; and a hundred more depose their having seen the blood on the floor. The Jew is seized, placed on the highest church steeple, chained to a stake, and *roasted slowly*, to the mighty exultation of thousands of people *who pride* on their having assisted at such a spectacle. All these to a man were zealous Romanists to that very hour: *as far as ten o'Clock at night; as far as eleven; as far as twelve; as far as one in the morning*——It is now two o'Clock——hark——what an horrid noise!——What screams!——Good God! is the town on fire?——No: it is only the multitude of yesterday, which is totally altered; they plunder the churches of their riches, beat and abuse those Priests and Monks (whose sleeves they had been kissing two hours ago, and whom they now call Shavelings) pull down and break to pieces all those wooden Saints, that had performed miracles yesterday; and throw down and trample under foot whole chalices filled with *consecrated hosts*, *those tremendous hosts* that contained two hours ago in flesh and blood, a man that had suffered two thousand years ago, and now passed for no less than *God Almighty himself*. Nor is there amongst that multitude, that now tramples on them, and who two hours ago firmly believed that a wafer as big as a shilling could shed blood in torrents: Nor is there one single individual afraid of having trampled on flesh and blood and bones.

THE two facts are now brought within your recollection: compare then the two events together, and draw your own conclusions: only let me ask you this plain question: do you really believe that those men became Protestants at once, in the interval which elapsed between

all believe: that a certain countryman of his, that has suffered two thousand years ago at Jerusalem, is alive here: that he, a man five feet high, is alive in every one of those wafers, not one of which looks bigger or thicker than a shilling. Such and the like accusations never failed to be set up against Jews by powerful men, as they proved the shortest and safest way for cancelling the debts they constantly owed to that ill fated people.

one o'Clock and two o'Clock in the morning? Rest assured that they must have been long ago so, and were kept down only by the irrefragable argument of *fagot* and *fire*, idest *bayonnets* and *field pieces*. Another irrefragable fact occurs to my mind, and it is a very melancholy one: all the letters of Admiral Hughes in 1780, of General Cootes, of the Council of Madras, all the private letters, as well as all the public ones, dwell constantly on this melancholy fact, that from Ganjam to Cape Comorin "there was not a native, but proved disaffected to the English, &c. &c.; so that no intelligence could be had from any of them; or if any at all, it was always a *suggested one*. What? after forty years acquaintance, the English had not acquired a single well-wisher in a country of 250 leagues in length? then there must be, there is, some radical defect lurking under the English Government: what is it? But all this in an excursion from my subject, which was not my Pamphlet on the courts of justices of M8rsh8dabad, but my history of India.

THIS history of India happens to be criticized even as to the title it bears: and so it may; for it does not bear that which I approve. It appears by the rough draught of my first translation in December 1786, that the title was, *Review of Modern times*; this title however was dashed some months after, and I wrote above it *Amusements of Posterity*; and it was the title it bore when in December 1788, I gave the first section of it to Mr. Cooper, the Printer. But the Printer having shewn it to a gentleman skilled in oriental languages, (Major K.) the latter dashed the *Amusements of Posterity* and substituted *Review of Modern times*. Four days after, having called on the Printer, I objected to the alteration, gave my reasons for it, dashed the obnoxious words, and reestablished the former title: in which I should have persisted, had I not been deterred by a note of Sir William Jones, who was of the same opinion with the former gentleman. Indeed S. W. J's. his animadversion alone would have hushed infallibly my own opinion: but here it came upon me with the additional weight of two to one: and the *Review of Modern times*

is now against my opinion become the title of that book. And here again the *pila minantia pilis*, would recur again: for I have four Englishmen of knowledge, who give their vote for *Amusements of Posterity*, and who approve the arguments I have advanced to support my opinion.

THE word *Séir*, I am acquainted with from my child-hood, being born at Constantinople; and it signified then, as it does to-day in *Minenski's* learned Dictionary, not precisely *review*, but *review* or *view in walking*: *Deambulatio*, and *Promenade*, says that author. This signification being once established, we may ask now in what sense is the *Promenade* taken, passively or actively? If the latter, then modern-times are taking a promenade—If the former, then a *Promenade is taking throughout modern times*. But when an author writes in 1782, mostly about events happened in 1675-80-90. and 1706 (15), and but little about those of 1740 and downwards, can he be said to write of modern times, whilst the chain of historical writings by others reach, to the very year 1708? and what, if the word *Mutaqberin* should signify, *modern ones*, if you will, but by all means *those that lag behind* (16)? In that case *Séir-el-Mutaqberin* would signify *Promenade or review made by those that lag behind*, and of course *Amusements of posterity*; and this would be not a literal translate, but an *adequate one*. Suffer me, Sir, to add six words more to this very long letter.

BEFORE I take my leave of this subject, I cannot help remembering a remark which you have echoed from your friends about the sixteen lines in the author's preface, and which I had the candor to acknowledge for being S. W. J. his property: they have remarked on the extreme difference between those sixteen lines, and the rest of the preface: pray, Sir, did they think that the whole of that history ought to have been written in that style? and that a plain narrative of facts (called unornamented by the author himself) was to run at the rate of that lofty short-piece, which beginning, like all the Eastern prefaces, by the praises of God, and those of his Messenger, is

(15) The Emperor Aoreng-zib died in 1706.

(16) The root of the word is *Taaqbir*; and even *Teraqbi*, which both signify to delay, tergiverse, lag behind,

of course, susceptible of the highest pitch of poetical sublimity? do you think that Sir William Jones, himself, when resuming on the Bench the harrangues of two sides, and ballancing the arguments of two parties, would make use of that turn of phrase, or of that pomp of words, which look so admirable in that enchanting piece of his, intituled the *Muse recalled*? And even admitting that he would, could it be in his power? could his subject rise to that sublimity of thought, and that felicity of expression, so conspicuous in that admirable ode of his, probably the best of those written in our century? No: and why? because the subject itself does not admit that lofty stile. I dare say you agree with me in opinion on this subject; but what shows that every man has his own, is, that a person, who is by no means deficient in either sense or knowledge, had the singularity, on my pointing out to him the propriety of language in that short piece of sixteen lines, to say, that, it was *priggish*; and that he *did not like it so much, as the plainness of the rest*.

Now, Sir, if ever so sublime a style as that of Sir William Jones finds detractors, what chance can have mine? admitting that my work should be so susceptible of a defense, I have neither capacity, nor indeed inclination for a polemic controversy; but as there is now in my house a friend willing enough to enter the lists on that subject, he requests only that those that are so much displeased with that wretched performance of mine, may be pleased to descend to particulars, to point out those obnoxious parts of the translation that have displeased them, and to *join thereto a corresponding translation of their own*, (for this is the only method to investigate the matter to the bottom) then, and then only, will he give his full attendance to every objection: provided, says he, and this is the condition *Sine Quâ non*, that they pay the Printers.

THIS, Sir, is that man's request; and here is mine: It cannot be expected that, drained as I am, of all my cash, and reduced to extremities (to those for instance, of felling trinkets, plates, and books) I should return
the

the money of those that have purchased sets of me these two months at their own requests; but I shall contrive to return, and am firmly resolved to return, the money of all those, who having inadvertently subscribed several months ago, have thought themselves cheated out of their money; nor is it in any manner necessary, or indeed convenient, that they should return the books, which they have received: those Books amount to full eight hundred (17); they are already lumber upon my hands, and lumber that encroaches so much upon the dimensions of my habitation, and moreover requires so much care and solicitude, that by keeping those Books out of my view, they shall really confer a favour upon me, and render me a service.

THIS, Sir, is all that I can do, to give satisfaction to my Subscribers, and to make myself easy.

I have forgot, Sir, to answer one of your questions: in how much time has the Book been finished printing? in no less than nineteen months: I inform you, that although to expedite the work, I have not carried so strict a hand over the Printers, as I might, and I ought: and I have moreover distributed of late, the several numbers to four several Printers, who of course have been obliged to numerote the pages long after they had been printed; yet for all that, I do not expect to see the last sheets of the work, but by the middle of July next: and this has so disgusted me with Printers and Books, that to make sure of my own resolution, I have thrown into the fire about 600 pages, which were part of an history of Cashmir, which was very curious and which I had undertaken. Printing in this country requires a young man and a rich one, and I am neither.

As to what you have heard of my assimilating so many Persian words to English ones, the list I gave, is neither whimsical nor extravagant, as you have been told: here it is.

(17) Two hundred sets.

LIST of WORDS that are both PERSIAN and ENGLISH.

The List that has been making these two years, is lost; but here is some fragments of it.

ENGLISH.

PERSIAN.

Fàther, from the faxon
Pàder, and Fàder

Pedèr, and Padér.

Móther, pronounced *Má-*
thér by the English, and *Má-*
der by the Saxons

Madér.

Bróther, pronounced *Brà-*
ther by the English, and by
the Saxons, *Bráder*.

Búrader, and also Bràdèr, and Brazér.

Dàughter, pronounced by
the Saxons, as it is to-day
both by the Scots and by
the Persians, *Dàughter* with
a guttural aspiration.

Doghtér.

Sister, pronounced by the
English some-what like *Suf-*
ter.

In some mountainous tracts of Persia, where they speak pure Persian, without any admixture of Arabic, (and the whole Shah-Naméh, that book of one hundred and twenty thousand verses, has but one Arabic word, and it was written so early, as about the year six hundred of the Hedjra, or about 1260 of the Christian Æra;) in those mountains, I say, it is neither *Hemshiré* which is an Epithete, not unlike *Com-milk* or *Comilk*, nor *Qbàder*; but *Sus*. Little Sister, *Sussèc*. My little Sister, *Sussèk*——i——men.

ENGLISH.

PERSIAN.

Burden, (name); to bear,
verb.

Burd, *Burdén*: which signify, he carried:
and to *carry* and *bear*.

To *Chaw*.

Chabidén. Proverb: *T8 Nàn Chabidé*, 8
Cofs Gabidé, *Mi-qhabí*.

To *Sip*.

Sipadén, and *Sipidén*, to fall drop after drop.

To *Stand*.

Istadén. And that antiently it was *Astandén*,
may be evinced from Curtius, who says that
Darius-Codomanus, was an *Astanda* of the
late king's, that is, as he explains it, one who
stood always before the Monarch ready to exe-
cute his commands. *A Chopdar*. To-day
that word would be sounded *Astadá*, or *E-
stadé*.

Bearer.

Beríd, *Beríd—i—in—naméh*, the bearer of
this letter; and although use has introduced
the Arabick word *Hammal* for Porter, yet
Beríd is also used.

Bird, which a Welsh-
man and a Sommerfet, man,
would pronounce *Pird*, just
as they pronounce *Peard*
for *Beard*.

Períd, and also *Perì-ende*, contracted
into *Perendeh*. *Períd* is Persian for *he flew*.

Nàme,

Nám, name: and also *Namidén*, to name.

To *Tàme*,

Tabmidén, which is hardly used by any but
by Grooms and Jockeys, but which, like an in-
finity of other Persian words, has been preserv-
ed in India, betwixt which and Persia we per-
ceive so early as four thousand years ago, a
constant intercourse, a constant vassalage on

ENGLISH.

PERSIAN.

the part of the former, with an amazing similarity in language, religious tenets, and worship. *Tabmūd* in India signifies to *stop. appease*, and also to be *stopped*; and that it is still in use in Persia in the same sense it bore thousands of years ago, may be proved by *Nadyr-shah's* first title, which was *Tabm-asp-C8li-qhan, Equorum Domitor C8li-qhan*, and also the *Lord Soldier to Tabm-asp*, and not *Tamas or Tomas-C8li-qhan* as is written in so many books: for the epithet of *horse breaker*, so often given by Homer and Virgil to *Diomedes*, was also much affected by the Persians, who being horse men born, were much pleased with those same names, which the Greeks made so much use of, and which referred to some love for horses, or to some talent in horse-man-ship, *Philo-bippus, Alias Philippus, Heges-bippus, Archi-bippus, &c. &c.*

Máze,

Maz: an intricate winding path through woods and mountains. Hence a large province of Persia on the Caspian Sea, being beyond a lofty chain of mountains, covered with thick woods; and having been itself a forest cleared for cultivation (as appears by the enormous serpents and that infinity of Lions and other wild beasts found antiently, and even now, there) this province of course was called the country within the *Mázes* or beyond

ENGLISH.

PERSIAN.

yond the *Mázes*; a name which it bears to this day *Maz-anderan*.

These few words are such as have occurred to me at so short a warning; but I shall take care occasionally to enlarge the list; and when it is recollected that the *Saca-sons*, or *Sac-sons* or *Saxons* were no more than a Colony of *Saccas*, who inhabited the northern provinces of Persia upon the Am8; that all the Gothick nations emigrated unquestionably from the northern parts of Asia into Europe, with *Odin*, *Woden*, or *Goden* at their head; and that a Colony of *Kermanis* (Is it from that word that comes that of *Germans* and *Caramanians*? dissatisfied with both their country and government, emigrated from Persia into the northern parts of Europe; when we shall join all these hints together, we shall not be much surprized to find such a number of words to be both *Persian* and *English*. I have once assembled 97 of them.

Shame,

Sherm and Sharm,

No,

Na,

Hog,

Qhog: and if this word be often pronounced *Qb8g*, it is because the Persians use the *vaw* for four sounds.

Bill,

Bill, an instrument made exactly like a bird's bill, and used in the stony soil of Persia to dig the ground with. Hence *Bill-dar* a Pioneer

ENGLISH.

PERSIAN.

neer, pronounced *Bell-dar* by the Indians, but written *Bill-dar*; although the ground being so much softer in India, Pioneers are armed with a kind of Shovel, called *Chapà* in Decan, *Codalì* in Bengal, and *Pàorà* in Hindostan.

Road,

Rod, or even *Rood*, because the Persians have no proper letter, and in all the oriental languages, vowels are interchangeable. *Rood* signifies the mouth of a river, and also a river.

Trunk,

Torunk, *Tarank*; a sea Vessel, used in the Gulf of Persia, and called *Taranquine* by Europeans.

AND here I conceive that some critick shall stand up, and read to me, or repeat, that whole chapter of Swift's about *Etimons*; and to his sneering I shall answer, not by addressing the critick himself, but by directing my words to Swift: and this would be in the following manner.

S I R,

I ACKNOWLEDGE that you have brought up a great deal of ingenuity and much machinery to inform us of the *Etimons* of *Pail-upon*: ease us (which you make the constituent words of *Peloponesus*), and of *Andrew Mackay*, which you prove to be the original words of *Andromache*, that tall wife of Hector, which your countrymen pronounce *Andromaki*. But, Sir, please to mind that the question is not, what these words may signify to day in the language of your countrymen, but only what they signified two or three thousand years ago in the country which the Greecks inhabited. Now without any of those engines which you have conjured up for your purpose, it appears plainly, very plainly, both from the *history* and *language* of that country, for instance of *Peloponesus*, that this Island was called *Pelopónisós* or *Nesús*, the Island of Pelops, just as a certain Island in the South-

feat

sea, well known to Admiral Anson, is called to this day, *Juán Fernádes*. It is true, Sir, that an able man like you, may make these two words to signify a *broken-pate*, or a *crooked leg*, in Irish, or in Albanagh or Erse. But I am sorry for it: for in the language spoken to this day by the inhabitants of that Island, those words signify only *Island of Juán Fernádes*. In the like manner the tall consort, who in her youth had been, as is the custom of her country, often wrestling with young men, is called not, *Andromakí*, as you found it, but only *Andró-máqhi*, the *she fighter of men*. Nor did the words *Achilles* in the language spoken by that hero and by his countrymen, signify three thousand years ago, any thing more, than what he was well known to be: *the man with thick lips*.

I CANNOT help adding here some remarks on Etymons in general, against which article numbers of people never fail to have some words of that chapter of Swift's at their finger's ends. What would have not said Swift himself to a man who should have told him that the French word *jour*, came from the Latin word *Dies*? Is that possible? Is that probable? Determine yourself those two articles; for my part I know that it is *certain*. For in the lower Empire they had disused the word *Dies*, to make use of that of *Diurnus*, which being pronounced in the Italian and Provencal manner (and this last was then the universal language of the south of Europe) as *Djiurnus* (*Dji8rn8s*) very naturally produced *Giorno* in Italian, and *jor* or *jour* in French, pronounced *Dj8r* by the Southern French. Just as the word *Equus* having been superceded by that of *Caballus* has given birth to *Cavallo* in Italian, *Cavalho* in Spanish, and *Cheval* in French. Can any one find any affinity betwixt the words *Bispo* (Spanish) *Evéque* (French) *Vescovo* (Italian) *Bishop* (English) and *Busbec*? No; and yet it is indubitable that the latter is Hungarian, and that all the five come from the Greek *Episcopos*. There are two famous words that are pronounced *Shaxus Krist* by the Irish, *Gbiéz8* or rather *Kbiéz8-Kristo* by the Italians, *Djiz8s-Kréist* by the English, and *Jezú-Krì* by the French.

An

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An Antaquarian would lose scent here: and yet, it is well known that they all come from two ancient words, the first Hebrew, the second, Greek: *Yessâ-christós* / or rather *Qhrístós*. Do you see any brotherhood betwixt the words *Yágo* (Spanish,) *Jac*, (French,) *Djems*, (English,) *Dji-ácomo*, (Italian,) and *Yácomi*, (Greek?) And yet rest assured, that they all come from the Hebrew word *Yacob*. And so of some hundreds of similar words which I could easily bring forth; but these few are enough.

At the moment of ending this, I recollect three words more Anglo-Persian.

ENGLISH.

Abode,

Sowr,

To Sew, &c. &c.

PERSIAN.

Abád.

Shor.

S8zén, and *Sew-zen*, which Persian word is evidently a contractif of the compound *Soo—i—zen* striker or maker of sewing: Now the word *Sooí*, to signify a needle, has been preserved in India, where there is no other term; and where *Siná*, an evident contractif of the compound *Si8-na* or *Sew-na*, signifies to Sew in every shop in Calcutta.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

S É I R - E L - M U T A Q H E R Í N,

OR

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Ġulām Hūusain  H  n XD6Tab  t  ab   / Gaubil, Antoine / Vermeulen, P. J.

A translation of the S  ir Mutaqharin or, view of modern teims, being an history of India, from the year 1118 to the year 1195 (this year answers to the christian year 1781 - 1782) of the Hidjrah ...

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